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A HISTORY OF ENGLAND



Elizabeth

QUEEN ELIZABETH

From the painting attributed to Marcus Gheeraedts in the National Portrait Gallery.

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE PRESENT DAY

By A. D. INNES

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"ENGLAND'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT," ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES

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PREFACE

EVERY period and every aspect of the history of the peoples who have created the British Empire has been dealt with in separate works of a manageable length ; works, that is, comprised in one or two volumes. General histories covering all periods and many aspects have been written in many volumes ; but with a single exception all the comprehensive histories of England which could by any possibility be printed in one volume in legible type have been written as class-books for use in schools, or have at least been composed primarily with a view to the needs of the youthful reader.

The one exception, that great classic, the late J. R. Green's *Short History of the English People*, is incomparable in its kind. Nevertheless it has appeared possible that another history, of the British nation, not confined to the English people, of approximately the same compass but wholly different in method and treatment, might appeal to that vast public who do desire to know the history of their native country but are repelled by the class-book ; a work which will be found interesting as well as informing ; a work which does not covertly suggest that the successful answering of examination papers is the great object of existence ; a work which cannot be used as a class-book : a live history of the mighty nation whose children we are. The author has done his best to ensure the thoroughness and accuracy without which any professedly historical work must stand condemned ; whether he has succeeded in superadding the desirable attractiveness, others must judge. An attempt to enumerate the modern authorities, not to speak of the older ones, to whose work he is consciously or unconsciously indebted, would be merely futile. It only remains for him to say that he can claim no credit for the illustration, and to express his warm admiration and gratitude for the manner in which Mr. S. G. Stubbs has carried out this task.

A. D. INNES.

GERRARD'S CROSS,
September, 1912.

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From the painting attributed to Marcus Gheeraedts in the National Portrait Gallery.

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From a late twelfth century MS. in the British Museum.

KEEP OF CASTLE RISING, BUILT BETWEEN 1140 AND 1150	70
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The architectural design of a Norman keep, as distinguished from the commoner "shell-keep," was of a fairly obvious kind, consisting of a quadrangular tower surrounded by a water-filled moat or a deep ditch. As it was upon the solidity of their walls that the early castles depended for their capacity to withstand assault, and not upon cleverly contrived fortifications, they were built with walls of enormous thickness (sometimes as much as 25 feet at the bottom and 10 feet at the top), regard being had to the comparatively small dimensions of the building as a whole. One small doorway, defended by a drawbridge and portcullis, gave admission.

EFFIGIES OF HENRY II. AND HIS QUEEN ELEANOR	82
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Originally with other royal tombs in the nave of Fontrevault Abbey, these and two other royal effigies (those of Richard I. and his queen) were the only royal tombs in the Abbey that escaped destruction at the Revolution. Henry's effigy is of sandstone ; that of Eleanor of wood.

DRAWINGS FROM AN EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY MS. BY MATTHEW PARIS	104
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Paris's *Chronicles* give a more vivid impression of his age than the writings of any other English chronicler ; for a portion of the reign of Henry III. he is our only source of information. Paris was the chief figure in the remarkable school of MS. scribes and illuminators which was centred at St. Albans in the thirteenth century. As an historiographer and draughtsman he brought his Abbey wide fame. The drawings given are taken from a kind of commonplace book containing Lives of the Offas, stories of the Abbots of St. Albans, and documents and other material for his great *Histories*. The text has considerable corrections in Paris's own hand, and if the drawings are not certainly his, they were made under his directions, and perhaps from his sketches.

ENGLISH LIFE IN THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY	164
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These drawings from the beautiful psalter made for Sir Geoffrey Luttrell (who died in 1345) are examples of some of the finest English MS. illumination. In the upper half the household is preparing a great feast, John de Brigford, the cook, being seen in the right-hand top corner and the family bag-pipe player, who patrolled the table during the feast, immediately beneath him. Below, corn in the sheaf is being stacked, beaten with the flail, and an old woman brings a sack of threshed corn to the miller.

JOHN BALL HARANGUING A CROWD OF REBELS	176
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From an illumination in a fifteenth century MS. of Sir John Froissart's *Chronicles of England*. Ball is addressing Wat Tyler and his insurgents in a market-place of rather an imaginary kind. Froissart's writings were greatly appreciated by his own age (he died about 1410), and many copies of his *Chronicles* were made and illuminated in France.

THE COURT OF KING'S BENCH UNDER HENRY VI.	250
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One of four illuminations taken from an abridgment of English law of the time of Henry VI. Below the five judges are the King's Coroner and Attorney, and the Masters of the Court ; standing on a table two ushers are swearing in the jury ; at the bar a prisoner stands in custody of a tip-staff and in the foreground other prisoners wait their trial. The illuminations are in the Library of the Inner Temple.

QUEEN ANNE BOLEYN AND THE LADY MARY, AFTERWARDS QUEEN MARY	286
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Two of the famous collection of eighty-seven drawings by Holbein at Windsor Castle. Holbein displayed to an extraordinary degree a power for seizing the character of his sitter and rendering the features without flattery ; and while, in his paintings, he spared no labour or finish, he never lost thereby any resemblance or expression. The drawings, made between his arrival in England in 1528 and his death in 1543 (he was portrait painter to Henry VIII. after 1537) are sketches for paintings that still exist or have been lost.

THE ENCAMPMENT OF THE ENGLISH FORCES NEAR PORTSMOUTH, 1545	294
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Taken from an engraving of one of the fresco paintings executed at Cowdray Castle about 1550 and destroyed by fire in 1793. This and other important paintings of the same date were fortunately engraved by the Society of Antiquaries shortly before the fire.

THE ENGLISH FIRE-SHIPS SENT INTO THE SPANISH ARMADA AT ANCHOR OFF CALAIS	348
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From an engraving of one of a series of tapestries executed to the order of the Earl of Nottingham (Lord Howard of Effingham), Lord High Admiral, which were destroyed with the old House of Lords in the fire of 1834.

CHARLES I.	398
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From the original painting by Van Dyck at Windsor. The equerry standing beside the king is M. St. Antoine who was sent over by Henry IV. of France.

"THE TRUE MANNER OF THE TRYAL" AND OF "THE EXECUTION OF THOMAS, EARLE OF STRAFFORD"	424
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Two fine etchings by Wenceslaus Hollar, 1641. In the trial picture the " knights, cittizens and burgesses of the howse of Commons " are massed on either side, with " earles " in two rows in front of them ; Strafford stands in a gown and hood in a dock in the centre of the foreground with the Lieutenant of the Tower beside him. In the background is the King's seat of state (empty—the King and Queen are in a kind of Royal box behind), immediately in front of which sits the Lord High Steward, the Earl of Arundel, having the Judges and Barons of the Exchequer and the Masters of the Chancery grouped in front of him. In the execution scene Strafford has his head on the block, and round him are standing the Primate of Ireland, the Sheriffs of London, and his kindred and friends. The view gives an interesting picture of the Tower in the seventeenth century.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY	444
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From a Dutch print engraved, probably, in 1649 ; one of a set of three setting forth " The manner in which the British sovereign assembles his Parliament," " The manner and order of sitting of the lower house, or commons, which consists of knights, gentlemen and burgesses," and of the sitting of the Lords. The interest in English parliamentary methods aroused on the Continent during the struggle of the King and the Parliament called forth many prints of this kind.

THE ATTACK ON CHATHAM BY THE DUTCH IN 1667	472
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The burning of the dockyard at Chatham and of ships of the line lying in the Medway by the Dutch under De Ruyter in June, 1667, was one of the most remarkable incidents in the remarkable wars with the Dutch in the seventeenth century. The balance of the advantage during 1666 lay with the Dutch, and in spite of an English victory at Terschelling, the King's neglect of the navy (only a light naval force was kept at sea to damage Dutch trade) rendered it impossible to oppose any considerable force to De Ruyter's powerful fleet, which easily forced the entrance to the Thames and the Medway and threw London into a panic.

THE LANDING OF WILLIAM III. AT BRIXHAM, TORBAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1688	500
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From a painting by an unknown artist at Hampton Court Palace. Every detail of the landing as described by Macaulay is shown. The original of the print reproduced on p. 500 is a companion painting, also at Hampton Court.

THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM (OR HOCHSTAEDT), AUGUST 13, 1704	554
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From a print by John van Huchtenburgh, a Dutch painter whose work was much admired by Prince Eugene and William III., by whose choice he was commissioned to depict the battles of Marlborough's wars. A reference to the map on p. 553 will render clear the position of the opposing armies. On the left is the Danube, on the banks of which the village of Blenheim in flames is seen, and Tallard's troops in flight, pursued by the English.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS UNDER SIR ROBERT WALPOLE'S ADMINISTRATION	582
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From an engraving of the painting by Hogarth and his father-in-law, Sir James Thornhill. Walpole stands to the left of the Speaker, Arthur Onslow.

A VIEW OF THE TAKING OF QUEBEC, SEPTEMBER 13, 1759	628
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From a print published in the same year "shewing the manner of debarking the English Forces and of the resolute scrambling of the Light Infantry up a woody precipice to dislodge the Captain's post which defended a small entrenched path through which the troops were to pass; also a view of the signal victory obtained over the French regulars, Canadians and Indians, which produced the surrender of Quebec."

PART OF A PANORAMIC VIEW OF BOSTON AND THE COUNTRY ROUND AT THE TIME OF THE BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL	662
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Taken from the original water-colour drawing made by a lieutenant of the British army directly after the battle. The upper part looks towards Cambridge and shows some of the American works; the lower shows, on the right, the ruins of Charlestown and Bunker's Hill (4), part of North Boston being in the foreground. The latter view covers the area of the battle.

HORATIO, VISCOUNT NELSON	732
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After the painting by Hoppner in the state apartments of St. James's Palace, where the finest of his portraits are collected.

GEORGE IV. AND HIS TRAIN AT HIS CORONATION IN 1821	782
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From one of a series of paintings by Stephanoff made by the king's order. This was the last of the coronations at which the utmost pomp and display, regardless of expense, was shown. The coronation of George IV., an unpopular monarch, cost £243,000, while that of his successor cost only a little over £45,000, and that of Queen Victoria about £70,000.

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GREAT COLLINS STREET, MELBOURNE, IN 1857 AND 1912	838
From a book of views of Victoria published in 1857 and from a photograph lent by the courtesy of the Agent-General for Victoria.	
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From a print published in 1800 and from a photograph.	
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A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH NATION

BOOK I NATION MAKING

CHAPTER I FROM CÆSAR TO ALFRED

I

CELTIC BRITAIN AND THE ROMAN OCCUPATION

THE British Isles first come in contact with the general current of history in the year 55 B.C. In that year Julius Cæsar, then engaged in the subjugation of Gaul, thought fit to cross the Channel with a military force, doubtless in the hope of finding that he could add to his resources for the achievement of his personal empire. He spent only a short time in the island, and returned again the next year with larger forces. But he found the prospect less promising than he had anticipated; and having no wish to extend the boundaries of the Roman dominion except as a means to more important ends, he again retired without making any serious attempt at subjugation; and for the next hundred years the Romans left Britain alone.

But nearly three centuries before Julius Cæsar the Greek voyager, Pytheas of Massilia, had visited the British coast and had spoken of its inhabitants by the name of Pretanes, which, according, to the best authorities, is a Celtic term meaning the "painted people," and of this term the later title of Britanni was probably a corruption. There can be no doubt that they were the same race who, at the coming of Julius Cæsar, were in the habit of painting or possibly tattooing themselves with woad.

It is generally agreed that the dominant races and languages were Celtic, akin to those of Gaul. Further it is tolerably clear that there were two or perhaps three waves of Celtic invasion, since two Celtic stocks at least can be definitely distinguished. The first, called the Goidelic or Gaelic, found before them non-Aryan races commonly named Iberian, who were partly driven by them into the more inaccessible parts of the islands, and

partly absorbed by them. The second wave is called Brythonic—the Pre-tanes of Pytheas, and the Britanni of the Romans, who treated their Goidelic kinsmen very much as these had treated the Iberians. In language, at least, there was a very marked distinction between these two waves. In effect the Goidels or Gaels were driven into Ireland, the isles, and the highlands of Scotland; while the Brythons occupied England and Wales and the Scottish lowlands. The Gaelic of Scotland and the Erse of Ireland descend from the Goidelic dialect, while the Welsh, the old Cornish, and the Breton tongues descend from the Brythonic. The third wave was also Brythonic in character, and seems to have been merely an overflow from the continent of Celts nearly akin to the preceding wave, who occupied only the southern part of England. When Cæsar visited England the last wave represented the highest stage of civilisation so far achieved, while the rest of the Brythons represented a stage intermediate between that of the latest comers and the Gaels. We shall now use the term Briton for the non-Gaelic Celts in general.

It was not till the year A.D. 43 that the Roman Emperor Claudius resolved to add Britain to the Roman Empire. In the meantime there had been a not inconsiderable intercourse between the southern Britons and the Roman world; and the Romans learnt a great deal more of the geography than had been known to them in Cæsar's day. The Roman conquest, of course, bore no sort of resemblance to the previous conquests. It was very much more analogous to the British conquest of India, which began seventeen hundred years later. It was a military occupation, in which the conquering race established military centres and military roads, imposed taxes, and took upon itself the organisation of government without either extirpating or enslaving the natives. The advance was gradual. Within the first decade the Roman supremacy was established up to a line drawn from the Severn to the Wash. In the eighties the more northern tribes of the Brigantes up to the Solway were subdued; and the Roman Governor Agricola carried his arms successfully as far probably as the Tay.

But though the Roman legions marched through Scotland no practical conquest was effected. Agricola routed the highlanders, but that did not mean that they were in any sense brought to subjection. In fact, Agricola had hardly left the country when even the Brigantes in the north of England were again in revolt, showing that the chastisement inflicted upon them had only broken them for a time. They were, however, repressed not long afterwards. From the last years of the first century Britain, south of the Humber and the Mersey, was well under control; and when Hadrian's Wall was built in A.D. 121 and the year following, from Solway to the Tyne, the Romans commanded the north up to that line. Twenty years later the boundary was carried farther to the wall of Antoninus from Clydemouth to the Firth of Forth. But the Roman stations beyond Hadrian's Wall appear never to have been more than garrisons planted in a hostile country, military outposts which prevented the northern tribes from gathering in force. On



The Wall of Hadrian near Housesteads (the Roman Borcovicus), Northumberland.

[From a photograph by permission of Dr. Thomas Ashby, of the British School at Rome.]

the whole we may take it that from about the middle of the second century the *Pax Romana* reigned over the land south of Hadrian's Wall so long as the Roman occupation endured, but that north of that line the Romans merely planted garrisons to hold hostile tribes in check.

Early in the third century the Emperor Severus conducted in person a great campaign in Scotland, in which his troops suffered terribly, though the natives could not stand against them; but immediately after his death the Romans again fell back behind Hadrian's Wall, now strengthened by the Wall of Severus.

The whole story of the Roman activity beyond the Solway is curiously suggestive of the operations of British troops on the north-west frontier of India; while in Roman Britain, south of the Tyne and Solway, the Roman legions preserved peace and the Roman officials conducted the government, as do the British in India. And the Roman legions, like the British regiments, largely consisted of levies drawn from the natives. The country was superficially Romanised, adopting a degree of Roman manners and Roman culture. On the whole, it would seem that during the third century Britain flourished and waxed wealthy, its shores unmolested by foes from over the sea, while the unromanised tribes of the north were held securely back by the forts of the Roman wall.

But at the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth Teutonic sea-rovers begin to put in an appearance. Tribes of the Saxons and the Franks took to the sea and to miscellaneous piracy. Here appears the picturesque figure of Carausius, who was appointed by the Emperor Maximian, the colleague of Diocletian, to the command for the suppression of the pirates. The operations of Carausius were successful, but were directed to serving his own ambitions; in fact he set himself up as an independent emperor; and it seems quite possible that he would have succeeded in maintaining that position had he not been assassinated. His successor Allectus went down before Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great who transformed Christianity from being the religion of a persecuted sect into the dominant creed of the Roman Empire; and the Roman supremacy was again established. Roman Britain continued to prosper and was Christianised like the rest of the Roman Empire. But the Roman Empire itself was now on the verge of being shattered by the Teutonic advance; and in the year A.D. 410 the Roman legions were recalled, and the province of Britain was cut adrift and left to shift for itself.

Fifty years before the Roman evacuation new names appear for the races outside the Roman sphere which were beginning to surge against the Roman barriers in Britain as elsewhere. We hear of the Picts and Scots and the Attacotti, who, acting sometimes in conjunction with the Saxon rovers, began to descend upon the coasts of Britain or dash themselves against the Roman wall and even to burst through. "Picts" and "Attacotti" must be taken as merely new names for the northern peoples hitherto classed together as Caledonians. The Scots, on the other hand, were

certainly Gaelic tribes from the north of Ireland, who were presently to establish themselves in what is now Argyle, and from the kingdom there set up were to extend their name over the whole northern region. But we have now reached the point when the character of these peoples outside Roman Britain calls for further consideration.

It has been laid down as a general proposition that the Scottish highlands were occupied by Goidelic Celts, Gaels ; and it may further be laid down that Galloway, roughly speaking the triangle between the Firths of Clyde and Solway, was also mainly occupied by Gaels, not by Brythons, whatever may have been the case with the eastern lowlands. Presently we shall find Argyle and the Isles in possession of colonies of Scots from Ireland. The name of the Attacotti will disappear ; but who were the Picts who apparently held sway over the greater part of the country ? The ethnological experts are very much at variance on the subject. On the one side are those who urged that they were simply Goidelic Celts ; on the other side are those who do not recognise them as Aryans at all ; while a third, but now wholly discredited, theory attributed to them a Teutonic origin. A detailed examination of the question is here impracticable ; but perhaps the strongest argument in favour of the non-Aryan theory is the indubitable prevalence among them of the tracing of hereditary descent through the mother instead of through the father, a practice which is affirmed to be non-Aryan. At the same time, although among the Aryan races in historic times descent was always traced through the father, there are indications that this had not always been the case ; and it is quite conceivable that in one branch of the great Aryan family the other system may have proved victorious. The very inconclusive evidence seems to point to the language of the Picts being Gaelic, mainly because Gaelic was certainly the language which survived, and there is no definite indication that another tongue was spoken. On the whole the presumption is distinctly in favour of the Gaelic theory, in spite of the difference between the Pictish law of succession and that which prevailed among the Aryan peoples at large, including the rest of the Celts, Gaelic as well as Brythonic.

The position then in the British Islands at the time of the Roman evacuation may be thus summarised. Ireland had not been touched by the Romans, and was wholly Celtic, apart from the survival of an Iberian element. What we now call Scotland was wholly Celtic, unless it is after all true that the Picts were not Aryans at all. Neither Ireland nor Scotland was as yet Christianised, and Scotland, too, had been untouched by Roman ideas and Roman culture, and had never really been brought under Roman domination. On the other hand, the greater part of the larger island, practically corresponding to what we now call England and Wales, had been under Roman dominion for more than three hundred years ; there was probably an actual Roman element in the upper classes ; there was a considerable infusion of Roman culture in the towns which had grown up at the Roman centres ; Celtic customs had been in some degree modified

by contact with Roman law ; but still the Britons were the least Romanised of all the Western peoples who had come under the Roman sway, as may be most definitely seen in the fact that the Roman language disappeared, whereas in Spain and in Gaul, as well as in Italy, Latin had been so thoroughly adopted that it prevailed even over the Teutonic conquerors.

II

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST

In A.D. 410 the Roman legions were withdrawn. In the course of the next century and a half the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons had made themselves masters of the main part of the greater island between the Forth and the Channel, with the exception of the western regions ; for in the west the Celtic dominions still stretched in an unbroken line from north to south. Some years were still to elapse before the west Saxons in the south finally split the Celts of Devon and Cornwall from the Celts of Wales after the battle of Deorham ; and it was not till 613 that the Angles of the North severed Wales from Cumbria or Strathclyde after the battle of Chester.

For the most part the history of the conquest is obscure and legendary. The only record in any sense contemporary is that of the Briton Gildas, about the middle of the sixth century ; and he is exceedingly untrustworthy except as concerns what came directly under his own personal cognisance. Otherwise we have to rely on later compilations, a so-called *History of the Britons*, written about the end of the seventh century, and edited about the beginning of the ninth century by Nennius ; the invaluable work of the Venerable Bede, who was born in 673 ; and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, compiled under the auspices of Alfred the Great at the end of the ninth century. Bede and the Chroniclers did the best they could with their materials ; but trustworthy history does not emerge until the closing years of the sixth century, at least as far as details are concerned.

The traditional story is that Roman Britain went to pieces after the withdrawal of the legions, overwhelmed by the incursions of the Picts and Scots. In 449 a southern kinglet, Vortigern, called in to his aid the Jute pirate chieftains Hengist and Horsa, who, having come to rescue, remained to conquer, and were followed by successive swarms of their kinsmen from Denmark, Schleswig, and Holland. The helpless Britons who had forgotten the art of war were exterminated or fled before them ; though surprising legends gathered about a British king named Arthur, who, in his time, smote the invaders. King Arthur is the hero who appears in the *History of the Britons*, whereas, according to Gildas, the victor who gave a great check to the invaders was Ambrosius Aurelianus. As Gildas himself was probably born before the battle of Mount Badon, the great victory which he attributes to Aurelianus, it may at least be assumed that his statement is tolerably correct.

Very little value is to be attached to the *History of the Britons*, although

King Arthur may, on the whole, be accepted as having been a real chief, who performed real deeds of prowess. Still, between Gildas, who represents the Britons in the middle of the sixth century, Bede, who was a careful and critical historian, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which stands broadly for Bede modified by Wessex tradition, we can arrive at a tolerably consistent account of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest. But before we follow the story of the conquest we may consider the character of the invading hordes.

The group of tribes known by the three names Saxons, Angles, and Jutes all belonged to the Teutonic stock; the Jutes perhaps being nearer akin to the Gothic and Scandinavian branch than to the German. It is doubtful whether there was any real distinction between Angles and Saxons other than the designation of the territory from which they started. They, at any rate, were thoroughly German, and there is no legitimate ground for doubting that their development while still on the European Continent was on the lines depicted in the *Germania* of Tacitus. The basis of the German community was kinship, whether real or fictitious; that is to say, the tribe regarded itself as an aggregate of families having a common ancestry. The tribesmen were freemen, which meant that they owned the soil of their settlements; that they had the right to carry arms, and the right of attending the assemblies, local or tribal, which were the courts of justice and the parliaments of the village, the district, the tribe, and the tribal federation. Kingship was an institution which was apparently only beginning to develop sporadically among the frontier tribes in the time of Tacitus. Normally there was no king, but there was a recognised aristocracy of high-born families, from among whom a war-lord was appointed with the approval of the tribal assembly when the tribe went to war. The tendency, however, was for the war-lord to retain his authority when the war was over; and next, for the office itself to become hereditary in the family, though without recognition of the rule of primogeniture. The German had two main occupations, fighting and agriculture. Instead of concentrating in cities, like the Aryans of the Mediterranean regions, the tribes were collections of agricultural communities; and besides the free tribesmen there was a subject or servile population, mainly consisting of captive foes or their offspring, who had no rights and no property of their own. It is matter of dispute whether in the fifth century the land occupied by each community was already looked upon as the permanent property of the individual households or was regarded as the common property of the community, the individual family being entitled only to the produce of that portion annually allotted to it.

Now in the fifth century the tribes from the east were pressing upon the western tribes, and the western tribes were pressing upon the barriers of the Roman Empire. We have already seen that those who lived by the sea were starting upon a career of freebooting and piracy, even as early as the end of the third century, and that Saxons were joining with Picts

and Scots in raiding Roman Britain in the latter half of the fourth century. Up to this time and for some while longer they were satisfied with raiding for booty, and did not begin to attempt territorial conquest across the sea—precisely as happened with the Danes and Norsemen four centuries afterwards. But it would seem that even in the earlier half of the fifth century the need for expansion on the one hand, and the pressure from the east on the other, impelled adventurous spirits to seek not only booty but new lands to settle in. This migratory movement, however, was not that of a consolidated nation, or at first even of consolidated tribes, but of adventurers who as war-lords gathered kindred spirits to their standards, and set forth to carve out new dominions for themselves in lands which offered a tempting prey to the spoiler.

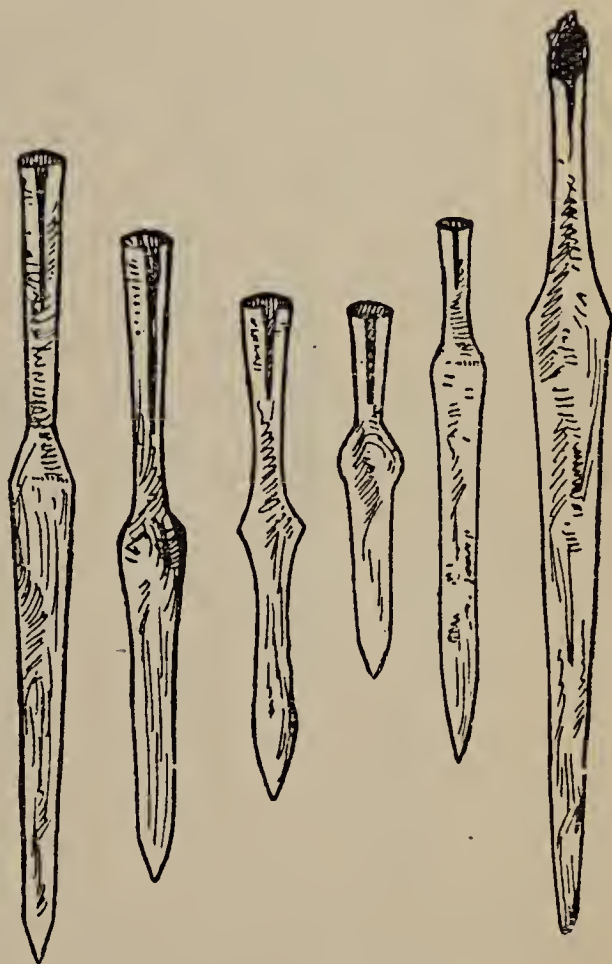
Such a land was Britain after the Roman evacuation. The idea that the Britons had wholly forgotten all that pertains to the art of war under the Roman dominion is not tenable, for the legions in the country were largely recruited from the Britons themselves. But the withdrawal of the Romans left the country without any centralised government. It fell back on the traditional Celtic system of petty principalities, generally incapable of consistent united action, and thus it became a prey to the invader. There is no reason to throw over the tradition which brings Hengist and Horsa to Kent as the hired allies of a British chief, prince, or king. When the growing anarchy had revealed itself, it was natural that the new comers should have taken up the idea of making themselves masters of the soil and calling fresh volunteers to their aid.

Now, as to the course of the conquest, there is a considerable difference between the Anglo-Saxon tradition, as it survived in Wessex to be written down in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the ninth century, and the British tradition current in the middle of the sixth century as set forth by Gildas little more than a hundred years after the conquest began. The Chronicle describes a very gradual conquest effected by successive hosts of invaders who established a footing at different points along the whole coast line at various dates through a long series of years. Gildas describes, on the other hand, a sudden storm devastating the country from end to end. Yet the two stories can be reasonably reconciled in a manner which accords with such evidence as excavation gives us. Probably there was a storm which swept over the whole east and south in the latter half of the fifth century, in the course of which the Roman cities were permanently ruined. The force of the flood was broken by a rally of the Britons and the great victory of Ambrosius Aurelianus at Mount Badon, which appears to have taken place at some date between 493 and 516. The wave rolled back, but the territory was only partially reoccupied, the British being incapable of a constructive reorganisation ; and there followed the more systematic organisation and advance of the kingdoms set up by the Teutonic invaders on the coasts from the Forth to the Isle of Wight.

Now we may conveniently apply the name English which ultimately

predominated to the whole group of the Teutonic invaders, Jutes, Angles, and Saxons. Saxons and Jutes entered upon the new land by way of the coast of Essex, the Thames, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire ; while the Angles established themselves along the east coast above Essex up to the estuary of the Forth. From these bases they drove their way inland, sometimes as independent units, sometimes recognising a common war-lord. No confidence can be placed in the names attributed to the legendary leaders of the various bands. It is probable that even Cerdic, the legendary ancestor of the House of Wessex, is mythical. But when we have reached the second half of the sixth century we find a number of fairly distinguishable English states definitely in being. In the south are the kingdoms of Kent and Sussex, while Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, like Kent itself, seem to have been occupied by Jutes. North of the Thames mouth lay the East Saxons, to the west of them the Middle Saxons (Middlesex) ; and we must place the nucleus of the West Saxon kingdom Wessex to the westward, upon the Thames valley, in preference to supposing that their advance was made from Hampshire or Dorsetshire. North as far as the Wash was East Anglia with the Lindiswaras (Lindsey) between the Wash and the Humber, and inland the Middle Angles and the Mercians. And north again from Humber to Tees was the Angle kingdom of Deira, and from Tees to Forth that of Bernicia. The whole of the west was still occupied by British principalities or, beyond the Solway, by Gaels, Picts, and Scots ; while between Celts and English lay the still debatable land which half a century before had been devastated but not permanently held by the English.

By common consent of all the old authorities it was the practice of the English to extirpate the Britons ; that is to say, very few of them were spared to become slaves, though doubtless the women were not exterminated with such ruthlessness as the men. In the light of modern inquiry it has been maintained that sundry characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon social system point not to extermination but to the establishment of a servile population retained to cultivate the soil for the benefit of their Teutonic masters. On the other hand, it is claimed that these English institutions can reasonably be explained as developments having their origin in a free society. Moreover, the indubitable truth remains that throughout the English kingdoms practically every trace of the Celtic or Latin languages and the established Christianity disappeared altogether ; and the conquerors



Saxon spear-heads.

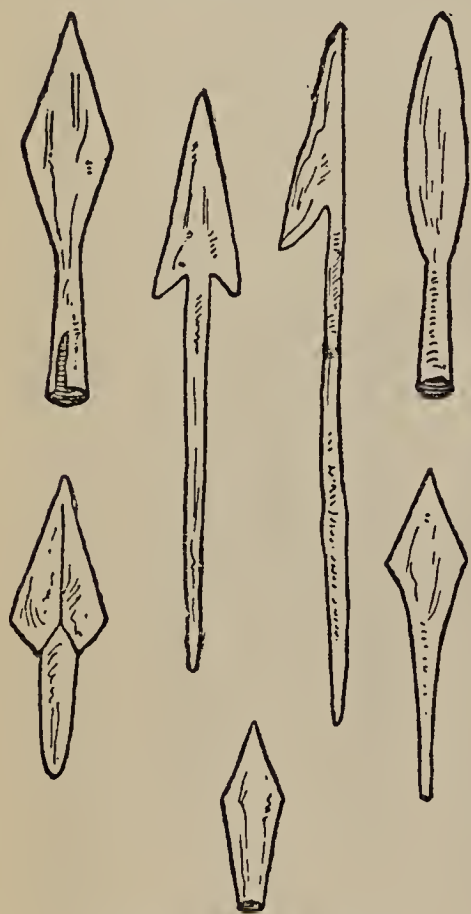
were influenced by them no more than Europeans have been by the language or religion of primitive races in Australia, Africa, and America. But it is a conspicuous fact that in every other portion of the Roman Empire, however completely overrun by Teutons, the language and religion of the conquered dominated those of the conquerors. Where Goths or Vandals, Franks, Burgundians, or Lombards ruled as masters over Latinised Celtic peoples the Celtic and Latin elements ultimately predominated, and

France, Spain, and Italy have remained Latin nations. Outside of the British Isles, wherever the Teuton has amalgamated with a conquered race in historic times, he has to all intents and purposes ceased to be a Teuton; and it is a commonplace that even in Ireland the Norwegian and Norman conquerors became thoroughly Hibernicised, even as the Norsemen became Gaelicised in the Hebrides. In view of this it seems incredible that any large proportion of the conquered Britons should have survived among the Teutonic conquerors during the fifth and sixth centuries without giving them even a tincture of Latinity or Christianity, even though we must admit that the Latinising of the Britons had only been of a very superficial character.

It will be seen that nothing which at all corresponds to what is called the Heptarchy in England—a name which applies to the division of the country into seven substantial states—was the out-

come of the English conquest. The varying mutations and absorptions of the many petty kingdoms did result in a sevenfold division in the course of the seventh century, at the time when Theodore of Tarsus organised the English episcopate; but there was no time when England could be regarded as being made up definitely of seven kingdoms with permanently recognised boundaries.

Even more vague was the division of the regions still held by the Celts, who were either already Christians at the time of the English invasion, or became very generally Christianised during the fifth and sixth centuries. After the battles of Deorham and Chester the Celts south of the Solway were in three separated districts—the south-western peninsula called Damnonia, Wales, and Cumbria, between the Mersey and the Solway. This last, with the northern district west of the Clyde, later formed vaguely the kingdom of Strathclyde. The Scots were established in Dalriada, which is roughly Argyle and the southern isles, and the Pictish kingdom covered the rest of the highlands. It is probable that the Celts between the wall of Hadrian and the Forth, who had never been Latinised, held their own against, or combined with, the Angle invaders to a much greater extent than to the south of the Tyne.



Saxon arrow-heads.

III

THE RIVAL KINGDOMS

Gildas, who wrote his book between 550 and 560, had very little knowledge of the English kingdoms, though he has much to say of the anarchy prevailing among the Britons. But from about this time Bede and the writers of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle had more substantial records to deal with. The great King Æthelbert of Kent succeeded to the throne in 565, when Ceawlin, the first definitely historical figure in the Wessex records, was king of the West Saxons. Deira and Bernicia were still separate, but were to be united as Northumbria in 588 under Æthelric. The era of final conquest was now setting in. Ceawlin at the moment was the most powerful of the southern kings; and after giving a check to Æthelbert of Kent and subjecting some of the Saxons on the north of the Thames to his sway, he turned his arms against the Britons, drove his way westward at the head of a force not so much of subjects as of confederates, and finally separated Damnonia from Wales by his great victory at Deorham, a few miles from Bath. Thenceforth Saxons and Angles occupied the whole country as far west as the Severn valley, though the power was already departing from the crown of Wessex before Ceawlin died in 593. Æthelbert of Kent waxed great as Wessex weakened, and the eastern kingdoms acknowledged his supremacy as far north as the Humber. Æthelfrith, King of United Northumbria after Æthelric, extended the Northumbrian dominion in the north, and in 613 shattered the allied forces of the Christian Celts at the battle of Chester, having ten years earlier utterly routed Aidan, the king of the Scots of Dalriada, who had gathered a large confederate army in the hope of crushing his rising power.

But Christianity had already obtained a footing among the southern English. The Britons never attempted missionary work among the conquerors. The Irish, Christianised in the fifth century, spread Christianity among the Celts of Scotland, and the contact with them first brought Christianity among the Angles of the north; but it was the mission of Augustine, organised by Gregory the Great himself, which introduced in the south the Latin Christianity which, in the course of the seventh century, dominated all England.

Augustine and his monks were well received by Æthelbert of Kent on their landing in 597; for Æthelbert's wife was already a Christian, being the daughter of one of the Merovingian kings of the Franks. The English seem nowhere to have had any very fervid attachment to their old paganism; there was never anything in the nature of a persecution of Christians. Christianity spread steadily and unglorified by martyrdoms. Unfortunately

it did nothing towards reconciling the Britons and the English, because there were divergencies on what seem to us extremely trivial points of practice between the Welsh and the Latin churches, and both sides obstinately refused to make any concessions.

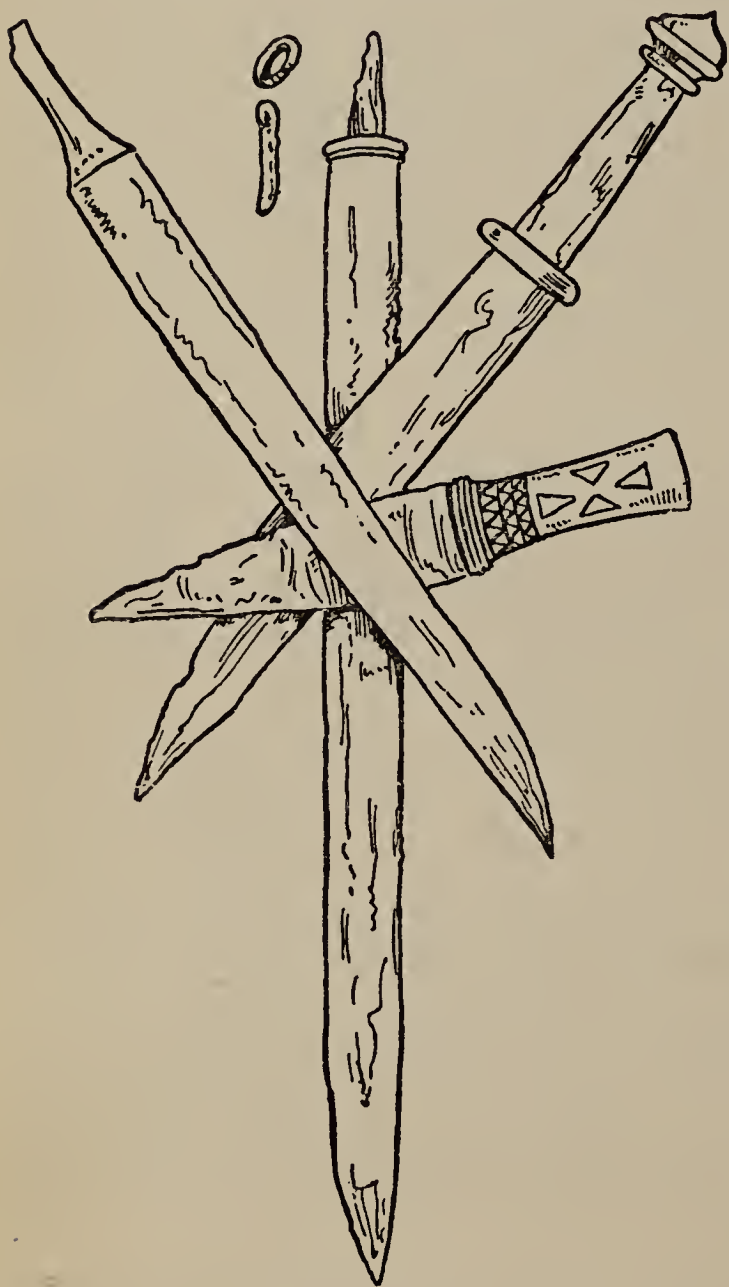
As supremacy passed from Wessex when Ceawlin grew old, so it passed from Kent when Æthelbert grew old. After his death in 616 Redwald of East Anglia enjoyed a temporary leadership, and even overthrew the

Northumbrian conqueror, Æthelfrith, four years after the battle of Chester. He placed on the throne of Northumbria Edwin, the cousin of Æthelfrith, who had been ousted by Æthelric from the throne of Deira.

Redwald died next year, and Edwin, now master of Northumbria, became the supreme king. Edwin was converted to Christianity, vanquished the kings who ventured to resist him, and appears to have enforced law and order to an unprecedented extent throughout the whole of his dominion, which extended north to Edinburgh or Edwin's borough.

But there was one of the sub-kings in the midlands, Penda of Mercia, who was staunch to paganism, and was ready to defy the Northumbrian if opportunity offered. The Christian Welsh had no scruple in allying themselves with the old heathen, and Edwin was overthrown by Penda at the great battle of Heathfield.

Penda's Welsh allies ravaged Northumbria more mercilessly than Penda



Saxon knives.

himself. The Northumbrians, however, rallied under Oswald, a son of Æthelfrith, and avenged Heathfield upon the Welsh at the battle of Hexham. Oswald partly recovered Edwin's supremacy over the island, but he never brought Penda to submission; and he, like his predecessor, was overthrown by the Mercian at Maserfeld in 642. After that the effective supremacy all over the island belonged to Penda until his death. It is a little confusing to find Oswald's brother Oswy ruling in Bernicia, while an Oswin of Edwin's line ruled in Deira. However, at last Oswy took heart of grace, defied Penda, and overthrew him at the battle of Winwaed, recovered the crown of Deira, and again established a general Northumbrian overlordship, though Penda had succeeded in consolidating the central kingdom of Mercia which remained in permanent rivalry with Northumbria.

Penda himself was very nearly the last of the pagans, and his son Wulfhere was a Christian. Oswy's reign in Northumbria is especially notable on account of the synod held at Whitby in 664, nine years after the



Saxon England from the 7th to the 10th centuries.

victory of Winwaed. Both Oswy and his predecessor Oswald had become Christians when they were dwelling among the Scots during the exile of their house. Hence Northumbrian Christianity was under the influence of the Celtic church. The outcome, however, of the open discussion held at the synod at Whitby was that Oswy resolved to conform to the Latin in preference to the Celtic practices; and this very much simplified the process,

carried out under the Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus, of establishing the Latin ecclesiastical organisation under one primate all over England. The six principal kings of Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Essex, Wessex, and Kent had at first a bishop apiece; though Theodore divided each of the kingdoms into a larger number of dioceses, and Sussex, which had hitherto remained in pagan isolation, was brought into line with the rest. There is no sufficient ground for the tradition which attributes to Theodore the introduction of the ecclesiastical parish; but it is notable that the idea of English unity as one church preceded and helped to prepare the way for the idea of English political unity, which did not really take root until the days of Alfred.

Oswy had extended some sort of ascendancy over the Celtic dominion of Strathclyde, which marched with the western border of Northumbria from the Forth to the Mersey. But in 685, fourteen years after his death, Egfrith of Northumbria developed a too ambitious scheme of conquering the Pictish kingdom beyond the Forth. There he was enticed into the mountains, and his army was cut to pieces at the battle of Nechtansmere, a blow from which Northumbria never recovered. By the opening of the eighth century the centre of greatest power was becoming established in Mercia.

England during this century achieved a foremost place as a home of learning and culture. During its first half flourished the Venerable Bede, the most learned man of his time, historian, scholar, and saint; and about the year of his death was born Alcuin, who in matters intellectual became the chosen counsellor of the mighty emperor whom we call Charlemagne. But England was not a happy realm; because nowhere within its borders was to be found a dominion with a strong central government organised on a permanent basis. The different kingdoms were in rivalry with each other, besides being perpetually rent by civil broils, from the absence of any fixed law of succession except that which required that the king should be of the blood royal. There was occasionally a strong and capable king in one or other of the greater kingdoms whose reign is marked by the expansion of his own realm.

Thus, about the beginning of the eighth century, Ine of Wessex drove the Celtic boundary in the southern peninsula fairly back into Devon. This king is also celebrated for that codification of the customs of Wessex known as the Doms or Laws of Ine. Mercia had remained on terms of what may be called mutual toleration with Northumbria, but after Ine's death Æthelbald of Mercia challenged the temporary Wessex supremacy in the south, and made himself supreme from the English Channel to the Humber. Turning to the north he tried but failed to master Northumbria, which was still strong enough to defend itself, though not to retaliate upon the southern dominion. Then Mercia itself began to fall to pieces even before the old king Æthelbald was himself assassinated; but its power was restored by the great King Offa, who shortly afterwards seized the throne,

and, after setting the affairs of Mercia in order, proceeded to make himself supreme in England.

Offa's reign began in 758 and lasted till 796. He drove Wessex back south of the line of the Thames and Severn mouth and pressed the Welsh back far west of the Severn, marking the new boundary between Britons and English by the great line of Offa's Dyke from Chester to the Bristol Channel. Europe recognised him as the lord of England, and he treated as an equal with Charles the Great, King of the Franks, who had not yet revived the Western Empire and assumed the Imperial crown. But apparently he did not care to trouble himself with the subjection of Northumbria, which, throughout his reign, was in a state of miserable chaos, a term which also applies generally to the Pictish and Scottish dominions and to Strathclyde with its diverse population of Gaels and Britons.



Penny of Offa of Mercia, A.D. 757-796.

The last years of Offa saw the first attack upon the English shores by a new enemy, the Danes or Northmen from over the sea, whose appearance marks the arrival of the third stage of our history after the Roman evacuation.

IV

WESSEX AND THE DANES

In 793 and 794 for the first time Danish longships swooped down upon the monastery of Lindisfarne and the monastery of Jarrow to slaughter and plunder. Somewhere about the same time three pirate crews landed in Dorsetshire and slew the reeve of the shire. But forty years passed before their raiding began in earnest. In the interval a strong man had arisen in Wessex; and Ecgbert had wrested from Mercia the English supremacy which was to remain with his house permanently, or at least with little intermission, until the Norman seized the sceptre. Ecgbert, who claimed kinship with both the royal houses of Wessex and Kent, had only recently returned from exile in the land of the Franks when the Witan or Council of Wessex called him to the throne. An efficient king, Coenwulf, was ruling in Mercia, and Ecgbert made no attempt to challenge his overlordship. But when Coenwulf was succeeded in 822 by his brother Ceolwulf anarchy once more began to set in in Mercia, and the crown was usurped by Beornwulf.

Still Ecgbert bided his time, nor was he himself the actual aggressor. It would seem that Beornwulf, who had secured the Mercian kingship, invaded Wessex when Ecgbert was engaged on a campaign in Damnonia. Ecgbert, returning, inflicted upon him an overwhelming defeat at Ellandune

in Wiltshire. Ecgbert was prompt to follow up his victory. Kent joyfully hailed him as overlord in place of the alien from Mercia. The king of Essex submitted to him, and on his death Essex was simply absorbed into Wessex. The same fate befell Sussex. East Anglia recovered the independence which it had lost to the Mercians, killed Beornwulf in battle, and allied itself with Ecgbert; and in 829 Ecgbert appears to have had no difficulty in making himself master of Mercia. The alliance with East Anglia was soon converted into the subordination of that kingdom, and even the Northumbrian king made formal submission to Ecgbert as "Bretwalda," the supreme lord of the whole land—a title applied to various earlier kings from Æthelbert to Offa.

Thus when the Danes reappeared in 834, having left the land in peace for forty years, Ecgbert was undisputed lord of all England, with probably a firmer grip of his dominion than any of his predecessors in the supremacy, with the possible exception of Offa. Let us turn then to an examination of the new invaders.

Northmen is the term applied inclusively to the whole group which, at a later stage, separates into two groups of Danes and Norsemen. The Northmen belonged to the Scandinavian division of the Teutonic race, of which the Goths were the first representatives who had come into touch with Christendom. They occupied Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and parts of the southern and eastern Baltic coast. They no more formed a united power than the Angles and Saxons of the fifth century, to whose institutions their own bore a marked resemblance. Until the close of the eighth century they had not adopted an aggressive line; and it is not improbable that they were roused into doing so by the aggressive movement of the Franks under Charles the Great against the Saxon nation on the continent. From fighting each other, the petty chiefs turned to raiding the coasts of the great aggressor on the west; and we can hardly avoid seeing a resemblance between their sudden expansion as a maritime power and the English maritime expansion in the days of Elizabeth. They began to take long voyages across the open sea instead of confining themselves to coasting operations; and when they did so they found they could go where they liked, because with their improved seamanship they developed naval tactics before which western fleets were powerless.

The movement began with the Danes at the end of the eighth century; and it appears to have stopped, so far as they were concerned, because they fell back into a condition of prolonged internal warfare, which did not come to an end till their comparative consolidation about 830. Hence, during this time they left the English and Frankish coasts alone. Meanwhile, however, their Norwegian kinsmen followed a new direction; and, passing round the north of the British Isles, harried the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, the latter country suffering horribly from their ravages while England was still enjoying immunity. But about 830 the Danes were at work again, and from this time Danes and Norsemen, sometimes but not

always distinguished by their victims, swept the seas, stormed along the coasts, and swarmed up the estuaries of Western Europe.

The Vikings, as they were called, which probably means “warriors,” were at first merely bands of adventurers following the banner of some famous warrior or high-born leader, and their object was simply plunder. Worshipers of the old gods, they had no touch of Christianity. When we hear of the “kings” who led them when they came, not in small companies but in great fleets, we must recognise that the king was simply a war-lord; not the king over a territory, but only over the warriors who followed his banner.

In 834 a fleet of the Northmen attacked the Rhine mouth, and a detachment of them ravaged the island of Sheppey. Two or three years later the operation was repeated, and this time a de-



The gold ring of Æthelwulf.

tachment landed at Charmouth in Dorsetshire, where, after a stubborn fight with Ecgbert, they remained actually masters of the field, but had been too roughly handled to attempt to hold their position. In 838 they came to Cornwall, and, in alliance with the Cornishmen, moved upon Wessex, but were put to utter route by Ecgbert at Hengston Down.

Next year Ecgbert died. His eldest son Æthelwulf succeeded him as suzerain of England and king of Wessex, a younger son, Æthelstan, being made sub-king of Essex and Kent and Sussex. During the next few years the Danes made perpetual invasions in force on the east coast and the south coast, and also on the Frankish dominion beyond the English Channel, passing round Finisterre, and in 848 capturing and sacking Bordeaux. Sometimes they were beaten off; but usually they routed the levies brought against them, and only retired when they had obtained a satisfactory amount of plunder. By this time they were habitually working not in small detachments but in great combined fleets, numbering sometimes as many as six hundred vessels. In 851, however, they met with an overwhelming repulse at the hands of Æthelwulf and his son Æthelbald at Aclea, either Ockley in Surrey or Oakley near Basingstoke. Probably it was not till 855 that the Danes for the first time wintered in England, the first step to a Danish settlement; the Chronicle refers this event both to 851 and 855, but the defeat at Aclea makes the earlier date improbable.

Two years later Æthelwulf died and was followed on the throne by four of his sons in succession—Æthelbald, who reigned till 860; Æthelbert, who reigned for the next six years; Æthelred (866–871), and, finally, Alfred the Great.

The Danish invasions slackened, and we only hear of them once between 856 and 865, when they again wintered in Thanet. On this one occasion

they met with a sharp reverse. But 865 was the opening year of a continuous onslaught. In 866 they ravaged East Anglia, and in 867 fell on Northumbria, where they remained permanently and before long were indisputable masters of the country. In 868 they struck into Mercia, though they made terms and retired again ; and in 870 they overwhelmed East Anglia and killed its last king, St. Edmund. Then in 871 opened the great attack upon Wessex, led by two kings, Halfdan and Bagsceg, and five jarls or nobles. Against them marched Æthelred and his younger brother Alfred. The spring and summer witnessed a series of desperate battles, Danes and Saxons alternately getting the better in combats which were indecisive. Even the great Saxon victory of Ashdown only meant that the Danes were forced back into their fortified camp at Reading, whence, in spite of the fact that one of the kings and all the five jarls had been slain, they were strong enough to issue again a fortnight later and defeat Æthelred at Basing. This success was repeated two months later, and was followed immediately by the death of Æthelred and the election by the Witan of Alfred in preference to the very youthful son of the dead king.

V

ALFRED THE GREAT

Heavy Danish reinforcements had come up either before or after the battle of Basing, and the king was defeated in his first engagement with them at Wilton. Both sides must have suffered tremendous losses during this "year of battles," and Alfred was reduced to buying a short respite—a dangerous policy but one at the moment inevitable. For the next four years the Danes devoted their attention to Mercia and Northumbria. The latter was completely subjugated by the Northmen, and thenceforward Northumbria was as much Danish or Norse as Anglian ; for although the Danes did not exterminate they took possession of as much of the land as they chose, though they do not appear to have settled to any extent in the old Bernicia.

But half the Danes left Northumbria to the other half and for the time being dominated East Anglia and Mercia ; and these, recruited by fresh Viking bands, again in 876 turned to the invasion of Wessex.

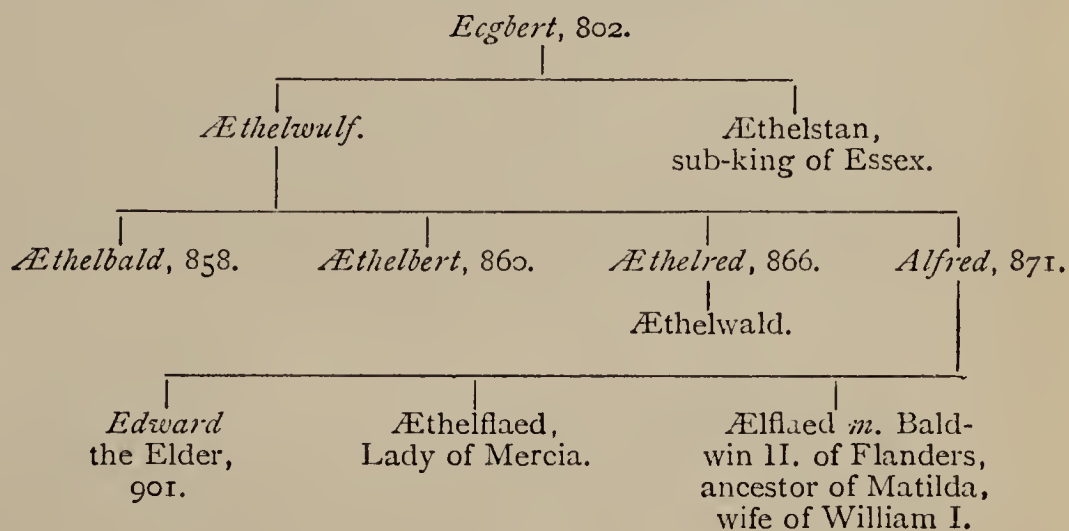
Meanwhile Alfred had been making use of the time allowed him. He had started the nucleus of a navy which should be able to challenge the invaders on the element which they regarded as their own ; and we may presume that he had also been reorganising the military forces of Wessex after the destructive struggle of 871. When the Danes struck they struck hard, suddenly, and without warning, burst across Wessex, and seized and fortified a strong position on the Dorsetshire coast, where they could be joined by their kinsmen from Ireland. Alfred, however, blockaded

them on the land side with a force which they did not choose to engage. The Danes agreed to accept what may be called a ransom as before, but did not keep faith ; a large force, being well mounted, broke through the English lines by night and hurried to Exeter, where they fortified themselves. Alfred could carry neither of the Danish posts, nor could he concentrate before one of them, since that would have left Wessex to be devastated by the other.

In the spring, however, the Vikings in Dorset took to the sea, meaning to join the force at Exeter ;

but the fleet was fortunately annihilated by a storm. Hence the army at Exeter, a sufficiently formidable force in itself, offered after some delay to retire, and was permitted to do so without reluctance. However they only withdrew into Mercia, where they had

THE FAMILY OF ALFRED THE GREAT



allowed an English ealdorman to enjoy the title of a sub-king. They now deprived him of half his territory, as much, that is, as lay beyond Watling-street, the great road running from London to Chester ; and just as the army had before divided, one half remaining in Northumbria and settling it, while the other half abode in the south and prepared for further conquest, so now a considerable proportion of the army seems to have turned to the business of settlement ; while the balance, led by Guthrum, prepared to renew the war in Wessex in conjunction with a force from over the Irish Sea.

Again the move was made suddenly and without warning, this time in the dead of winter, when no one was dreaming of military movements. So effective was it that Alfred himself had to take refuge in the marsh-surrounded isle of Athelney ; and it was some months before he could concentrate a force which could again take the field against the main Danish army. A desperate battle followed at Ethandune or Edington, when Alfred's victory was decisive. Guthrum made terms, and this time the terms were honourably kept. He himself embraced Christianity with many of his followers, and withdrew all claim to that part of Mercia south-west of Watling-street ; and it was agreed that the Danes should remain undisturbed in the settled district beyond, henceforth known as the Danelagh. This was the Peace of Chippenham or Wedmore, 878, which left Alfred free to organise his kingdom. The agreement, with some modification, was confirmed some years later in 886, when the Danes had broken out in spite of their pledges and Alfred had struck some hard blows in return, including the capture of London and its transference to Wessex.

Still Alfred had not yet done with the Danes. It must be borne in mind that ever since the middle of the century the Danish forces in England had merely formed a portion of the organised host of Northmen, who had ceased to be mere desultory raiders and had set out upon a career of conquest on the south no less than on the north of the Channel. Alfred's arrangements with Guthrum effected a settlement only as far as concerned the Danes in England. But the great army met with a severe check on the continent at the hand of the Emperor Arnulf, and, as a consequence, it again turned its attention to England in 892, in conjunction with the great Viking Hasting. By this time, however, Alfred's organisation of Wessex had been completed. The Danes of the Danelagh gave not much active help to their kinsfolk beyond providing them a friendly reception in their own territory. Alfred's newly created fleet proved a satisfactory match for its opponents, and most of the hard fighting was done in Mercia. In fact, the Danish host now found that the king of Wessex was not



Drinking and Minstrelsy among the Saxons.

fighting desperately at bay, but was consistently the victor. At any rate they were fairly beaten out of Alfred's own dominion, and either went home or joined their kinsmen in the Danelagh.

In the last year of the century, 900, King Alfred died ; but his work was accomplished. He had saved Wessex from the Danes, and the saving of Wessex was the saving of England. No monarch has left a name more glorious ; perhaps he is the only triumphant ruler of whom no man has ever ventured to speak a word in dispraise.

Whatsoever can be accounted the work of a king—as a leader in battle, as an organiser of victory, as an administrator, a legislator, a judge, as a teacher, as an exemplar, in a word as the father of his people—that work was done by Alfred in the face of tremendous difficulties, including personal ill-health, with unsurpassed wisdom and skill. He was happy in successors, who were well fitted to complete what he perforce left unfinished. He supplied the world with a new type, because the pre-eminence of his virtue was only the counterpart of the pre-eminence of his genius. No other man perhaps has been at once so good and so great. An admirable captain in the field, he organised the military system and the military methods of the

Saxons, making possible the triumphs of his children and his children's children. He created a navy, the only one which successfully challenged the sea-rovers on their own element. His codification of the Law gave it a permanent shape. He inspired every man who worked under him with his own enthusiasm for justice and mercy. He made his court the centre of the intellectual light, of the best culture and learning of the day, in order that it might irradiate his people. Charlemagne himself was not a more zealous educator. Never, perhaps, have there been combined in one man such lofty idealism and such practical common-sense. The English nation has habitually refrained from fastening complimentary titles upon its monarchs; but it has rightly made him the one exception, and claimed for him the name of *the Great*.

Before passing on to the next stage, it will be well to give brief attention to the North, where the Danes appear not to have settled in Bernicia—at least north of the Tyne in the district which came to be known as Lothian; but the Norsemen constantly threatened to make permanent settlements on the west—in Cumbria and the Isles—and there to establish a Norwegian kingdom. Of the Celtic North we have seen that there were three main divisions—Pictland, Dalriada or Scot-land, and Strathclyde. Matters so fell out that about the middle of the ninth century the heir to the kingdom of the Scots was also, by the Pictish law of succession through the female, heir to the kingdom of the Picts. Thus very much as some seven and a half centuries later the crowns of England and Scotland were united not by conquest, but by the recognised laws of succession, so at this time were the kingdoms of the Scots and Picts permanently united. As a natural consequence the king, Kenneth M'Alpine, a Scot on his father's side, was regarded as a Scot by the world at large, and he and his successors were known as kings of Scotland. It was not, however, till some time later that the Strathclyde kingdom came under the same dominion.

CHAPTER II

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

I

ALFRED'S SUCCESSORS

WHEN King Alfred died England south of the Tyne was divided into two parts, the line passing diagonally from Chester to the Thames estuary below London. Alfred's treaty with the Danes had simply recognised the facts. Where the Danes were already masters they were allowed to remain masters; the king had better work to do in organising his half of the country than in embarking upon an impracticable attempt to reconquer the Danelagh. For it must be borne in mind that the north and east had never owned the overlordship of Wessex till forty years before Alfred's accession. In East Anglia the Saxon dynasty had no stronghold, and the last sub-king, St. Edmund, had apparently been chosen by the men of East Anglia from the old line, not appointed by the king of Wessex from Ecgbert's line. The Angles might not love the Danes, but after all the Danes were little more alien than the Wessex folk. Finally, if there was any sort of submission of the Danelagh to Alfred's sovereignty it was of a merely formal character. The "Frith" or agreement with Guthrum manifestly aimed at discouraging intercourse between the Saxon kingdom and the Danelagh, probably because such intercourse was regarded as more likely to bring about hostilities than to increase amity.

Alfred's own kingdom included a large part of Mercia and was under the government of an ealdorman, Æthelred, who may have belonged to the house of Offa, and who had to wife Alfred's very remarkable daughter Æthelflaed, who, after her husband's death, was known as the Lady of Mercia. Alfred's successor on the throne of Wessex was Edward, called the Elder. The relations between Wessex and the Danelagh were doomed not to be permanent, for it was always a difficult matter to keep the Danes from aggressive movement. Hence the reign of Edward was largely taken up with the establishment of a real supremacy over the greater part of the Danelagh, a policy which was practically forced upon the Saxon king and was carried out with great efficiency by the energetic co-operation of the Lady of Mercia, who, like Edward himself, must have inherited her father's military talents and his capacity for inspiring enthusiastic devotion. The great feature of the campaigning was the appropriation of the system

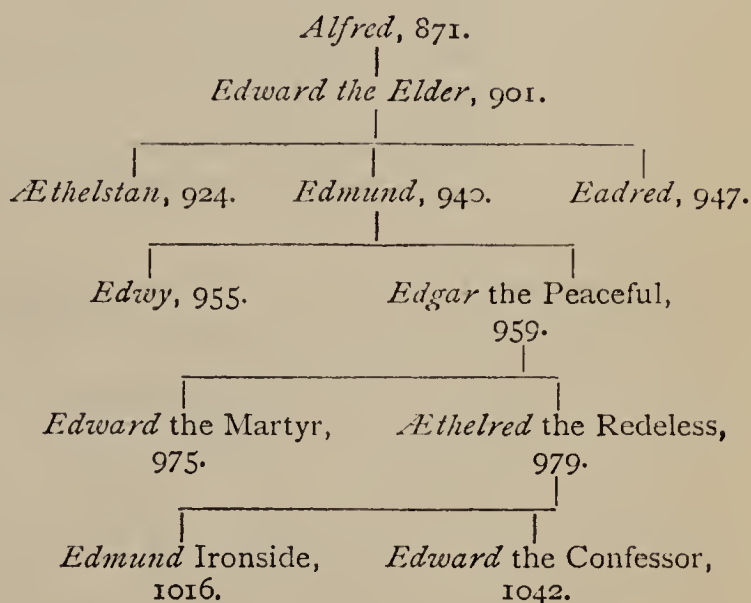
borrowed from the Danes themselves—of establishing fortified posts or *burhs* either at strategic points or where villages had already begun to develop into important towns.

The conquest, however, did not mean the expulsion of the Danes, but little more than their effective acceptance of the supremacy of the Saxon king. Mercia, like Wessex, was parcelled out into shires; but beyond Watling-street the shire was the district appertaining to a Danish military centre such as Leicester or Derby; and it would appear that south of Watling-street the shire was the district appertaining to one of Æthelflaed's boroughs. There was no longer an "ealdorman of Mercia"; but the shires did not get an ealdorman apiece; and in the Danelagh the name of earl replaced that of ealdorman, the earl being apparently in most cases a Danish jarl.

About the year 921, when Æthelflaed died, the absorption of Mercia and East Anglia was completed; and before Edward's death, probably in 924, the kings of Wales and of the North had "taken him to father and lord"; among them Constantine, the grandson of Kenneth M'Alpine, king of the Scots and Picts. This so-called submission was put forward as the starting-point of the claim to the suzerainty of Scotland made some centuries later by Edward I. of England. There is no really adequate ground for doubting that it actually took place, though the technical sufficiency of the evidence can fairly be challenged, since the only real authority for it, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, attributes the event to the year 924, and makes Ragnold of Northumbria a party to it, whereas Ragnold died in 921 according to other authorities. However the chances are that the chronicler was guilty only of some inaccuracy of detail; but Professor Freeman's view that from this time forward the sovereignty of the kings of England over Scotland was "an essential part of the public law of Britain" cannot hold water. There was no more permanence in such a submission, if submission it can be called, than in the submission of Wessex to Offa of Mercia. Public law was not crystallised, and no one at the time would have dreamed of supposing that Scotland had placed itself permanently under the supremacy of England.

Edward was succeeded in 924 by Æthelstan, another great ruler and soldier. In his day the North sought to throw off its allegiance; and the Norsemen from Ireland, under a leader named Anlaf or Olaf, joined with the king of Scots and the people of Strathclyde to challenge the monarch who claimed to be king of all Britain. The forces of the allies were put to utter rout in the great fight at Brunanburh, which is probably to be placed some-

WESSEX KINGS OF ENGLAND



where to the north of the Solway. The battle is commemorated in a fine Saxon war-song—

Clave through the shield-wall the brood of King Edward,
 Hewed the war-linden with blades hammer-wrought ;
 Low lay the foe there, the Scots folk, the ship-folk,
 Death doomed they fell.
 Thick lay the heroes there scattered by javelins
 O'er the shield smitten, the men of the North,
 Folk too of Scotland weary, war-sated.
 Forth the West Saxons in warrior bands
 The live-long day
 Followed the feet of the folk of the foemen ;
 Hewed they the flying folk, thrust through their backs amain ;
 Sharp were their swords.
 Hard was the hand-play the Mercians refused not
 To one of the warriors wending with Anlaf.

Æthelstan's victory was complete, and his supremacy was not again challenged. Meagre as are the chroniclers, we can see how mighty a king he was in the eyes of contemporaries. One of his sisters married the king of the West Franks ; another married Hugh the Great, the father of Hugh Capet, whose dynasty displaced that of the descendants of Charlemagne. Another was the wife of Otto the Great, the restorer of the Holy Roman Empire, and two more were wedded to kings. It may be remarked in parenthesis that a sister of Edward the Elder and of the Lady of Mercia was the wife of Baldwin II. of Flanders and the ancestress of Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror.

Æthelstan's successor was his very much younger half-brother Edmund, called the "Deed-doer," who, boy though he was, had shared the glories of Brunanburh. But his life, ended by the dagger of an assassin, was too short to enable him to fulfil its promise. In his brief reign a northern insurrection necessitated the infliction of a sharp chastisement ; and it is recorded that he gave a portion of Strathclyde to Malcolm, King of Scots, "on condition that he should be his fellow-worker both on sea and on land," which looks much more like an alliance than a submission on the part of the Scottish king. It is exceedingly probable that about this time the Norsemen from the West (not the Danes of the Danelagh) had made themselves masters of Cumberland and Westmoreland, which are crowded with place-names of Norse not Danish origin, and that this Scottish alliance was made in order to check the danger from the Norsemen.

Edmund himself was not five and twenty when he was assassinated ; and his two small boys Edwy and Edgar were passed by in favour of the last of the sons of Edward the Elder, Eadred, who displayed the family capacity and vigour, and at last succeeded in bringing the turbulent Danes of Northumbria to submission. But his reign was little longer than his brother's ; and on his death Edwy, though only fifteen, was not a second time passed over. Edwy's story is obscure. The young king chose to

marry his cousin, a girl named Ælfgifu, he having fallen into the toils of her ambitious mother Æthelgifu, though the pair were not wedded till some time after Edwy's accession. Ugly stories were canvassed about the dame's influence on the boy, who kicked against the decent control of the counsellors, lay and clerical, in whom his uncles had trusted; as a boy very well might do who had fallen under the influence of a foolish and designing woman. Edwy played the prodigal, while his mother-in-law struck vindictively at her enemies. The result was that Northumbria was in a very short time in revolt, and elected the younger brother Edgar king.



A group of Saxon soldiers about A.D. 1000.

Edwy had to give way and submit to a division of the kingdom which allowed him to reign in Wessex. But five years after his accession he was dead and Edgar was lord of all England.

Both Edmund and Eadred had reposed much confidence in Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury, who was prominent among those who had set themselves against Æthelgifu. The chroniclers are all on the side of the clerics, and it is likely enough that the other party have not received fair play at their hands. But there is no warrant for assuming that their tale was a mere partisan clerical invention. The outcome of the whole disastrous business was that Dunstan, who had been exiled by Edwy, became Edgar's principal counsellor, and probably the real ruler of the kingdom. In 960 he became

Archbishop of Canterbury, and was primate and first minister for eighteen years.

Edgar himself ruled till 975, and his reign was a period of consistent prosperity ; he had no opportunities for displaying his capacities as a warrior. The most interesting traditions concerning him personally are that of his state procession on the river Dee, when his barge was rowed by eight vassal kings, and that which ascribes to him the creation of a great fleet of six hundred and forty sail which annually patrolled the seas from corner to

corner of the island.

The chroniclers concerned themselves rather with the ecclesiastical activities of Dunstan, who was an energetic reformer, and set himself to improving the morals of the clergy on the approved lines of enforcing celibacy and the general rigour of monastic discipline. Though Edgar had ruled all England for sixteen years he was but thirty when he died in 975. In spite of sundry imputations against his



Edgar making an offering.

[From a charter granted by the king in 966.]

morals the quiet which prevailed throughout his reign bears witness to his capacity ; for those were not days in which a feeble monarch had much chance of peace ; even his exceedingly capable uncles and father had had to fight hard to enforce their dominion.

No sooner was Edgar dead than troubles began. He was succeeded by Edward, his son by his first wife, a boy of thirteen ; but he left also Æthelred, a boy of seven, the son of his second wife Ælfthryth, who also survived him and was determined to place her boy on the throne. Within three years the young king was murdered by the retainers of Ælfthryth. In those three years dissension and disorganisation among the magnates had reached such a pitch that no attempt was made to avenge Edward's death, and his half-brother was immediately crowned, though miraculous properties were attributed to the body of the murdered king, who became known to posterity as Edward the Martyr.

Little enough cause had Æthelred to thank his mother for the crime which placed him on the throne and secured to the man "evil of counsel," the "Redeless," the "Unready," the execration of his contemporaries and the contempt of posterity. But it was not until he was grown up that the



ST. DUNSTAN, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

From a twelfth century MS. in the British Museum.

unhappy king proved himself the evil genius of his country. While he was a boy there was still a decent semblance of government ; but when he was old enough to choose his own advisers he always collected the worst available. Of Alfred a hundred years before it has been said that every word and every act of his seems to have been about the best that could have been said or done at the time. Æthelred invariably did the worst things that he could do. When the time demanded action he was passive ; but if an opportunity occurred for being destructively active he never missed it. *Quem deus vult perdere, prius dementat* ; it is as though Æthelred had been stricken with mental and moral blindness as the penalty for the crime which placed him on the throne. For eight and thirty years he was more or less king of England, and most of those years are a sort of nightmare.

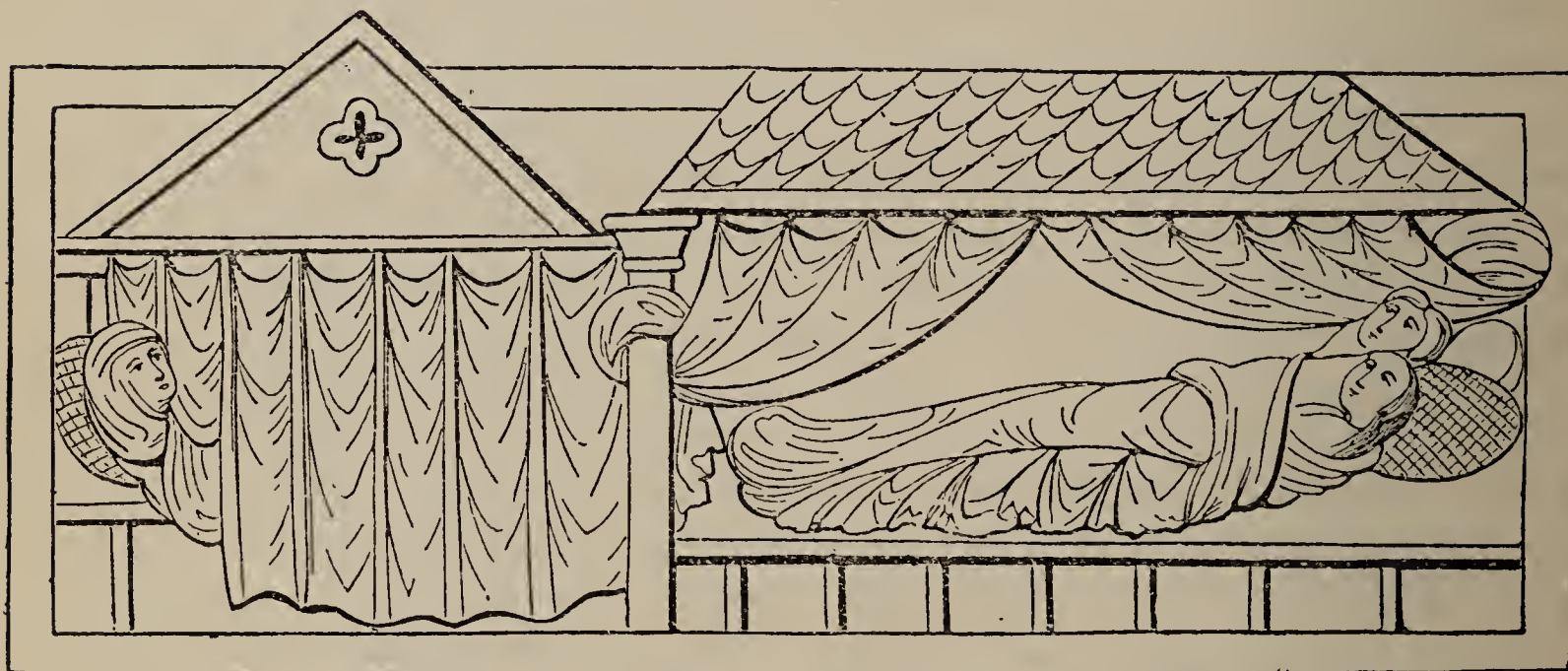
For after leaving England in peace for more than three-quarters of a century the Danes from overseas again began to trouble the land. Vikings who had attempted to harry England since the days of the Great Alfred had invariably received such severe lessons that they were in no haste to repeat their experiments. Now in 980 and the two following years raiders appeared on the coasts. Encouraged by success, they came again in 988. These appear, indeed, to have been merely movements as much Norse as Danish, emanating from Ireland. But enough had been done to make it known among the rovers that organised attack would no longer be met by organised national defence. In the first four years of the last decade of the century the coasts were repeatedly ravaged by the great Viking Olaf Tryggvesen, who was subsequently converted to Christianity and became king of Norway. When the Norsemen landed they found no one to face them but the militia or fyrd of the shire where they happened to make their descent, hastily summoned together, who fought against them now and again stoutly enough. Æthelred had already begun the disastrous practice of buying the raiders off, when Olaf found an ally in Sweyn, the son of Harald Bluetooth, King of Denmark. Their onslaught in 994 produced the second great payment of ransom ; and although there was now a brief interval, the story from 997 onwards is practically a record of perpetual invasions and occasional ransoms, each one larger than the last, diversified here and there by a stubborn fight and more frequently by ignominious disasters, brought about, according to the chronicler, by the flagrant treachery of one or another of Æthelred's favourites, among whom looms portentous the arch-traitor, Eadric Streona.

Perhaps of all Æthelred's performances the most outrageous was the massacre of the Danes upon St. Brice's Day in the year 1002. It is certainly impossible to accept the traditional assertion that a literal massacre of all the Danes in the kingdom was carried out by the orders of the king, but something of the kind certainly occurred in Wessex. The Danes in the Danelagh seem to have played their part quite as energetically as their neighbours in fighting the raiders. But the practical effect was to bring down Sweyn himself, now king of Denmark and of Norway as well, with the

whole Danish host. Still it was not till some years later that Sweyn seems to have made up his mind to eject or slay Æthelred and make himself king of England.

Meanwhile Æthelred's incompetence had been made more manifest than ever ; for though the extortion of a huge ransom in 1007 made him turn desperately to an attempt more or less successful to construct a large fleet, the fleet, when built, was so hopelessly mismanaged that it served no useful purpose whatever. At last in 1013, when Sweyn again came into the Humber with a mighty host, the Danes of the Danelagh made up their minds to offer him the crown of England. Sweyn marched through the country, Æthelred fled across the seas, and Sweyn was acknowledged king. But a few days later the Dane died suddenly, leaving his son Knut, popularly known as Canute, to claim the succession.

Then for a brief moment appeared on the scene a national hero,



An Anglo-Saxon bed and its appurtenances (about A.D. 1000).

[From Ælfric's paraphrase of Genesis.]

Edmund Ironside, Æthelred's son, a prince who seemed fitted to revive the older glories of his house. While the young Knut was making ready to enforce his claim, Æthelred returned, showing no sign of any intention of changing his old evil courses. Where Æthelred's direct influence could be felt Edmund could do nothing ; but the North was ready to follow a bold leader, having before yielded in sheer despair over Æthelred's incompetence. The South was helpless. Æthelred's death in 1016 came too late. Edmund made a splendid stand against Knut ; but sheer treachery brought about his defeat at the battle of Assandun. Even then Knut realised that with such an antagonist victory was by no means certain, and a treaty was made dividing the kingdom on the old lines of the treaty of Wedmore, though the southern portion of the Danelagh went to Edmund's share. But the heroic prince was not destined to be a second Alfred. The treaty had hardly been concluded when he died, being then but five and twenty, while his rival was only twenty-one. It was perhaps

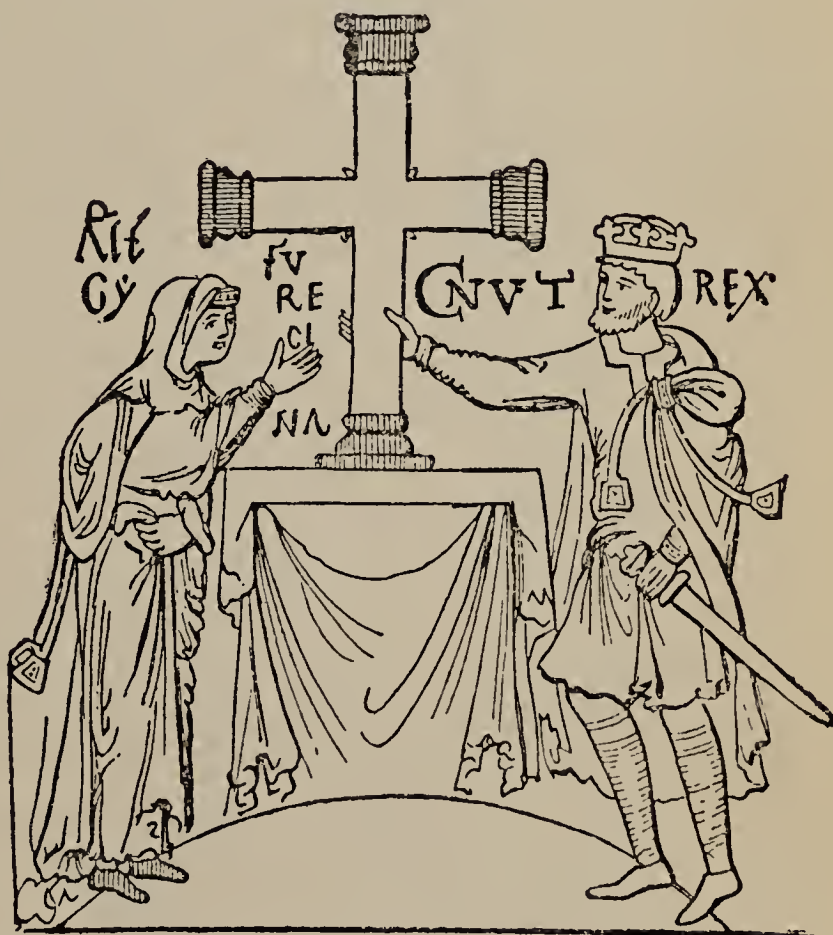
inevitable that Edmund's death should have been attributed to foul play on the part of Knut, who succeeded to the entire kingdom without opposition.

II

FROM KNUT TO THE CONQUEST

At the moment when Knut made himself king of England his character appeared to be that of a bloodthirsty and treacherous tyrant. His Christianity was exceedingly fresh, since his father, Sweyn, had been savagely hostile to a faith of which he had some superstitious dread. But once on the throne the young king curbed his barbaric instincts; only once in his later years did he allow anger to lead him to a foul crime, the sacrilegious murder of his cousin, Jarl Ulf. We may be in doubt how far his merits were due to policy and how far to a regenerate spirit, but their effect was entirely beneficial to England.

At the first Knut found an excuse for killing Edwy, the full brother of Edmund Ironside. He did not venture on the murder of Edmund's children whom he sent out of the country to Olaf, King of Sweden, who in turn passed the boys on to Stephen of Hungary, who brought them up. One of them became the father of Edgar the Atheling, of whom we shall hear again. Next, Knut married Emma of Normandy, the second wife and now the widow of Æthelred, although she was several years older than he. Possibly she may have learnt to detest Æthelred so thoroughly that she was willing to have the two sons she had borne to him overlooked; at any rate she left them to be bred up in Normandy, and accepted the hand of the Danish king of England on condition that if she had a son by him that son should be his heir. Knut had not succeeded to the Danish throne, as he had an elder brother, Harald; but Harald's early death made him king of Denmark as well as of England; and in the course of his reign he also recovered Norway, which his father had won from Olaf Tryggveson, but which had broken away from Harald, and was ruled by another not less famous Olaf "the Thick," a stout warrior and energetic Christian, who



Knut and Emma, his Queen.

[From Knut's Book of Grants.]

was ultimately canonised. Thus Knut was in his day the lord of a Scandinavian empire—the first king of England with a great continental dominion, though there were many after him. But, as happened often enough in early days, the empire depended upon the man who had made it, and broke up as soon as he himself was gone.

But Knut the politic meant England to be the basis of his empire ; and he resolved to depend not on a tributary state but on a loyal nation. Therefore after he had once made the weight of his hand and the firmness of his seat to be thoroughly felt, he set himself to the good governance of his realm. The traitors who had sought to curry favour with him by false dealing with Edmund met the stern doom they deserved. The king levied a tremendous ransom from the country in his first year ; but he used it to pay off the Danish host and sent it home, retaining only forty ships, whose crews provided his own *huscarles* or bodyguard. Nor did he rob his English subjects to provide land for his Danish followers, though for a very few of them he found sufficient provision in the forfeited estates of the traitors. As, in later days, Norman kings pledged themselves to observe the “good laws of King Edward the Confessor,” so Knut pledged himself to observe the good laws of King Edgar. But perhaps the most important change which he introduced was the principle of dividing the country into great earldoms, provinces much larger than the old ealdormanships. Although the smaller earldoms were not abolished, the four or five great earls were magnates with much more power than had even been possessed by single ealdorman. Especially notable among the new earls was Godwin, a Saxon of apparently obscure lineage, whom Knut wedded to a kinswoman of his own, and to whom he presently transferred the earldom of Wessex, which at first he had retained in his own hands.

Knut is the subject of much picturesque anecdote which is too familiar for repetition here. His rule was strong, firm, and just, and the country prospered ; but the events of most lasting importance connected with it belong also to the history of Scotland.

The Scots king, Kenneth, together with his kinsman, the king of Strathclyde, was in that crew of kings who rowed King Edgar on the Dee ; but his successor, Malcolm II., recognised no allegiance to Æthelred the Redeless. In one great raid upon Bernicia he had been beaten off with heavy loss, in 1006 ; but one of Knut’s early misdeeds was the slaying of Earl Uhtred of Northumbria, who had been the victor in that battle. In 1018 Malcolm again came down on Bernicia and won an overwhelming victory at Carham, the result of which was that Uhtred’s brother Eadwulf ceded to him all Lothian ; that is to say, Bernicia between the Tweed and the Forth ; and from this time the Tweed formed the Scottish border. That fact was not altered by a northern expedition of Knut’s, on which occasion Malcolm declined to fight and made submission, but retained Lothian. The submission, of course, counted precisely as long as a king of England was able to enforce it.

When Knut died in 1035, being even then not more than forty years of age, his empire went to pieces. Harthacnut, his son by Emma, became king of Denmark; two illegitimate sons, Sweyn and Harold, called Harefoot, whose mother was an English woman, became kings of Norway and England, respectively, though Harold's claim was disputed by Earl Godwin in favour of Harthacnut. Alfred, the younger son of Emma and Æthelred, came from Normandy to Wessex, which had just professed allegiance to Harthacnut; but there he was treacherously seized and blinded and shortly afterwards died, almost certainly with the connivance of Earl Godwin. But Harthacnut was too much engaged in a vain attempt to dispute Sweyn's position in Norway to assert his title in England; and Wessex presently recognised Harold.

Harold, of whom the chroniclers have nothing good to relate, died in 1040, and Harthacnut, after some negotiation, was accepted as king of England. But he lived to do evil for something less than two years. His half-brother Edward, the only surviving son of Æthelred and Emma, was elected king immediately upon the death of Harthacnut, while Denmark passed to the nephews of Knut.

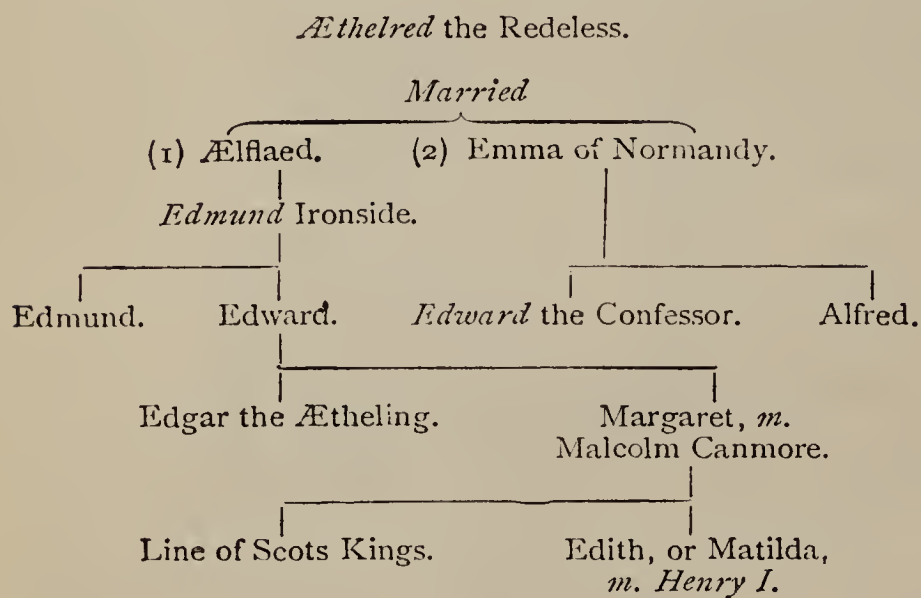
Edward had spent nearly the whole of his life in Normandy, and he loved all things Norman. Also he was a religious devotee. The pious endowment of the Church supplied his principal conception of the duties of kingship, the things of the world and of the flesh being all contemptible. His court became the home of Norman parasites, lay and ecclesiastical, on whom he bestowed honours and benefices with a lavish hand. The government of the country fell mainly to the three great earls, Godwin of Wessex, Leofric of Mercia, and the Danish Siward of Northumbria, who, in the North, stood comparatively remote from the intrigues and rivalries of the South. Of the three, Godwin, the former ally of the king's mother, had from the outset the most influence with the king himself, whom he persuaded to marry his daughter Edith, or, more correctly, Ealdgyth; who accepted the situation, although the marriage was merely nominal, the king having taken a vow of chastity. Also he obtained considerable though minor earldoms for his two eldest sons Sweyn and Harold. Had Harold been Godwin's



An English monarch of the 11th century.

only son the great earl would probably soon have ruled unchallenged ; but Sweyn and the third son Tostig were lawless ruffians, and Godwin would not cut them adrift. Sweyn got himself deservedly outlawed for carrying off the fair abbess of the nunnery at Leominster. He was apparently on the point of being recalled when he murdered Earl Beorn, who had opposed his inlawing ; to the intense disgust of Earl Harold. Even then Godwin was weak enough to sue for and obtain his eldest son's pardon. But his influence broke down over an ecclesiastical

THE LATER LINE OF ALFRED



quarrel with the king, when the earl persuaded the chapter of Canterbury to elect a kinsman of his own to the Archbishopric without consulting the king, who had chosen for that office the Norman Robert of Jumièges.

While the quarrel was in progress Eustace, Count of Boulogne, the king's brother-in-law, came to Dover on his way to visit Edward. A brawl broke out between the count's

retinue and the Dover folk, with the result that after some sharp fighting the count and his party were ejected. Eustace appealed to Edward, who promptly ordered Godwin to inflict condign punishment on the people of Dover. Edward's predilection for foreigners was bitterly resented, and Godwin refused flatly. Practically he defied the king, but he soon found that defiance was premature ; that the North was against him, and even Wessex was half-hearted. The result was that he and his sons, who had been prepared to stand by their father at all costs, took to flight to Flanders or Ireland and were outlawed.

It was soon evident that the fall of Godwin in 1051 meant the triumph of the king's foreign favourites, though Harold's earldom was given to Ælfgar, son of Leofric. It was at this time that the young Duke William of Normandy visited England and, according to his own statement, was promised the succession by King Edward. But Godwin's eclipse was only temporary. In 1052 he and his sons returned to the coast of Wessex and found the country disposed to rise in their support. The king would not fight, though he might have done so ; and while negotiations were pending there was a rapid and somewhat ignominious exodus of the aliens.

It was no part of Godwin's policy to press his advantage unduly. His pose was that of the true patriot ; and he made no attempt to injure his rivals. He did not even seek once more to restore Sweyn, who never returned to England. But from this time forth Godwin himself, and after him his son Harold, held supreme influence with the king. In fact Godwin sur-

vived his success only a few months. For thirteen years Harold was the king's chief minister, making it his aim to avoid friction with the two great houses of Leofric and Siward. On succeeding to the earldom of Wessex he allowed Ælfgar to be reinstated in his own previous earldom of East Anglia, which had been transferred to Leofric's son during the eclipse of the house of Godwin.

These years are of special interest in Scotland, because it was about this time that Malcolm Canmore, the son of King Duncan, recovered the Scottish throne by overthrowing Macbeth. All the kings of Scotland since Malcolm himself and all the kings of England since the accession of Henry II. descend from Malcolm and his English wife Margaret, the grandchild of Edmund Ironside. The historical facts do not bear much resemblance to the story which Shakespeare extracted from Holinshed. King Malcolm II., the victor of Carham, was a vigorous ruler, who was resolved that his grandson Duncan, who had already succeeded to the kingdom of Strathclyde, should succeed him also on the Scottish throne in accordance with the custom of most civilised nations; whereas, according to the Pictish custom, Duncan was outside the Scottish succession, and the heir of the Scottish throne was the infant son not of Macbeth himself, but of his wife Gruach, who was a widow when he married her. In the interests of the infant, Macbeth challenged Duncan's succession, killed him, very possibly in fair fight, and then held the throne nominally on behalf of his step-child. Duncan himself was but a young man; his infant children, Malcolm and Donalbain, were carried out of the kingdom and placed in charge of Earl Siward of Northumbria, whose daughter had been Duncan's queen. Malcolm abode with his grandfather for fourteen years; and then in 1054 Siward and his sons marched into Scotland with the youth to overthrow Macbeth, who was defeated but not overthrown at the battle of Dunsinane. It was not till three years later that Malcolm succeeded in killing him at the battle of Lumphanan.

If we reckon old Siward the Dane as an Englishman we may say that Malcolm was half Celt and half English; in fact he was half Celt and half Dane, for Siward was pure Dane. But Malcolm, owing to his training, was more a Northumbrian than a Scot; he married a princess of the house of Wessex; and, consequently, hereafter we find Scottish Northumbria or Lothian becoming the real seat of power of the house of Malcolm, while the Anglo-Danish element in the northern kingdom is politically predominant. But Malcolm himself left to posterity a nickname which was not Saxon but Gaelic, Ceanmohr, corrupted into Canmore, "Big-head."



Seal of Edward the Confessor.

Siward's death a year after the battle of Dunsinane wrought trouble in England, for King Edward made Harold's brother Tostig Earl of Northumbria instead of Waltheof, the son of Siward's old age. It is fairly obvious that Harold himself was always anxious to effect a reconciliation between his own house and that of Leofric of Mercia, but there was no love lost between the two families; and Ælfgar, Earl of East Anglia, Leofric's son, opposed the bestowal of Northumbria on Tostig. For no adequate reason assigned, he was outlawed immediately afterwards, though

no attack was made on Leofric himself, whose wife was the famous Lady Godiva. Ælfgar went off to Ireland, whence he started to play the Viking, and then joined forces with King Griffith of North Wales; and together they proceeded to harry the marches. Harold had to hurry to the West, where he offered peace and pardon to Ælfgar; the offer was accepted, so there was once more peace between the houses of Leofric and Godwin. After that Harold and Leofric between them brought King Griffith to submission, and made him take an oath of loyalty as Edward's



Taking toll for merchandise.
[From a Saxon Psalter.]

vassal, which had the usual value. Next year Leofric died, and Ælfgar succeeded to the Mercian earldom, while East Anglia with a portion of Wessex, surrendered by Harold himself, provided earldoms for two of Harold's brothers.

Then came a new quarrel in 1058 between Ælfgar and Harold; Ælfgar was again outlawed, returned to his alliance with Griffith of Wales, and gave him his daughter Ealdgyth in marriage. Again Harold offered him pardon and peace, and he was restored to his earldom; and again Harold turned to chastise Griffith, who in 1063 was killed by his own people. Two years later Harold endeavoured to cement his own alliance with the house of Leofric, then represented by Edwin and Morkere, the sons of Leofric, by marrying their sister Ealdgyth, the widow of the Welsh king. Ælfgar himself had died in the interval and was succeeded in Mercia by his elder son Edwin.

In the interval also, probably in 1064, occurred Harold's involuntary and disastrous visit to Normandy. For some reason unknown he had taken ship, and was wrecked on the territory of Guy of Ponthieu, a vassal of William Duke of Normandy. William made Guy hand over his captive, and then, as a condition of release, required that Harold should take the oath of allegiance to him and should swear to do his best to secure him the succession to the English throne. With death or permanent captivity

in a dungeon as the probable alternatives, Harold took the oath, which, according to tradition, was made the more awful by having been unconsciously sworn upon sundry particularly sacred relics. Seeing that the election of the king of England lay entirely with the Witan, the extent of the obligation involved is problematical, even apart from the question whether oaths taken under such circumstances are to be held binding. At any rate William or his supporters felt it necessary to make a great point of the peculiar sanctity which had been imparted to the oath by the trick of concealing the sacred relics from Harold when he took it.

Having taken the oath, whatever it was worth, Harold returned to England to find that his brother Tostig had been so playing the tyrant in Northumbria that the folk of that earldom drove him out and elected in his place Morkere, the younger son of Ælfgar, and brother of Edwin now Earl of Mercia. Harold refused to back up his ill-conditioned brother, as he had refused to back up Sweyn; Tostig was dismissed into exile, and Morkere was confirmed in the earldom of Northumbria. Finally Harold, as already noted, married Ealdgyth, the sister of the two Leofricsons. For the third time he had the opportunity of crushing the rival house, which, technically at least, was guilty of fomenting rebellion; and for the third time he chose to seek instead peace and reconciliation.

But now King Edward himself was dying. The one Englishman manifestly fit to succeed him on the English throne was Earl Harold. The sole representative of the blood royal was young Edgar the Ætheling, whose father, Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, had returned with him from Hungary to England some years before, only to die himself within a few months. The whole principle of succession had been turned upside down by the interlude of the Danish kings; and the Witan no longer felt itself bound to choose the one representative of the house of Cerdic when it was obvious that a strong

man was needed on the throne and the Ætheling was a mere boy. Whatever promises Edward the Confessor may have made to William, he undoubtedly himself nominated Harold as his successor. The day after Edward's death Harold was unanimously elected by the Witan, and was crowned by the Archbishop of York, because there were doubts as to the validity of the position of Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

But, if there was no direct opposition in England, Harold had to reckon with the jealousy of the young earls of the North, and with at least three possible claimants on the continent. There was no doubt at all that the



From an Anglo-Saxon Psalter.



A Saxon slinger.

Duke of Normandy would strike for the crown of England, although he had no conceivable title except the alleged promises of Edward the Confessor and Harold, neither of whom had any power of bestowing the crown whatever. Then there was Sweyn of Denmark, Knut's nephew; and there was at least a possibility that Harald Hardraada of Norway might grasp at a crown which rested so insecurely on its wearer's head. Harold himself was king by election only, without any hereditary title; and he had nothing to trust to but his own abilities and the loyalty of the nation to his



The King upon his throne.

[From an 11th century Book of Prayers.]

person. The Danelagh was quite as likely as not to declare for the king of Denmark if once the question were seriously raised; and in the meantime the exiled Tostig was intriguing on all sides against the brother who had allowed him to be banished for his crimes.

Harold threw himself vigorously into the work of organisation in right kingly wise, and of preparations for naval defence. No less energetic was the Duke of Normandy, who gathered to his standard by degrees not only all his own vassals, but every adventurous baron and knight in

Western Europe who could be enticed by promises of land and loot. Also he took care to obtain the blessing of the Pope on an expedition directed against the perjured blasphemer who occupied the throne of England, and who was, moreover, in league with an Archbishop of Canterbury whose appointment in the Pope's eyes had been uncanonical. For Stigand had obtained the archiepiscopal pallium from a Pope who had been ejected from the chair of St. Peter and was not recognised by his successors. Sweyn of Denmark looked on, but hesitated to act. Tostig tried some raiding in Northumbria on his own account, but was driven off by Edwin and Morkere; whereupon he sailed north and presently joined forces with Harald of Norway, who had taken the seas with a great fleet.

Meanwhile Harold the king had manned his fleet in the South, waiting and watching for the imminent attack of the Norman duke. But the winds blew out of the North and the Norman did not start. The supplies of the fleet ran short, the ships were becoming damaged, and at last when Harold

had to send them round to the Thames to refit, they were caught in a gale and so badly battered as to be useless. At this moment came news from the North that Harald Hardraada was on the coast. With all the forces he could gather on the way and the best of his Wessex troops, Harold dashed to York, where he found that Hardraada and Tostig had already routed Edwin and Morkere and the levies of their earldoms. At Stamford Bridge, a few miles from York, he brought the Norsemen to bay; and there was fought a desperate battle, in which Hardraada and Tostig were both slain and the Norsemen were put utterly to rout. The Norse Chronicle is magnificent but wildly imaginative in its account of the great fight; the



Plan of the battle of Senlac and the surrounding country.

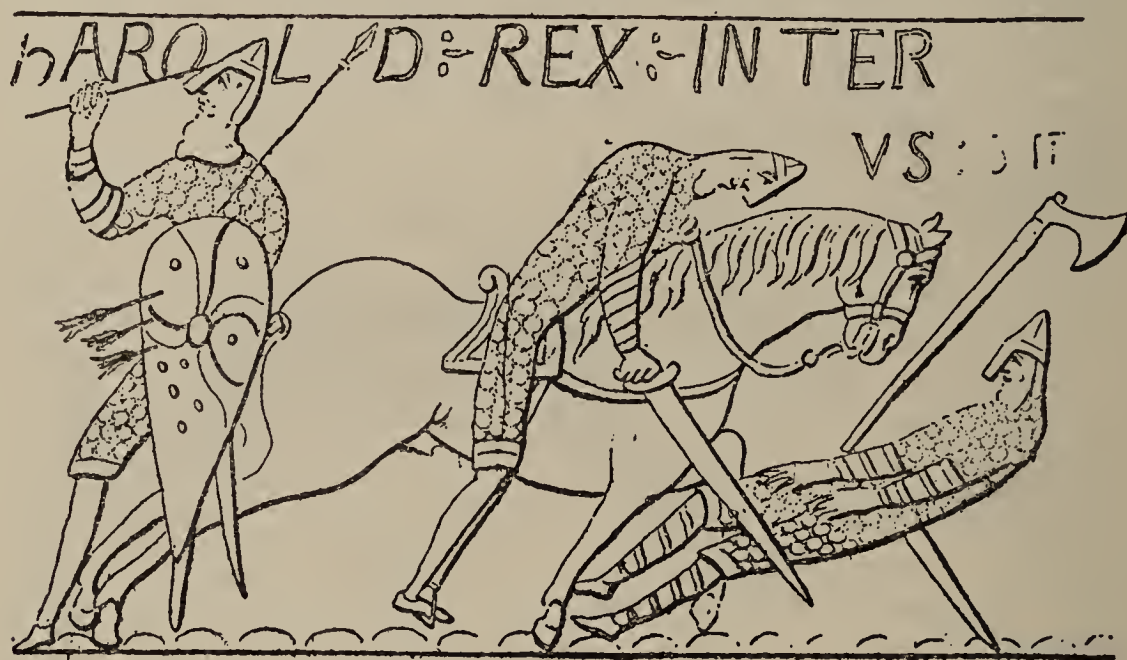
[From Creasy's "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World."]

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells how at the last a single mighty Norseman held the bridge while his comrades retreated, until he was thrust through from a boat below.

The danger from Norway was over, but meanwhile the winds had changed. The Norman had put to sea, and within a week of the great fight of Stamford Bridge the news reached Harold of his landing at Pevensey. South again raced Harold at full speed, reaching London upon the tenth day after the fight, far faster than Edwin and Morkere could move with the Northern levies, whether they were loyal or not, considering how they had already suffered at the hands of the Norsemen. With all speed Harold collected whatever troops he could draw together and hurried down to Sussex, where the Norman was wasting the land; resolved to give battle rather than follow the more prudent policy of devastating

the land before him and forcing William to pursue him and fight at a disadvantage.

He took his stand on the hill of Senlac, lining the whole ridge. On the morrow William attempted to storm his position by direct frontal attack, since a flank movement was not practicable. The foot soldiers could not break the line; then William hurled his mailed horsemen against the English shield wall. The English held their ground. The horsemen on the left wing broke and swept back down the slope, the half drilled English burst from their lines and rushed in pursuit. William saw his opportunity, flung another detachment of cavalry upon the pursuers, and broke in upon the now unguarded flank. But still the English held their ground against charge after charge, till at last the Normans on the right fell back in feigned flight. The English thought the victory was won,



Senlac : Harold receives an arrow in his eye and dies.

[From the Bayeux Tapestry.]

and poured down upon them, except the valiant disciplined body of Harold's huscarles, who still stood in their ranks. The rest had no chance when the Normans turned and charged again upon them. The huscarles fought on stubbornly against odds now overwhelming, till William brought forward his archers, bidding them shoot so that their arrows should drop from above upon the stubborn Saxons. Harold's eye, says tradition, was pierced by an arrow; but he, his brothers, and the huscarles fought and fell to the last man round the royal standard. So perished the last English king of the old English.

III

THE ANGLO-SAXON SYSTEM

In reconstructing the early social and political system of the English we have to find bridges whereby we can connect what we know of the primitive Germans with what we know of the Saxons from the legal codes

which have been preserved and by historical references from which definite inferences can be drawn.

Now, at the stage when we have clear and trustworthy indications of an established system in England, which is not until after the establishment of Christianity, we find in the first place that kingship is universal, that the kingly office is hereditary, but that the succession invariably leaves a certain right of choice exercised by a council known as the Witan or Witenagemot. Usually the choice lies among sons and brothers of the deceased king; but it appears to have been considered legitimate on sufficient grounds to go further afield among those who could claim to represent the blood royal. It was a matter of primary necessity that the king should be himself a reasonably competent person, and obviously inefficient candidates were necessarily excluded. Thus Alfred succeeded Æthelred in Essex, although Æthelred left two young sons, and Eadred was preferred before the sons of Edmund.

In the next place we find a nobility, not limited to a few families of high descent, though these appear to have formed an element in it, but entered primarily as a reward of service; though rank once attained tended to remain with the descendants. This aristocracy falls into two ranks, in which, theoretically, descent, except in the royal family, is not concerned—the king's lieutenants or ealdormen, along with the bishops, and the *thegnhood*, who may be called the gentry. Below these were the great mass of the free *ceorls*, who held the greater part of the soil; and at the bottom of the scale were the actual *theows* or slaves, few in number in the East, but comparatively numerous on the Welsh marches, from which, incidentally, it may be inferred that in the later stages of conquest, immediately preceding the introduction of Christianity or accompanying it, the Britons were enslaved rather than extirpated.

The constitution of the King's Council or Witan is much debated, as also are its powers. It is quite clear that the Witan, whatever its constitution, did control the succession and choose the new ruler on the demise of the king. It is also clear that whenever a king promulgated laws the code was prefaced by statement that it was issued after consultation with and approval of the Witan. We may be confident that no king would venture to introduce marked innovations without first securing the acquiescence of that body. The Witan, which was thus formally consulted, seems generally to have consisted of the bishops and ealdormen *ex officio*, and some other nominated members. On the other hand, when the Witan assembled to make choice of a king it would appear that the freemen at large were entitled to put in an appearance and take their share in the proceedings. In fact it looks as if the king under ordinary circumstances acted on his own responsibility, but in questionable matters disarmed possible opposition by taking the council, so to speak, into partnership and securing the agreement of the magnates of the realm; while the magnates, when the king died, in their turn took the freemen into partnership by admitting them

to ratify the choice of the new monarch. On these occasions the Witan stands as a survival of the ancient assembly of the *tribe in arms*; though, as a matter of fact, it had degenerated into an assembly of the magnates and the free population in the neighbourhood where the assembly was held.

In all this we can see an absolutely plain evolution from the ancient tribal system as depicted by Tacitus. When joint action was undertaken by the tribes, the war-lord was chosen by the tribal assembly; and the elected war-lord developed by degrees into the hereditary monarch. The war-lord had his council of the heads of the clans or great family groups within the tribe, who, in the later stage, were displaced by the ealdormen, who were the heads not of clans but of districts, as clan organisation yielded to district organisation; and the organisation of the Church involved the



The King presiding over the Witan.

[From an 11th century MS. illumination.]

admission of the ecclesiastical heads to this group. Schemes of primary importance were submitted for ratification to the tribal assembly, which normally merely signified its acquiescence by the clashing of arms, but was capable of expressing a disapprobation of which judicious leaders would take due heed. But expansion meant that the tribal assembly expanded also into a national assembly, which was unwieldy and impracticable. It was entirely undesirable that the freemen should be expected or indeed should be willing to gather from all parts of the country to attend such an assembly; so for ordinary purposes the national assembly ceased to exist, because no one except the magnates would take the trouble to attend it, and it survived only in a very mutilated form for royal elections and not much besides.

Now the primitive organisation was definitely tribal, resting on kinship, having as its basis the family, rising to the group of families forming the clan, the group of clans forming the tribe, and the group of tribes forming what for want of a better term we must call the nation. Where a tribe

migrated bodily the tribal system would remain in full force. When it took possession of its new territory it occupied the soil in groups of households who were all closely akin to each other ; and the aristocracy—those, that is, who enjoyed a general prestige, formed the inner council, and provided the war-lords—were the chief families of the clans, the families which were regarded as most directly representing the real or hypothetical common ancestor. But migration was not necessarily a tribal act. It might be merely the movement of a restless group of adventurers who, as volunteers, joined the standard of a leader bent on roving exploits. In such cases the tribal or clan system would break down, and kinship would be only the occasional, not the invariable, basis of the settlements of the conquered country ; while prestige would attach not to the hereditary clan chiefs, but to the warriors who achieved distinction and who were admitted to the personal companionship of the war-lord, his “comrades” (*gesiths*) and “servants” (*thegns*). The English invasion partook of both characters. The hosts were sometimes mixed bands of adventurers, and were sometimes tribal ; while even the mixed bands might sometimes comprise whole clans or substantial groups of kinsfolk.

Consequently on the new soil it would be natural to find both principles at work, and that expectation seems to be in full accordance with the state of things which emerges when the conquest is completed. Place names repeatedly mark obvious groups of kinsfolk, family names, as in practically all cases such as Billington, Wellington, and the like, where the suffix *ing* is to be found ; but in other places the *ham*, *tun*, or *wick* has a personal name which rather implies that the settlement was not that of a family group.

And in like manner the local magnates, though occasionally claiming high descent, had generally lost the character of clan-chiefs. The clan-chiefs had been displaced by the king’s thegns, the men whom the war-lord had honoured, or their descendants. The ealdorman appointed by the king to represent him in the provinces as his territory expanded was no longer an ealdorman in right of his position in the clan but in right of appointment as a minister of the state ; and his position was not hereditary, though there was an inevitable tendency to the retention of the office in the same family whenever it was capable of providing a competent successor. As kingdoms grew they were parcelled out into districts which, in Wessex, were called shires, each under the king’s representative, the ealdorman, and the king’s shire-reeve or bailiff, who was primarily concerned with the king’s financial business. There is good ground for holding that the Wessex shires corresponded to the minor principalities which were absorbed by the king of Wessex. The ealdorman was a sort of lieutenant-governor and commander of the military forces of the shire, while the reeve was the king’s financial agent and at the same time a sort of vice-lieutenant-governor. At a later stage, when the ealdorman became the earl and in Latin the *comes*, the sheriff was in Latin the *vice-comes*.

State policy, war, peace, and legislation belonged to the king and the council. Legislation, however, was not, as in modern times, a matter habitually engaging the central government. The law meant established customs, conditions, and conventions. Conditions changed slowly, and legislation meant merely the adaptation of customs to changed conditions; therefore it was very rarely required. When Christianity was introduced Æthelbert of Kent had to modify the existing code so that it might square with Christian ideas. Again variations of custom were introduced locally, so that from time to time it became necessary to codify customs and impose a degree of uniformity. Hence come the codes or "dooms" of successive kings; and when such codes were issued the kings took the opportunity of



The King and his Thengs.

[From a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.]

introducing such modifications of their own as were likely to be generally approved. Such almost exclusively was the character of legislation under the Saxon kings.

Apart from high policy and legislation the business of government lay with the local authority, and the local authority was the local assembly of freemen. The local unit was the *tun* or township, the village, the group of households whose members occupied the surrounding land, and settled such of their affairs as required settlement in the town's meeting. The townships were grouped in *hundreds*, a term which probably originated in days when the normal village contained ten households or thereabouts, and ten villages or thereabouts, making up approximately a hundred households, were grouped together for military purposes and for the common settlement of their affairs. So the freemen of the hundred assembled periodically in the hundred-moot to arrange common action and administer justice. Similarly, to deal with the larger matters whereby the whole district or shire was

affected, the freemen of the shire gathered periodically to the shiremoot to perform functions which had originally been discharged by the tribal assembly.

Justice was administered in these "folk-moots" or popular meetings, each under the presidency of its reeve—town-reeve, hundred-reeve, or shire-reeve. Primarily it appears that the whole body were judges. At a later stage, when the number of households in the hundred had very much increased, a kind of representation took the place of the general assembly of all freemen. The principal landholders were expected to attend, and from each township the parish priest, the reeve, and the four "best men," as well as those who were personally concerned in any questions arising. Further, it seems to have become customary for a sort of committee of twelve to act as judges in place of the whole body; and probably it is to this custom, already established by the time of Alfred, that we must attribute the tradition that Alfred himself invented Trial by Jury. On the other hand, it is also likely, though not certain, that the prestige attaching to the person of the reeve of the court gave him a practical authority, which gradually made him in effect a superior magistrate; and that out of the jurisdiction thus acquired by him grew the jurisdiction of the lord of the manor.

The "dooms" of the kings are mainly concerned with crimes of violence, or at least injury to person or property. The penalty was habitually in the form of a fine—the *weregild* payable as compensation to the injured person or his relations by the wrong-doer or his kinsmen, and the *wite* payable to the crown. By the end of the ninth century the amount of the fine was assessed precisely according to the rank of the injured person, and there was an elaborate scale of payments according to the injury. Thus the ordinary free ceorl got more compensation for the loss of an eye than for an injury to his hand; but the thegn got bigger compensation than the ceorl for a like injury. As a general principle the wrong-doer was personally responsible for paying a proportion of the fine, and his kinsmen were responsible for seeing that the balance was paid, the Saxon



Saxon tower of Sompting Church, Sussex.

system, as already noted, being primarily based on the idea of kinship. But the system of kinship did not apply universally to all settlements even at the outset, and did so less and less as time went on ; hence, at a later stage, the joint responsibility of the kinsfolk gave place to the joint responsibility of the district or group of householders which formed a *tithing*. The whole system of the weregild appears to have been invented in order to get rid of the old system of the blood feud. When, under primitive conditions, one member of a kinship, called a *maegth*, was injured, the whole family took the matter up and avenged it on the *maegth* to which the injurer belonged, and so retaliation was endless. The point of the weregild was that, when the fine had been paid, the feud was ended and further retaliation was not regarded as justifiable, but became, as it were, a breach of the king's peace. Here, again, what Alfred and his successors did was to systematise the conflicting practices which had grown up in different parts of their realm.

There is perhaps nothing in which our modern ideas stand in more marked contrast to those of early times than the administration of justice. For us the point of first importance is that no man shall suffer if there is any reasonable shadow of a doubt of his guilt. In the medieval view it was more important that the crime should somehow be punished than that the innocent should escape ; hence the doctrines of common local or family responsibility. But still more curious is the change in the conception of evidence ; our insistence on positive proof is so marked that merely circumstantial evidence has to be extraordinarily strong before it is allowed to carry weight. But apart from cases where the criminal was taken practically red-handed, the evidence which satisfied our forefathers was hard swearing not so much to facts as to character. The accused, when the evidence as to facts was not obviously conclusive, was held guilty unless he could support his own oath of innocence by producing substantial "witnesses" to his character ; and the value of their oaths was assessed according to their social position. The final appeal of the accused was to the justice of Heaven, the "ordeal" which found its later counterpart among the Normans in the Wager of Battle on the hypothesis that God would defend the right and give victory to the innocent. For anything like our modern sifting of evidence there was no machinery whatever.

The whole system of land settlement and land tenure is a matter of much controversy. The primary type of settlement with which we must start is that of the group of households planted together and forming a *tun* or township. To the township was allotted a sufficient area of land, of which only a part was at once taken up for cultivation and meadow land, while the remainder was waste land and common property. The land brought under cultivation was allotted to the different households in strips of an acre or half an acre, each household originally receiving altogether a hide of a hundred and twenty acres ; that is usually one hundred and twenty strips, for the half acre was probably a later subdivision. But the strips of each household were not contiguous. Supposing there were ten households,

each household had one strip in each group of ten strips, the strips being separated merely by balks or ridges. They were worked in common by the labour and the plough-teams of the whole community, though each household took the produce of its own strips. This is what is called the Open Field System.

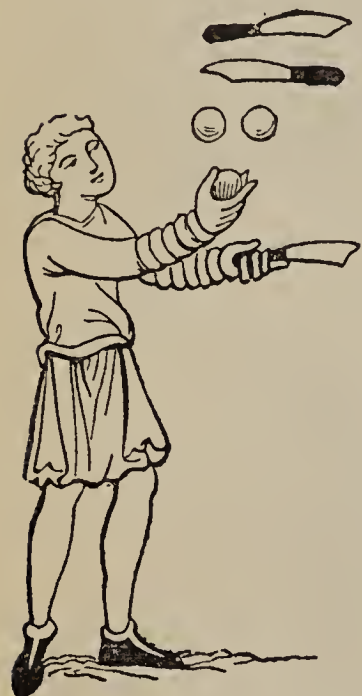
As far as this system is concerned, the expansion of the population would find its needs met partly by taking in more of the waste land and partly by the planting of new settlements, since for some centuries there was much more land available than could be brought under the plough. But individuals were also allotted more than a single equal share—more than the individual household could work. In the later stages the possession of five hides of land entitled a man to claim rank as a thegn. Moreover, whole



A Saxon banquet at a round table.

estates were allotted to the king, which he, in his turn, could bestow upon others, or could apply to ecclesiastical endowment. How were these larger estates worked, unless a large subject population had been preserved which was set to labour upon them in a more or less servile character? The difficulty of believing that any large proportion of Britons was thus preserved, except on the Welsh marches, has already been dwelt upon; although there is strong reason for supposing that the class in Kent called *laets* did fall under this category. The riddle in fact is not solved. But it seems reasonable to suppose that where a large estate was granted there would be many members of large households who would be willing to become in a way tenants of the great landholder in preference to accumulating upon their own household "hide." The thegn, therefore, would plant his estate with workers, dividing it up among them in the same way as in the free-land community, but reserving to himself a share of the strips, the occupiers of the rest holding their strips on condition of cultivating his strips for him.

Whether or no this be on the whole a correct account of the course of development, what we do find in the later times is that in most villages, though not in all, the villagers were bound, according to the size of their holdings, to render a fixed amount of service in cultivating the lands of the lord, the tenure of their own holdings being conditional only on the rendering of this service. The enormous majority of these occupiers of the soil did not forfeit their political freedom and their political rights merely because they held their land on condition of service ; and they remained in their



A Saxon gleeman, 11th century.

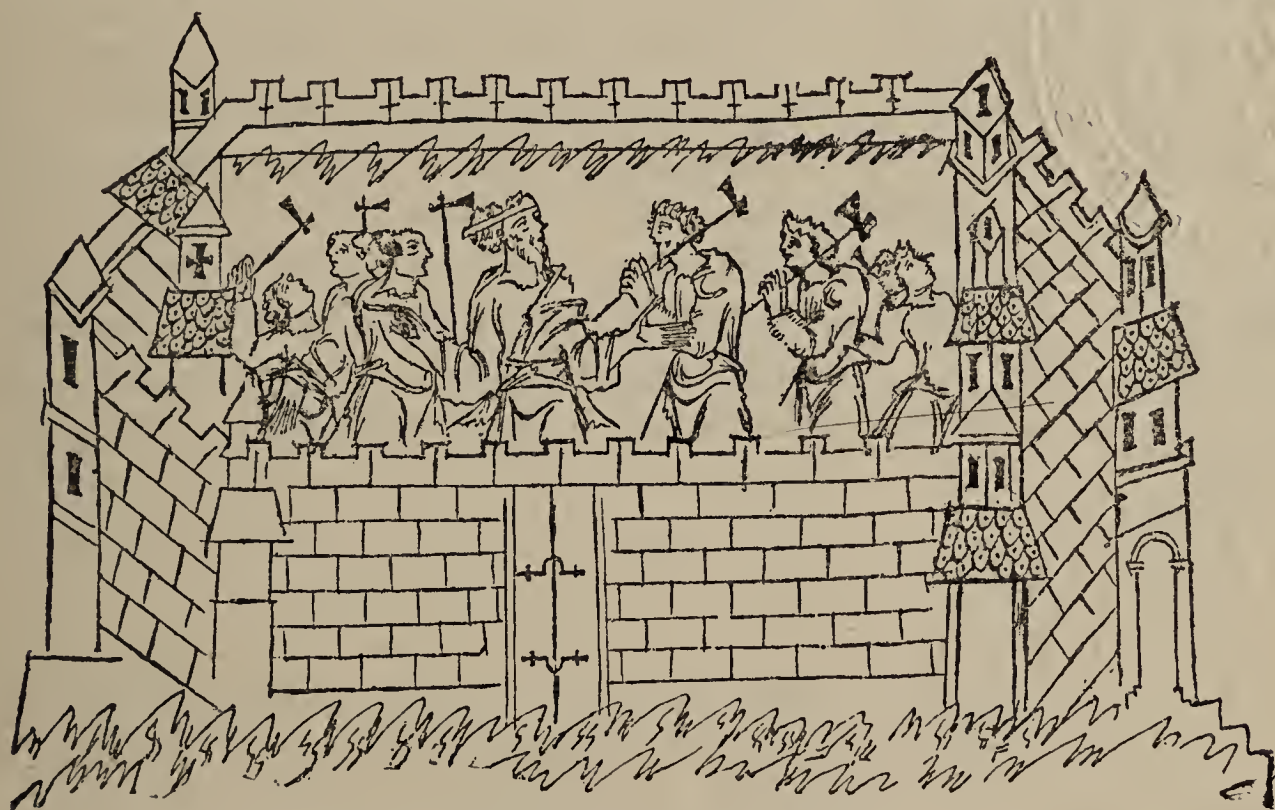
own eyes and in those of every one else free ceorls. The expansion of households and the movements of population also led to the subdivision of the original hide, so that by the eleventh century at least the ceorl's normal holding was thirty acres. It must be added that there was also an actually servile population—to be accounted for partly by slaves originally brought with them by the invaders, partly by descent from the Briton women who were spared, and partly by captives taken in early wars between the English themselves and between English and Britons. Actual slaves, however, never formed more than a small proportion of the population.

Broadly speaking, then, we have these divisions : thegns and great landowners who held estates which were partly demesne lands—that is, reserved to themselves—and were partly occupied by tenants who had to cultivate the

demesne land and also, as a rule, to make some sort of payment in kind—fowls or pigs or grain. Next there were the free ceorls who had no great estates, but occupied their holdings under the original free tenure, owing service to no man. Next there were the free ceorls who occupied their holdings on condition of service to the lord—holdings which might be anything from five acres or even less up to one hundred and twenty, but were most commonly either thirty or fifteen acres. And last there were the theows or the serfs who, if they had a plot of land at all, held it merely by grace of their owner. Land which any one had acquired by grant or written agreement was known as *boc-land* ; while land which was held simply by customary tenure was known as *folc-land*.

The village aimed at being self-sufficing—at producing for itself all that its inhabitants required. Commerce consisted practically in the exchange of superfluities for goods of which there happened to be a deficiency. Each village supplied its own necessary artisans—the smith, the thatcher, or the carpenter—who was paid primarily not for the job, but for doing whatever turned up to be done in the village, by having a holding allotted to him, or being freed from his share in the common work of tillage, a system which gradually gave way to payment by the job. Payment was ordinarily made in kind, since there was very little money available, just as commerce was conducted by barter, not by money pay-

ments. In the same way when the lord wanted extra work done which was not in the bargain he made payments in kind to the workmen, which were only beginning to be to a small extent replaced by payments in cash in the eleventh century. Towns in the modern sense, large aggregates of populations mainly taken up with the business of making and exchanging goods, had hardly come into existence, though there were a few places like London which formed exceptions to the rule. Here and there where traffic accumulated, as at bridges and fords, cross roads and shrines to which pilgrims congregated, there were larger communities; and when in the days of Alfred and his sons fortified points were established either for strategic reasons or for the protection of places which had already acquired some importance, there the population tended to increase, attracted by the



The old English burh, or fortified place.

[From a MS. in the Bodleian Library.]

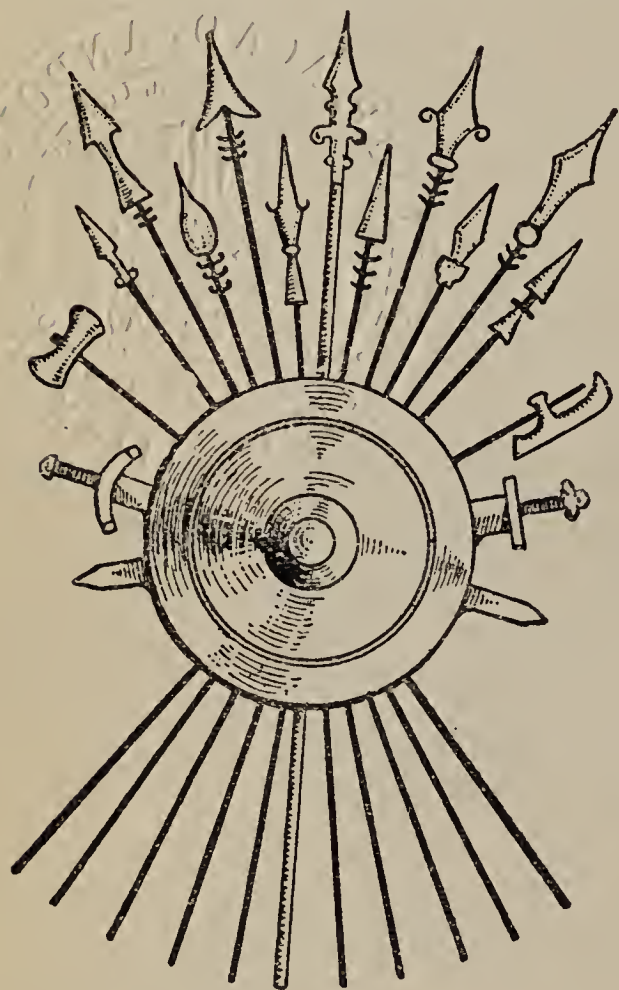
greater security. Hence the borough of later days got its name from having been at first a *burh* or fortified place. But the population even of the borough was mainly occupied with agriculture; and in the days of the English conquest the mere idea of a town was so foreign to English conceptions that practically all the towns which had grown up during the Roman occupation were not preserved by the conquerors, but were destroyed and not rebuilt.

The English had the character of sea-rovers like the Northmen after them, when they first invaded Britain. But they ceased to pay attention to the sea. Not being in any sense commercially minded, they sought no intercourse with the peoples across the channel; and they only began to be seamen again when King Alfred perceived that a strong navy provides the most effective defence for an island. In fact, until the Danish incursions, the idea of national defence hardly presented itself. When a king went to war with his neighbour he called the freemen in general to arms, all

freemen being liable to serve in the *fyrð*, the fyrð being summoned by shires which, probably in Wessex where the system arose, originally corresponded to sub-kingdoms. When the fyrð was summoned, the ceorl put on his armour and marched to the field with his sword on his thigh, and probably with his scythe fixed endwise on a pole. Hence the bill of later days was merely an adaptation of the scythe transformed into a spear. When the fighting was over he went home and turned his bill into a scythe again. And he always objected to being summoned anywhere outside his

own shire. Alfred reorganised the fyrð, so that only a portion of the freemen were summoned at one time, and the ordinary agricultural operations could still be carried on while the force was in the field.

Saxon and Dane alike fought on foot; but the Danes taught the English the advantage of preparing entrenched and palisaded positions. In 871, the "year of battles," the Danes saved themselves from destruction by falling back to their entrenchments when defeated in the field, and against their palisades the Saxon hurled himself in vain. It was in imitation of the Danes that Alfred and his offspring created the fortified posts into which garrisons could be thrown, as it was from the Danes that Alfred learned to build improved ships of war. The Danes were also made formidable through their appreciation of the usefulness of rapid movement. They made it their first business on landing to sweep



Anglo-Saxon spears, &c.

in every horse they could lay hands on. But they used horses for transit not for fighting; possibly for pursuit and flight, but not for charging in the field. The incapacity of the English in general for grasping the uses of cavalry were largely responsible for the overthrow at Hastings. They had no cavalry, and the only way to pursue a flying foe was to break their own line and rush forward from behind their shield-wall or palisade;—authorities are not in agreement as to whether their position at Hastings was actually palisaded. William the Norman finally won the day by anticipating the methods of Edward I. in attacking an infantry which proved impenetrable to unaided cavalry charges. He combined artillery with cavalry, and his bowmen made breaches in the enemy's ranks into which his horsemen could penetrate. But the might of the bow was only perfected after more than two centuries, and even then the English, and the English alone, possessed it in perfection. At Hastings the Norman used only the short bow, an instrument infinitely less powerful than the later long-bow, though it served its purpose against troops which had no cavalry to drive the archers

out of range, and no archers of their own. For two hundred years after Hastings no foot-soldiery seem again to have stood against the charge of mailclad horsemen.

Of the early English literature little needs to be said, for little enough has been preserved. Early writers wrote for the most part in Latin; in the vernacular there is practically nothing before Alfred except the ancient song of Beowulf, which dates from pagan times, and the poem of Caedmon, written about 670, based upon the Book of Genesis. Under Alfred's direction began the compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a work of much historical value, which has also the credit of preserving the fine lay of the battle of Brunanburh, of which some lines have been quoted. Alfred also deserves gratitude for translating and editing standard historical and philosophical works of his own time. But the great king's own high ideals of education scarcely took any very deep root; and perhaps the early eighth century, when Bede flourished at Jarrow, was the only time at which the English stood in the front rank of their contemporaries as a nation among whom culture and learning flourished.



In the stocks, 11th century.

CHAPTER III

THE NORMANS

I

THE CONQUEROR

HAROLD'S efforts had failed to make a united nation of the English. Wessex and East Anglia, which had known Harold himself as earl, were loyal to him; Mercia and Northumbria were ill-disposed to the house of Godwin, and the young earls, both of them of the house of Leofric, were either jealous of Harold or too lacking in vigour and decision to throw themselves whole-heartedly into a struggle against the Norman. It was Harold, not they, who saved the North from Hardraada, but they left him to defend the South from the Norman entirely with the levies from Wessex and East Anglia. It was not the national army which William had beaten at Senlac. Nor would even a national army have been likely to prove successful against the invader, because the English nation refused to recognise that the conduct of war was a scientific operation. It relied entirely on hard hitting, and declined to adopt new methods. Nor were the men who formed the fyrd adequately trained even in their own methods; Harold's disciplined huscarles alone stood in their ranks when the temptation to charge became strong. It seems as if Harold was the one man in England with a head on his shoulders, and that he came to grief through not realising the extreme stupidity of his countrymen.

After Hastings a solid party of those who knew that they had forfeited all prospect of favour at the hands of the Norman were eager to maintain resistance, and they succeeded in persuading the Witan at London to elect young Edgar the Ætheling king. But neither the boy himself nor any one near him was competent to organise a fresh defence. And there was another section who had already despaired of offering any effective resistance to the Conqueror, and were resolved to try and make their peace with him at any price. Sickness prevented the Conqueror and his army from moving at once; but the delay that a strong man might have used for vigorous reorganisation only gave the English time to grow more jealous and suspicious of each other. When William did move he did not march straight upon London, but struck across the Thames at Wallingford, thus interposing his army between the South and any possible succours from the North. Edgar, sundry bishops, the Londoners, and all the leading

men who were still in the South, came in and made submission, offering William the crown, which was duly set on his head at Westminster on Christmas Day.

William intended to reign not as conqueror but as lawfully elected king, though he had to satisfy his followers. He would act according to law himself and would compel his followers to do so ; but that did not prevent him from interpreting the law as best suited him. And it suited him to claim that Wessex and East Anglia had been in rebellion against him as their lawful sovereign, and that there was merely a difference of degree between those who had fought against him in arms and those who had failed to fight for him. Consequently all lands in Wessex and East Anglia were forfeited ; the less "guilty" of the English were then permitted to recover possession at a price, receiving their lands back as tenants from the king ; but most of the land was not restored to the English proprietors, but was distributed among the adventurers and barons in William's train, always as property of his own granted to them on feudal tenure. The royal estates William appropriated.



Great seal of William I.

Edwin and Morkere and Waltheof, the son of Siward of Northumbria, who held the earldom of Huntingdon, were not deprived of their earldoms, but were kept by William in attendance on himself ; and he now considered the position sufficiently secure to warrant his withdrawal to Normandy, there to set matters in order. He left his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, in charge south of the Thames, and William Fitz-Osbern in charge of the country north of the Thames up to the Tees.

But the Frenchmen, as William's followers were inclusively termed, behaved after the fashion of the time as masters of a conquered country ; insurrection flamed up in the West. Within the year William was back again. Submission was prompt when William marched upon Exeter, but Northumbria and Mercia chose to declare for the Ætheling. Again William's approach was met by submission. He bestowed a contemptuous pardon on Edwin and Morkere, while the Ætheling took flight to Malcolm Canmore in Scotland, where that long-headed ruler gave him an asylum, but at the same time was at pains to secure what would now be called an *entente* between himself and the Conqueror, to whom it is also possible that he rendered some very indefinite homage.

But as soon as William's back was turned Northumbria again broke

into revolt and was again reduced to immediate submission by the rapidity with which William reappeared in the North. Then in the late summer Sweyn of Denmark took his turn and sent a great mixed fleet to the Humber, whereupon Northumbria and the Fen country again rose and



England and the Lowlands under Normans and Plantagenets.

cut up the garrisons which William had left. This new northern insurrection and invasion gave the signal for sporadic insurrections all over the country. Again William sped to the North, drove the Danes into the district of Holderness, where he could not attack them without a fleet, and then proceeded to lay Yorkshire desolate. Twenty years afterwards, if the case of one district may be regarded as a fair sample, three-fourths of the Yorkshire villages were uninhabited, and the remainder had only a fraction of

their former population. In the winter—we are still in the year 1069—William ravaged westwards to Chester and Shrewsbury, and in the meanwhile the Danes came out of Holderness and sacked Peterborough, after which they made up their minds that there was no hope of a conquest and took their departure.

The last struggle of resistance was left to the half mythical hero, Hereward the Wake, who formed his “camp of refuge” at Ely, whence he struck right and left at the Normans, and where he held out until the end of 1071. The traditions concerning him are faithfully embodied in Charles Kingsley’s novel which bears his name.

The conquest may be said to have been completed in 1072, when William marched into Scotland and again obtained a submission from Malcolm Canmore, whose recent marriage to the Ætheling’s sister Margaret was a somewhat serious menace to the peace at least of Northumbria. The astute Scot dismissed Edgar himself from



Normans at dinner.

[From the Bayeux Tapestry.]

Scotland, at the same time counselling him to make his peace with William and become his man—advice which the Ætheling subsequently took and never had reason to repent. But Malcolm at the same time got for himself a grant of lands in England for which he did homage; and Scottish historians have always claimed that whatever homage was thenceforth rendered by a king of Scots to the English king, with one exception, was rendered not for the Scottish crown but for those lands south of the Tweed.

The long series of insurrections and their suppression meant the extension to all England of the principles which had been adopted in Wessex. Wherever there was a rising, lands were confiscated and bestowed upon Frenchmen, while only a few of the English were reinstated. Confiscations did not apply to the holdings of the ceorls, who remained in occupation, holding from the new French lord or the reinstated Saxon lord theoretically on the same terms as before. The new lords were not permitted to build castles at large; the Norman “keeps” were constructed by licence of the king. The effect of the piecemeal process of conquest and confiscation was that in each new region the lands were distributed among a number of Frenchmen; so that, although one man might be lord of a great amount of territory, his several domains were scattered up and down the country instead of forming one large unit. Single estates in many cases corresponded to shires and formed earldoms; but no earldom was great enough to give the earl a chance of standing to the king in any such relation as the

great feudatories of France, such as the Duke of Normandy himself, bore to the French king.

The fact may or may not have been due to deliberate policy on the part of the Conqueror; it is quite sufficiently accounted for as the natural outcome of the way in which the confiscations were carried out; but the practical effect was to secure the crown against the absorption of excessive power by any one vassal. The position of the crown was further fortified by its right of control over the marriages of vassals, so that the king could prevent a dangerous accumulation of estates by the marriage of a great baron to a neighbouring heiress. The earls on the Welsh and Scottish marches were necessarily granted large powers because those regions were open to attack from Scotch and Welsh; but they would have had to act together in order to have any chance of resisting the Crown; and the power of every earl was checked by the power of the sheriff who, though frequently he was a great baron, held his office entirely at the king's pleasure.

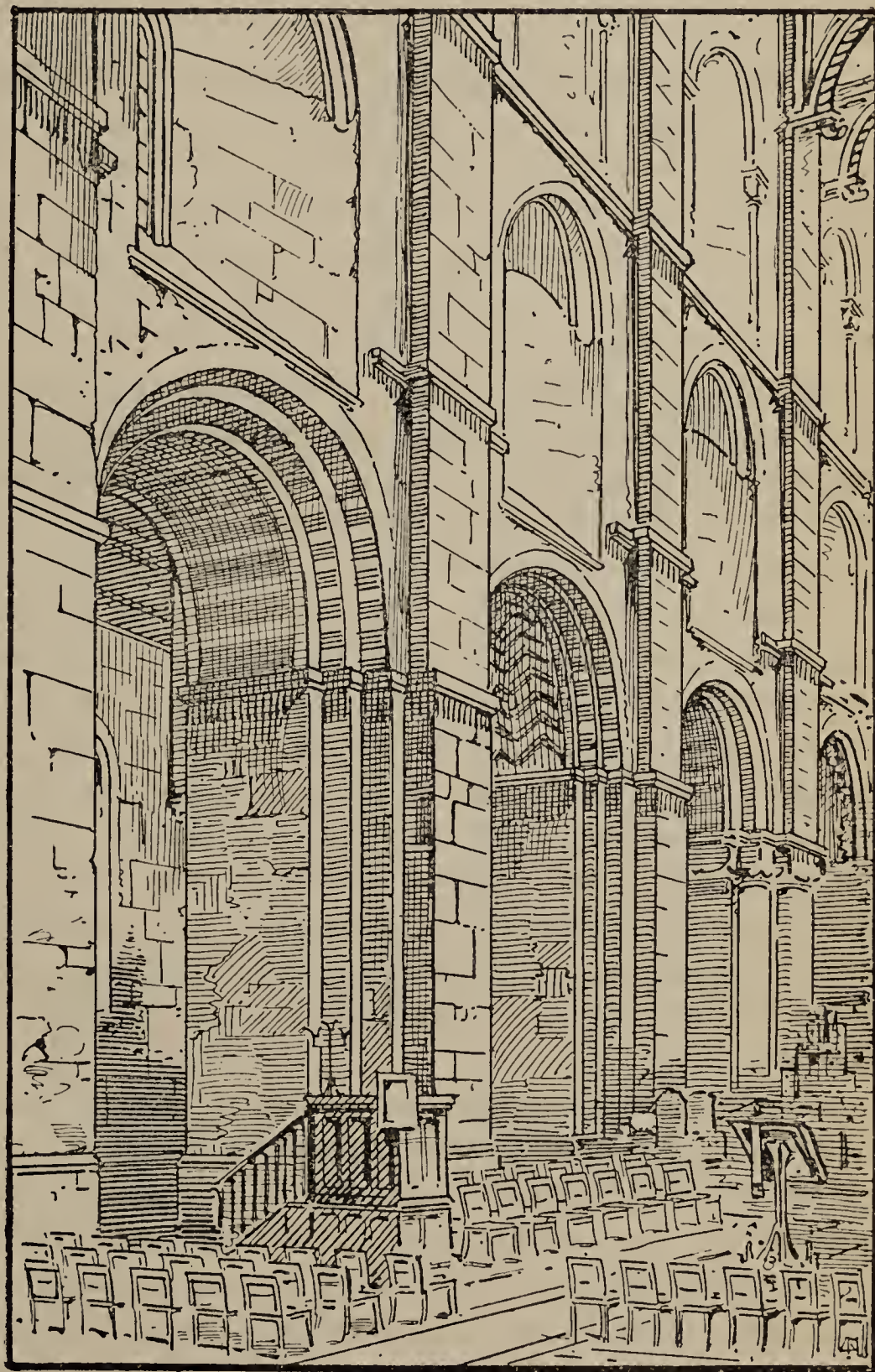
This situation was not altogether pleasing to the great Norman barons; and when there was a rising in 1075 it was an insurrection not of the English but of the Norman barons, the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, who inveigled Waltheof into their conspiracy. Their grievances, as might have been expected, were connected with the prohibition of a marriage between the two families and the interference of sheriffs with what the earls regarded as their rights. But Waltheof was an incompetent conspirator; his conscience got the better of him, and he revealed the plot to Lanfranc, the Archbishop of Canterbury, then acting as justiciar while the king was abroad. The attempted insurrection collapsed, the English shire levies obeying the call of the government; as they habitually did when the Crown appealed to them against the barons, who were their immediate oppressors. The execution of Waltheof removed the last of the Saxon earls, since Edwin and Morkere had blotted themselves out in the days when Hereward was holding his camp of refuge at Ely; and there was no other attempt on the part of the barons to set William at defiance. When in 1082 the king's half brother, Odo of Bayeux, began to form ambitious projects of his own, even although they were not ostensibly directed against the king, William threw him into prison and no one ventured to espouse the cause of the bishop.

Once again danger threatened the realm in 1086, when Knut of Denmark, Sweyn's successor, designed a great invasion. The assassination of Knut completely exploded the project; but the danger had forced unusual preparations on William, who gathered a great folc-moot at Salisbury, where all the landowners were required to take the oath of allegiance to the king, whether they were tenants-in-chief holding directly from him or held land from other overlords. The principle was implied that allegiance to the king overrides allegiance to a vassal of the king.

It is of fundamental importance to realise that in theory the system of the government of England was continuous and was not changed by the

Norman Conquest. The old institutions remained. The Witan and the various folc-moots remained. The fyrd remained. The ceorls occupied the land on the same tenure as before. The relations of the Church to the Crown and the Papacy were theoretically unchanged. But it is no less necessary to realise that in actual practice the changes brought about by the conquest were enormous.

At the root of these was the fact that the native magnates in Church and State were entirely displaced by foreigners. Nearly every great landowner or ecclesiastic was a foreigner, who interpreted his position and his powers in accordance with the ideas to which he was accustomed. They were foreigners, moreover, who looked upon the English as a conquered and inferior population; and the conquered population had no practical means of redress, whatever brutalities might be inflicted upon them. Commonly enough they sought redress by taking the law into their own hands, thereby bringing down upon themselves increased brutality at the



Arches in the nave of St. Alban's Abbey Church.

[Built by Abbot Paul between 1077 and 1093.]

hands of the lawless, and inviting severity at the hands of the government and of those officials whose business it was to enforce the law. Hence arose the one piece of legislation which formally distinguished between Saxon and Norman. An especially heavy penalty was imposed for the slaying of a Norman; and if the slayer were not discovered the hundred was liable for the whole fine. A hundred years later Richard Fitz-Neal explained in his *Dialogue on the Exchequer* that a murdered man was assumed to be a

Norman unless proof was forthcoming that he was not; and by that time the presumption was that any one outside the class of villeins had some Norman blood in his veins, because inter-marriage had become the general practice, and the two races outside the villein class were indistinguishable. But at the outset the effect must have been to intensify the sense of race antagonism.

Otherwise the legislative innovation felt most grievously by the English was the Forest Law, which introduced unheard-of penalties, especially that of blinding for the slaying of deer. William "loved the tall deer as he had been their father." Great tracts, notably the New Forest, were converted into game preserves, and villages and churches were desolated if they fell within the regions appropriated by the Crown to hunting. Domesday Book shows clearly enough that the actual desolation was much less than later tradition made it out to have been; the real popular grievance was that hunting was forbidden where before it had been free, and poaching was savagely penalised. It is rather curious to observe by the way that William all but abolished the death penalty, though, on the other hand, a repulsive system of mutilation was substituted for it.

The last flame of the English resistance to the Conqueror was stamped out five years after he seized the throne. No long time elapsed before the insurrection of Roger Fitz-Osbern of Hereford and Ralph Guader of Norfolk—the latter apparently of mixed English and Breton descent, though he fought on William's side at Hastings—taught the barons once for all the futility of defying King William, the more emphatically because his own presence was not required for their suppression. Administration during his absence was largely in the hands of Archbishop Lanfranc, for William himself was frequently occupied in Normandy, owing partly to dissensions with his eldest son Robert and with his nominal suzerain, the king of France.

It was while engaged in a war in Maine that the Conqueror met his death from internal injuries caused by the stumble of his horse. Normandy he left to Robert with whom he had become reconciled. To the English succession he commended his second son William. To the third son Henry, the only one born after his accession in England, he left only five thousand pounds, in the confident conviction that he could take very good care of himself. "A very wise man was King William," says the contemporary English chronicler, "and very mighty; of a power and dignity greater than any that went before him. Mild he was to the good men who loved God, and beyond measure harsh to the men who gainsaid his will. Thrice every year he wore his crown as often as he was in England; and then were with him all the great men all over England, archbishops and bishops, abbots and earls, thegns and knights. Also he was a very stark man and cruel, so that none durst do anything against his will. Not to be forgotten is the good peace that he made in this land; so that a man who in himself was aught might go over his realm with his bosom full of gold

unhurt. Nor durst any man slay another, had he done ever so great evil to the other. Surely in his time men had great hardships and many injuries. Castles he caused to be made and poor men to be greatly oppressed. He fell into covetousness and altogether loved greediness. The great men bewailed and the poor men murmured thereat; but so stark was he that he recked not of the hatred of them all; but they must wholly follow the king's will if they would live or have land or property or even his peace."

II

WILLIAM AND THE CHURCH

When the Duke of Normandy claimed the crown of England he obtained the papal blessing for his enterprise from Pope Alexander II., under the guiding influence of Hildebrand, who himself succeeded to the papacy as Gregory VII. in 1073. Hildebrand was the incarnation of that papal policy which claimed for the Vicar of Christ a supremacy over all temporal rulers; for the voice of Christ's Church an authority to which all merely temporal authority must submit; and for the whole clerical order, Christ's ordained ministers, a position independent of the secular state and separated from its jurisdiction. The remoteness of England had at all times kept the clergy of England from feeling themselves practically amenable to the discipline of Rome; and the Conqueror secured the papal favour partly because it was certain that the insular separateness of the Church of England would be broken down by the infusion of a large Latin element, and by the introduction in high places of French and Italian clergy bred within the sphere of the Roman influence.

This was one practical effect of the Conquest. Vacant bishoprics and abbacies were filled up with the foreign clergy, who enforced the stricter discipline on which Hildebrand and the whole of his school insisted. The uncanonical Archbishop Stigand was deposed from the see of Canterbury, and the reorganisation of the Church was entrusted to his successor, Lanfranc of Pavia, whom William had made abbot of Caen eight years before. William and Lanfranc understood each other thoroughly; and neither the king nor the archbishop had the slightest intention of surrendering to Rome a jot of their own authority in England. Whatever Hildebrand may have expected, the papal demand that William should acknowledge himself as holding England as a fief of Rome met with courteous but unqualified rejection. William would admit of no question that the king was supreme in his own dominion, and that no man, lay or clerical, should appeal against his authority to any other authority whatever. Such duty as his predecessors on the English throne owed to the Pope he too would pay, but nothing more.

Gregory launched thunderbolts against every one who should be con-

cerned in what was called Lay Investiture, a subject which continued to be a burning question until well into the twelfth century; but William was supported by Lanfranc in maintaining the right of the king of England to control important ecclesiastical appointments. Gregory insisted on the celibacy of the clergy, secular as well as monastic. But whereas all monks



An aisle in the Chapel of St. John, Tower of London.
[Built by William the Conqueror.]

distinction between them, which was an essential part of Hildebrand's policy, was accepted and acted upon by William and Lanfranc without setting Church and State in antagonism, but with the effect in later years of bringing whatever antagonism there was between Church and State into more marked relief.

were under an express vow of celibacy, the clergy outside the "regulars" or monastic orders were under no such vow, and their marriage was merely forbidden as a matter of discipline. Hence the prohibition had been very commonly disregarded. Therefore, in spite of Gregory, all marriages already contracted by the clergy were in England recognised as valid, though no marriages contracted after the papal decree were to be recognised. One substantial change, however, was made by William and Lanfranc, in the complete separation of the ecclesiastical from the secular courts of justice, probably in 1076; and in the same way somewhat earlier was instituted the practice that the clergy assembled at the Great Council should deliberate apart for the framing of ecclesiastical legislation. In other words, the principle of differentiation between clergy and laity, of emphasising the

III

ENGLAND AND THE CONQUEST

In point of law the Norman conquest was supposed to have made no change in the government of England. The old institutions remained in force. The king ruled, taking counsel with his Witan. The freemen still assembled in the shire-moot and the hundred-moot for the conduct of local affairs. The ealdorman of early days, the earl, by his Latin title the *comes*, was still the chief man of his earldom, which was again reduced to the proportions of a shire. The king's financial officer, shire-reeve, or sheriff was still the Crown's principal agent in the shire, discharging also certain administrative functions which justified his Latin title of *vice-comes*. The Crown still descended by election of the Witan from among the royal family, though it was a new dynasty which occupied that position, since throughout the eleventh century the exclusive title of the house of Wessex had been persistently ignored. Still as of old the freeman was bound at the summons of the sheriff to attend the gathering of the fyrd in arms, and still the thegn, the holder of comparatively extensive lands, was bound to bring to the field a following in due proportion. Still, as before, the soil was tilled on the Open Field System mainly by occupiers bound to render some sort of agricultural service to a large landholder to whose demesne or private holding their holdings were in some sort attached ; and still for a time most of these occupiers were politically free men, though they did not hold their land by a free tenure.

But in substance a very great change had been effected, which is illustrated by the character of the Witan. We have seen that under the Saxon kings the name of the Witan appears to have been applied both to a sort of inner council consisting of the chief officers of the realm, lay and ecclesiastical, together with some other persons called in by the king ; and also to a general assembly, the relic of the old tribal or national assembly, at which all freemen were entitled to appear, although very few thought it worth while to do so. It appears, though it is by no means clear, that this double character of the Witan was reproduced in two forms of council—the *magnum concilium*, great council or council of magnates, and the *commune concilium*, or general assembly of tenants-in-chief, a term which we shall examine later. But in less than ten years after the battle of Hastings practically every one of the magnates was a Norman, not an Englishman, interested in strengthening his own class against the hostility of the natives ; and the same principle applied to the assembly of the tenants-in-chief, although these included a proportion of English. The *magnum concilium* was summoned for general purposes of deliberation, while the *commune concilium* was called together only when it was desirable that a particular operation or a parti-

cular policy should be ratified ostensibly by the nation. Such an occasion was the moot of Salisbury in 1086.

Now, not only were the old native magnates replaced by magnates who were foreigners, brought up in different traditions and wholly out of sympathy with the native population, but the actual powers of the magnates were greatly extended. Under the new system they exercised a much larger personal jurisdiction than before. How far this was conscious innovation, the deliberate introduction of Norman practices, and how far it was an un-



A Norman bed.

conscious interpretation of English customs in the light of Norman practices, it is impossible to say with certainty. In practice it is probable that the official presidents of the folc-moots of the hundred and the shire had exercised an authority which could without any great difficulty be translated into an independent jurisdiction ; but the actual result now was that a vast amount of actual jurisdiction was transferred from the folc-moots to the local magnates, the lords of the manor, who, in the great majority of cases, were Normans. The

law previously referred to concerning the murder of Normans shows how the conquering race, a handful planted among a hostile population, felt it necessary to make special regulations for their own protection, and it is natural that they should have found means to evade the jurisdiction of native popular tribunals, more or less as the British in India insist on a similar security for themselves. But consciously or unconsciously the innovation was enormous, while it pretended to be at the most an adaptation of the existing system.

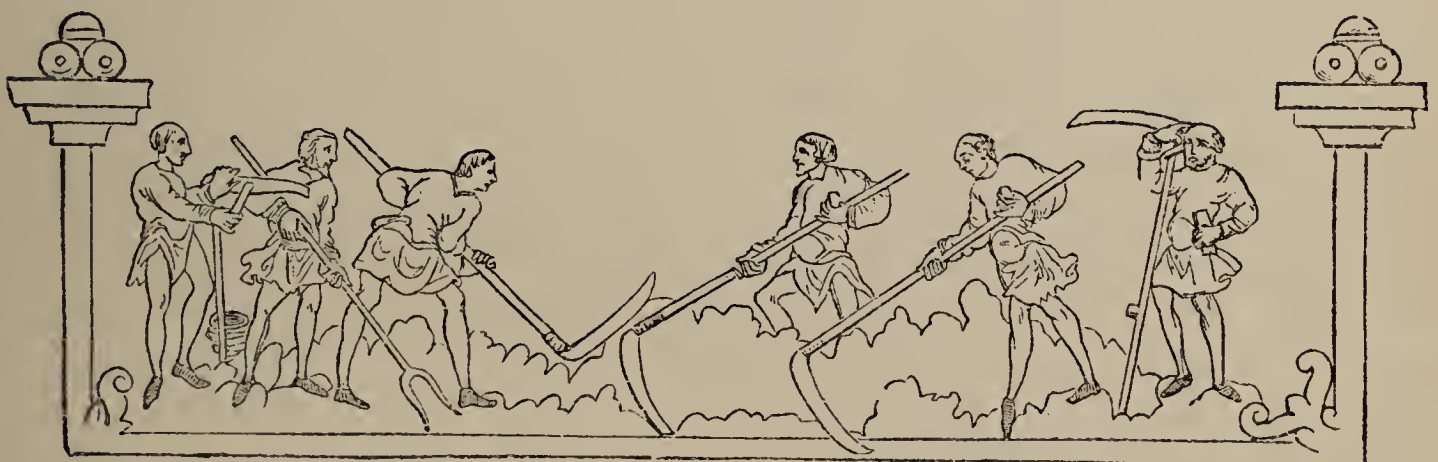
It used to be assumed as a commonplace of history that the Normans introduced feudalism into England. At last there came a reaction, and we were taught that feudalism in England was already so far advanced that the Normans merely gave a slight extra impetus to its complete development. As a matter of fact the advocates of these contradictory doctrines did not mean quite the same thing by feudalism, or at least they concentrated their attention on different aspects of it. The basis of feudalism was the doctrine that the whole land was the property of the king and that the individual landowner was not in the full sense an owner, but held his land as a tenant of the king, by the grant of the king, on recognised conditions of military service. Where this had not been the case originally, when the landowner had been there before the king, before the land had formed a part of the king's dominion, the same position had been arrived at by the process of Commendation ; that is, the landowner had done homage to the king and become the king's man, himself surrendering his land to the king and then receiving it back on condition of military service. In either case the



Tending the sheep.



Cutting timber.



Cutting grass for hay.



Throwing the hawk.

Scenes in English out-door life in the 11th century.

[From a Saxon Calendar in the British Museum.]

practical result was the same. Every inch of the land within the king's dominion was the king's property, and was held from him by the landowner as his vassal on the recognised conditions of military service, carrying with them corresponding obligations on the king of protecting his vassal.

The same thing applied to the minor landholder who had either received his land by a grant from the greater landowner originally or had become his vassal by commendation. Finally, the small occupiers held their land not on conditions of military service, but of agricultural service or some equivalent, still with the corresponding obligation of protection ; either by grants from the owner, or by commendation. Thus every inch of the soil was held on condition of military or other service either by a vassal of the king or a vassal's vassal, except what was retained by the king as his own estate.

Now, after the Norman conquest all this was literally true in England. The king had assumed the ownership of the entire soil. He assumed that it was forfeited to him by rebellion ; and whether he distributed it among his Norman followers or graciously reinstated the English occupiers, it was on condition of homage and under feudal tenure. But before the conquest it had not been true. There was no theory that all the land was the king's land and had been granted by him on conditions of military tenure. Under the feudal system when the king wanted an army to take the field he summoned his vassals to attend his standard in accordance with their feudal obligation. Under the Saxon system he summoned the freemen of the shire to attend the fyrd. But, on the other hand, the process of commendation had long been active. Although the larger landholders did not hold from the king theoretically, except where the king had granted part of his estates as bocland, the small occupier habitually became the man of some bigger man than himself, rendering him service in order to enjoy his protection. But the theory that the whole of the land was the king's land held by the landowner as his vassal on feudal tenure did not as a legal theory exist before the conquest.

Of this there is one consequence of great importance. When the Norman wanted an army in the field he could raise one by summoning the feudal levies. But he could also attain his purpose by summoning the fyrd of the shires, and calling the freemen to arms without the peculiar limitations on the terms of service recognised under the law of feudal tenure, of which the elaborate details had hitherto been practically unknown in England.

If the feudalism introduced by the Norman conquest was something exceedingly different from feudalism so far as it had already developed in England, it differed also from the feudalism of the continent in a manner which had very important political results. On the continent a king's personal vassals or feudatories were few ; each of them had an estate which might be called a province. The province was parcelled out among the vassals of the feudatory and his vassal's vassals ; and in each case the vassal did homage and owed allegiance to his own immediate overlord,

but not necessarily to his overlord's overlord ; therefore the feudatory who defied his overlord or "suzerain" could take the field with an army of his own vassals, who were sworn to serve him even against his suzerain. But in England, as we have seen, the country was not parcelled out into a few great provinces but into many comparatively small earldoms and lesser estates ; and, further, the smaller landowners for the most part held direct from the king. They were tenants-in-chief, *i.e.* with no overlord intervening between them and the king himself. The result was that there was no feudatory who could bring a large army of his own into the field under any circumstances ; and beyond this, from the Moot of Salisbury onward the king always required that his vassal's vassals should pay direct homage to him as well as to his overlord, the obligation to him overriding that to the immediate overlord.

Thus on the continent the moral responsibility for rebellion lay upon the great feudatory himself alone ; the oath of his vassals required them to follow him. But in England the moral responsibility rested on each individual ; his oath bound him to the king's service in priority to that of his overlord. The moral justification on the continent for the individual was that he had obeyed his overlord's summons as in duty bound ; the only possible justification for the individual in England was that the king had forfeited his allegiance by breaking the feudal compact on his own side ; whether negatively by failure to do right by his vassal or positively by making illegal demands upon him. Hence the central government in England was at all times very much stronger than in the continental states.

Both before and after the Norman conquest the king was expected under ordinary circumstances to live "of his own" ; that is to say, to pay all the expenses of government as well as what we should call his personal expenses out of his own regular revenues. Those revenues were drawn partly from his personal estates. These estates were always being reduced by grants to individuals, by way of reward, or to the Church. On the other hand, they were increased by forfeitures when a vassal indulged in open treason or persistently refused to carry out his feudal obligations. Also they were increased by "escheat" ; that is, when a vassal died leaving no heir with a legal claim to inherit, his estates reverted to the Crown. The next source of royal revenue was in the fees or dues payable by vassals upon various occasions. Thus, when death caused an estate to change hands the heir had to pay fees to his overlord upon taking up his inheritance ; and there were further dues payable while the heir was a minor and in connection with the marriage of heiresses. These were always payable by the vassal to his overlord, and, consequently, to the king in connection with the estate of every tenant-in-chief. The terms tenant-in-chief and baron appear primarily to have been practically interchangeable ; and in this wide sense of the term baron the old thegnhood was in effect absorbed, since the thegns or those who took their places and lands were all tenants-in-chief, holding from the king. Finally, as regular revenue, the Crown claimed judicial

finer and various local dues in the shape of tolls, the price paid for local privileges.

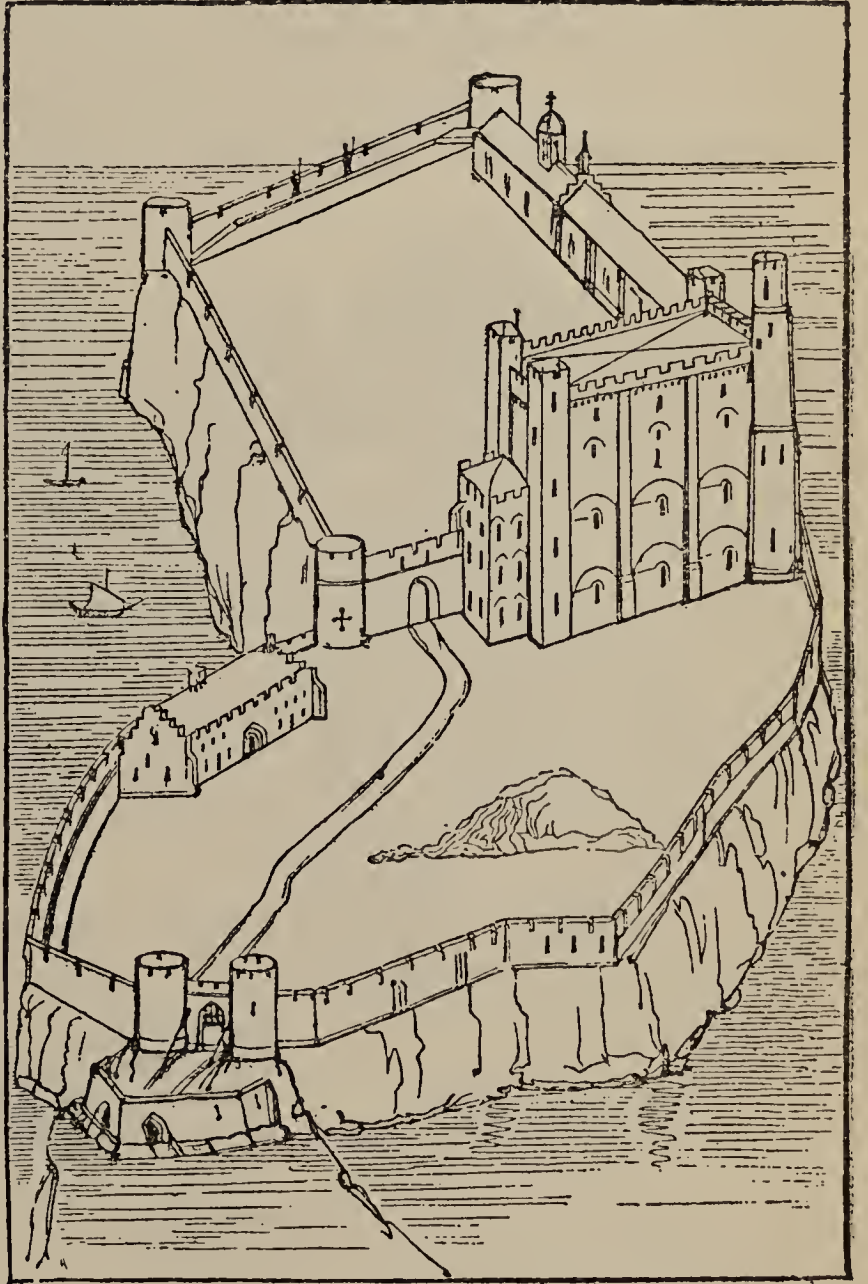
But beyond these the Crown had a special claim to what was in theory a war tax, the tax on land called the danegeld. This was the name originally given to the tax which Æthelred raised by the advice of his Witan in order to pay his ever-increasing ransoms to the Danes. As ransom it was raised for the last time by Knut in his first year, when he doubled the greatest of the previous exactions and finally paid off the Danish host. But from that time the danegeld was levied by the kings, nominally as a war tax and apparently at their pleasure ; and in it the Conqueror and his son William I. found an exceedingly productive source of revenue. But however mercilessly the Conqueror might exact every penny which could be got out of the land, he wished to do it scientifically and with an even hand ; and it was with this object in view that he instituted that great survey of the country which was recorded in Domesday Book and the documents connected therewith in 1086, being the report of the commission which had been employed upon the work for some time previously.

Domesday Book was compiled with the object of ascertaining precisely the taxable value of the land all over the country. It does not include the northern counties, partly because of the greater difficulty of dealing with those wilder regions, and partly because William himself had so harried them that their taxable value was of very little account. Having this object in view, it took account of everything which affected either taxable value or the means of collecting taxes. Although, unfortunately, what was perfectly clear to contemporaries is not always equally clear to later ages, Domesday Book is a valuable and unique authority as to the condition of the country, in spite of the difficulties of interpretation.

In Domesday we first come across a very important and very controversial term, the manor. In actual practice the manor very frequently corresponds to the individual settlement—*tun*, township, ham, or village—which was the unit of the Anglo-Saxon system, a unit which in the Norman terminology becomes the *vill* or *villa*. Hence came the idea long prevalent that the manor and the vill were originally identical ; that each vill had its lord of the manor with his private demesne, while the rest of the soil was occupied chiefly by the villeins, *villani*, vill-people, who owed him service. But this is not the actual fact, though it approximates to it. The manor is not necessarily identical with a vill ; it may extend over many vills. The vill is not necessarily identical with a manor ; its occupiers may own half-a-dozen different lords or no lord at all. The manorial arrangement, therefore, cannot have been part of the original settlement, but was a subsequent development or extension of what was at first only occasional ; when the free ceorl found it advisable to commend himself to some lord, even then the ceorls of one community did not necessarily elect to commend themselves to the same lord, though it was more often convenient to do so than otherwise. Thus we find quite small holdings

described as "held for a manor" without having any lord of the manor.

In fact it would appear that the Domesday manor is a term meaning a taxable unit. The lord of the manor is responsible for the taxes of all holdings within his manor, whether it forms one vill or many vills or includes holdings in several vills. The man who holds his "virgate" or thirty acres without a lord at all holds it "for a manor"; while the men who hold of a lord are divided into two classes—the freemen, *liberi homines*, and "socmen," who normally pay their taxes direct, but for whom their lord is ultimately responsible; and the villeins, bordars, and cottars whose taxes are paid by the lord himself. To these last are to be added the actual *servi* or slaves. It does not appear that at this stage there was any political distinction between these two classes; they were nearly all free ceorls. Nor is there any definite distinction between the methods of tenure. In both classes there are men who pay a rent in kind but render no agricultural service, and in both classes there are men who do render agricultural service; though there are comparatively few of the former among the villani and comparatively few of the latter among the socmen. It is further to be observed that socmen and freedom from agricultural service were much commoner in the districts where there was a substantial Danish population, where also slaves were practically non-existent, while slaves were comparatively numerous on the Welsh marches. But it is also easy to see that while there was nothing in itself servile in the payment of taxes through the lord any more than there is anything servile in "compounding" for rates at the present day, the man who did so could be much more readily reduced to a servile condition; and consequently a hundred years later we find that the villein has degenerated into a serf bound to the soil, whereas the socman has not. Also the villein has come to be more and more identified with the man who has to submit to particularly obnoxious forms



An ideal plan of a Norman castle.

of service from which the socmen and the successors of the socmen are free.

Domesday, then, was not occupied with the classification of the occupiers of the soil according to the amount of freedom which they possessed, but with the taxable value of their holdings and with the question who was responsible for paying the taxes; and hence we derive from it no light on the amount of control possessed by the lord of the manor over the socmen or villeins on his estate. What we do have recorded is the nature of the service or rent which they were liable to render, and the most minute details as to the value and productive uses of the land.

The record also shows that during the first year after the conquest



A manor-house of the 11th century.

[From a Harleian MS., British Museum.]

large numbers passed out of the class of socmen into the class of villeins; although at a later stage the double tendency developed to commute services for rent, and to treat freedom from services as a *prima facie* proof of freedom as opposed to serfdom, the essential feature of the later serfdom being that the villein was bound to the soil and could not leave his holding without his lord's consent. It is not, however, at all clear that at the time of the conquest the villein was in this sense a serf; the idea of serfdom may have become attached to villeinage through the interpretation of customs by Norman lawyers trained in the theories of Roman law.

Norman castles sprang up as we have noted all over the country; but we must not imagine that the ordinary Norman baron habitually lived in one of those stone fortresses. William's followers were endowed with

few manors or with many; the baron or tenant-in-chief who got one manor lived in his manor-house, which was no more than a substantial farm-house; if he had more than one manor he might move from one manor-house to another, or he might fix his own residence in one or two and plant his bailiffs in others. But the manor-houses were not supplemented by castles except with the king's leave, and with the intention of making them serve as military centres for holding the country down.

IV

RUFUS

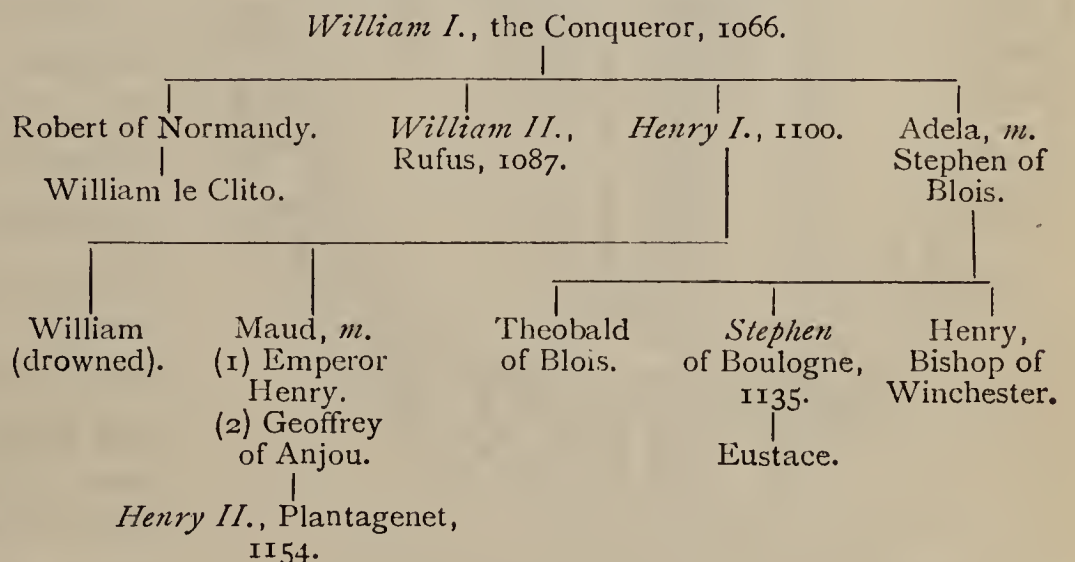
Of the Conqueror's sons, Robert the eldest was a valiant soldier, the only man of his time who got the better of the old Duke in single combat. He was good-natured, indolent, and irresolute. The Conqueror held him in complete contempt,

and only allowed him the succession in Normandy because he could not help himself. Whereat the barons rejoiced, since they knew that Duke Robert was wholly incapable of controlling them. Richard, the most promising of the family, died before his father, who commended the

third son William the Red to the English succession. William Rufus was as fiercely energetic as his father, a typical headstrong, self-willed, fighting man, who regarded not man nor feared God except when the terror of death came upon him. His energy took him in fits, and while the fit was on him he pursued his immediate purpose with vigour and determination; but he lacked his father's dogged patience; and while he was capable of forming vast designs, he was not capable of planning them out and developing them systematically. And between the fits of energy he surrendered himself entirely to the pursuit of pleasure and the gratification of his passions; while his sole virtue besides physical courage was his appreciation of courage in others.

Such was the man whom William I. commended to Lanfranc and Lanfranc commended to the magnates of England as his successor. William hurried over from Normandy while his elder brother was far away. On his promise to be guided by Lanfranc he was immediately accepted as king.

THE NORMAN LINE



Within six months came the first revolt in favour of Robert. A large proportion of the barons of England were barons of Normandy also, whom it suited much better to owe allegiance only to the incompetent Robert than to owe it to Robert for their Norman possessions and to the fierce Red King for their lands in England. William promptly appealed to his English subjects, who joyfully answered the summons to the fyrd and the chance of striking a blow against their oppressors; while William made them large promises of good government. The revolt was crushed

and the promises were cynically ignored. Lanfranc died, and William took for his chief counsellor Ranulf Flambard, a fit instrument for his purposes.

Ranulf's primary object was to enrich the king and himself more or less under cover of law, and he set himself to systematic business of extortion and robbery. Fortunately for the people of England the extortion and robbery were directed against William's feudal tenants; that is to say, Normans rather than English, partly because there was more to be got out of them, and partly because it was more necessary for the king to keep them under his heel. And for this latter reason also William's hand fell heavily upon them when they in turn applied robbery and extortion



Seal of Archbishop Anselm, 1093.
[From Ducarel, "Anglo-Norman Antiquities."]

to the English; it suited him to have the English on his side. But where he himself or his own chosen companions were concerned a like protection was not extended to the people.

In one of its aspects the story of the reign appears to be a mere welter of wars and compositions with Robert of Normandy, and of conspiracies and revolts on the part of one baronial group or another, ferociously stamped out, which it is hardly worth while to disentangle. William was an able soldier, who nearly always struck swiftly and fiercely, and nearly always with success. The outstanding fact of importance was that the supremacy of the Crown was in every case triumphantly asserted. Perhaps the episode of the reign most characteristic of the man and his time was that which concerns the relations of William with the Church. One of Ranulf's devices for obtaining revenue was that whenever one of the higher ecclesiastical appointments fell vacant it was allowed to remain so, and

William seized the revenues for himself instead of putting in a financial administrator during the period of vacancy. It was not till four years after the death of Lanfranc that a new Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed ; and then it was only because William was stricken with a severe illness, and in the fear of death endeavoured to square his account with Heaven by naming the saintly Anselm of Bec for the archbishopric. When William recovered he returned to his old courses ; but he found that Anselm's apparent meekness cloaked immovable resolution whensoever questions of right and wrong were involved. He was not in the least afraid of rebuking the king to his face, nor could he be terrorised into submission to the king's will when the king required him to do what he thought wrong. It was not long before the position became unendurable, when, curiously enough at first sight, the bishops took the king's side and the barons with grim unanimity supported the Archbishop. But Anselm took the only dignified course and withdrew from the country.

Of less importance to England than to Europe was the beginning in William's reign of the crusading movement. The recovery of the Holy Sepulchre and its retention under Christian dominion for two hundred years carried off to the East occasionally great hosts of crusaders and, besides these great expeditions, a constant stream of military pilgrims. English crusaders, however, belonged chiefly to the latter group. The only crusade which takes a prominent place in our own history is that which took Richard I. to Palestine. England was touched only by the fringe of the crusading movement, and was affected by the first crusade only because it took Duke Robert of Normandy away, and thereby stopped for a time the quarrels between him and his brother in England, and afterwards enabled his younger brother Henry to secure the English throne without difficulty.

The years when Rufus was reigning in England were of considerable importance in the history of Scotland. On his accession Malcolm Canmore was still reigning in the northern kingdom with his English Queen Margaret at his side. His own English predilections have been noted, and his whole reign was marked by the Anglicising movement and the transfer of the political centre of gravity from the Celtic highlands to the Teutonised lowlands ; a change, however, which, instead of tending to a fusion of the English and Scottish nations, made the once English Bernicia, or so much of it as was comprised in Lothian, more intensely antagonistic to the southern English of the English kingdom than had been the Celts of the kingdoms of the Scots and Picts. The Celts of the highlands retained for the Saxons, the "Sassenachs," of Scotland, very much of the sentiment which they had formerly felt towards the English, and resented their political supremacy more than they feared an English domination. Malcolm himself had no friendly feeling for the Normans, who had ousted his wife's family from the English throne ; and he found various excuses for raiding across the Tweed, though, when either William I. or William II. marched against him, he generally succeeded in making terms satisfactory to himself.

But on one of these raids he was killed, in the fourth year of the Red King's reign.

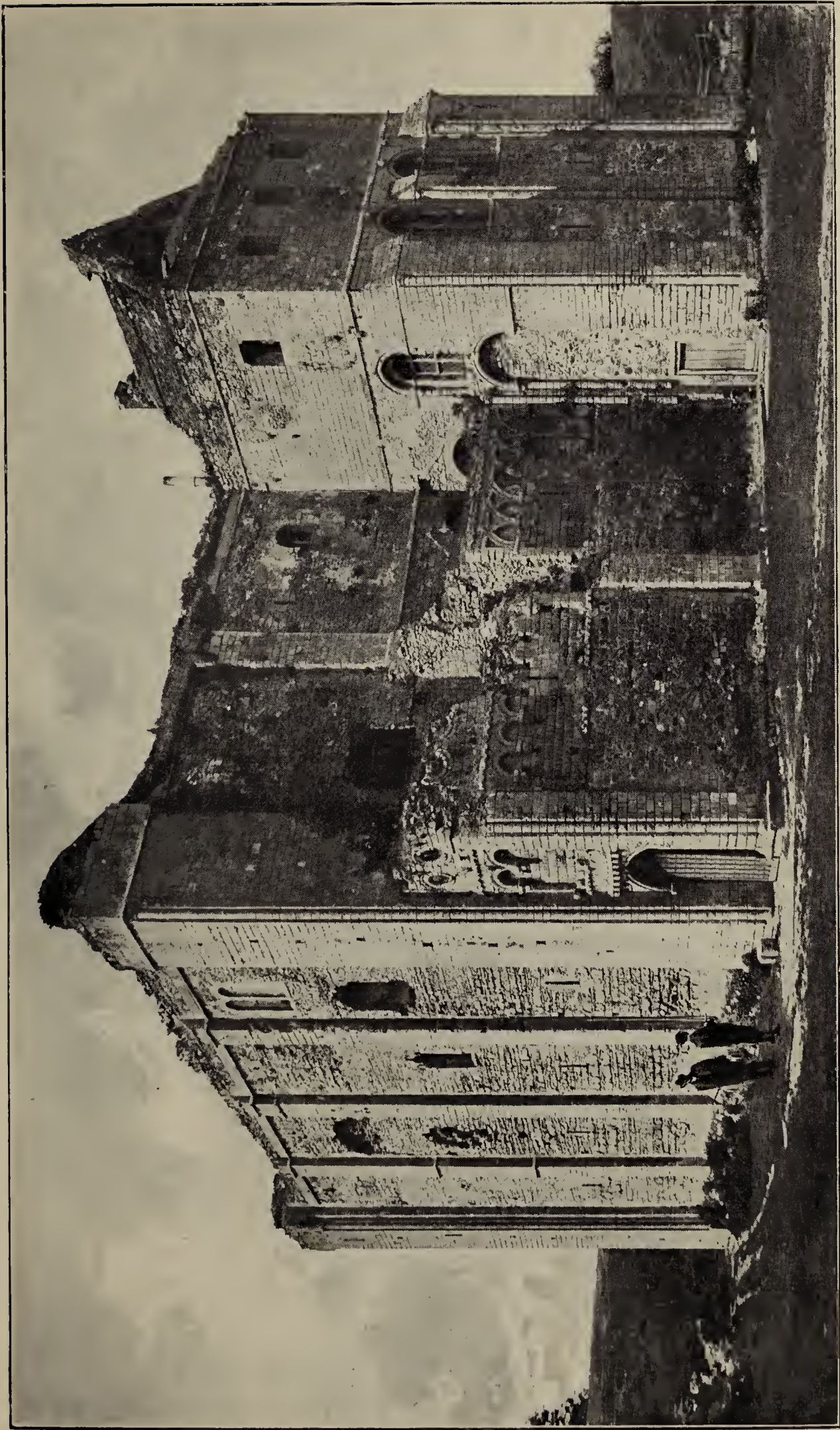
Margaret had taken care that Malcolm's children should be extremely English, and the Scots, jealous of southern influence, made Malcolm's brother, Donalbane, king instead of one of the sons of Malcolm and Margaret. In this temporary revolution Donalbane was also supported by alliance with the Norsemen, by whom the Hebrides were to a great extent occupied, and with the king of Norway. It is not improbable that the ultimate success of Donalbane would have meant the partition of Scotland into a Celtic and a Norwegian kingdom, with further results which offer ample room for interesting speculation. But after sundry vicissitudes Edgar, one of Malcolm's sons, recovered the throne of Scotland largely by the help of volunteers from England, who were permitted to join him on condition of his promising allegiance to Rufus. Norway was bought off by what was practically the cession of the Hebrides. Edgar personally remained loyal to his pact with the king of England, though his successors did not hold themselves bound by it ; and Malcolm's house was permanently established on the Scottish throne.

The evil days of William Rufus were brought to a sudden conclusion. In the year 1100, before Robert of Normandy had returned from the first crusade, William went a-hunting in the New Forest, and an arrow from the bow of one of his companions killed not a stag but the king. The body was left lying where it fell, while those who had seen the accident galloped off with the tidings to Prince Henry, who was one of the hunting party, and Henry, without a moment's delay, made straight for Winchester to secure the royal treasure, and, having done so, to secure his own succession to the throne of England.

V

THE LION OF JUSTICE

Henry had over his brother Robert the practical advantage of being on the spot. He claimed a prior right to the succession on the ground that he was born on English soil, son of the king of England, whereas Robert was born a foreigner before his father won a kingdom. The blood of Alfred ran in his veins, since his mother Matilda was descended from that daughter of Alfred who married Baldwin II. of Flanders. Robert's advocates were outnumbered among the barons and clergy, who were at the moment assembled in sufficient numbers to claim the character of a Witan or National Assembly. The absent Robert was set aside ; Henry was elected, and proceeded to strengthen his position by issuing a charter which was accepted in all good faith, wherein he promised to observe "the good laws of King Edward" as modified by his father, and to abolish the innovations introduced by his brother. Another popular move was the arrest of



KEEP OF CASTLE RISING, A NORMAN CASTLE BUILT BETWEEN 1140 AND 1150

From a photograph.

Ranulf Flambard. Moreover, Henry was shrewd enough to select strong and capable advisers and at once to recall Anselm. The support of the English population was made certain by his politic marriage with Edith, otherwise called Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm Canmore and of Margaret, and therefore a princess of the royal house of Wessex. The prevailing brutality of the period is illustrated by the fact that Edith had apparently actually taken the veil as a nun as the only way of protecting herself from some more cruel fate. Anselm himself had no qualms in accepting a declaration that though she had professedly taken the veil she had not technically "entered religion."

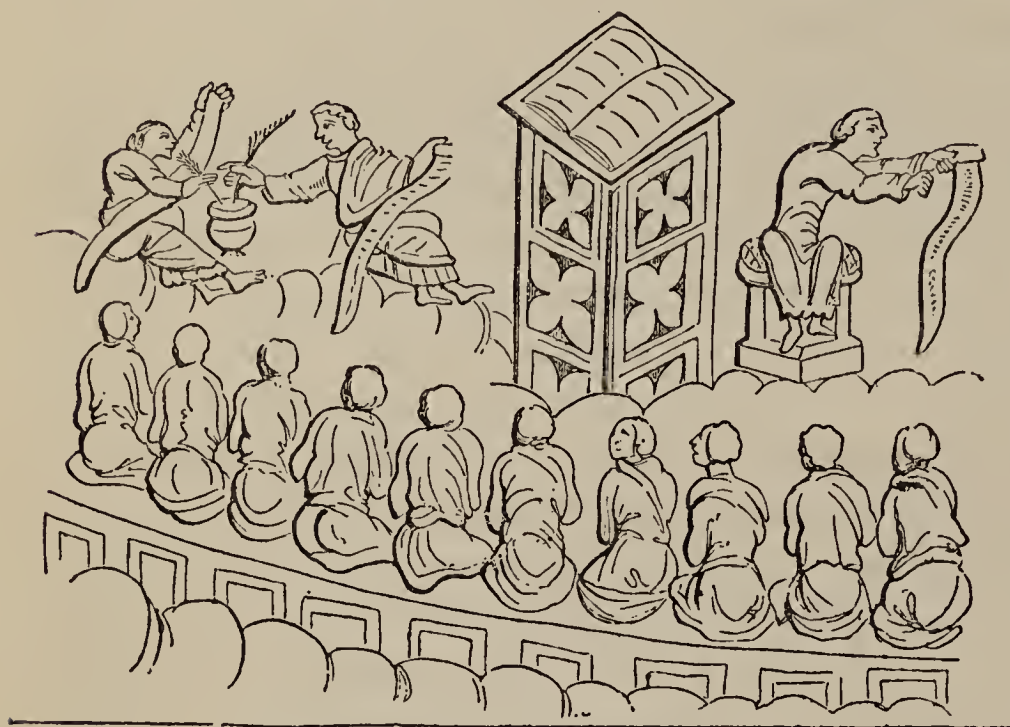
Henry was not to remain in possession for long undisturbed. In 1101 Robert was back and succeeded in effecting a landing in England. The exceedingly uncertain attitude of the baronage made the issue of a fight doubtful; but Robert was contented to sell his claims for a pension and an agreement for mutual assistance in the punishment of traitors. Henry was prompt to strike one after another at the great barons whose loyalty was dubious or more than dubious. The group of Montgomerie brothers, headed by Robert of Bellême, prepared to resist, but others hesitated to support them; the English gladly answered the summons to the fyrd, and the rebels took flight to Normandy. During the next few years Robert demonstrated his incapacity for restraining the plots of the barons who had taken refuge in his dominions; and Henry took the view that he himself had no alternative but to appropriate the control of Normandy to himself. The result was a campaign in Normandy in which Robert was decisively defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Tenchebrai, a victory which the English foot soldiery, fighting for Henry, regarded as compensation for Hastings. Robert was held in custody for the rest of his life, though the tradition that his eyes were put out was probably a fiction of later date.

But troubles were not ended, because Henry did not detain Robert's young son William, called the Clito, in his own hands; and the boy was afterwards made the figurehead for rebellions in Normandy and Maine which were fostered by the French king. The total result of the consequent fighting which went on at intervals from 1111 to 1119 was the recognition of Henry as Lord of Normandy, Maine, and Brittany. Henry's daughter Matilda or Maud was wedded to the German emperor, Henry V., while his son and heir, William, was betrothed to the daughter of Fulk of Anjou. With these alliances Henry's power threatened to become overwhelming; but his designs received a check when his son William was drowned at sea in the disaster of the *White Ship*. The Count of Anjou then married his daughter to the Clito, who had been restored by his cousin's death to the position of claimant to the English succession, and now found new support for his immediate claim to the Duchy of Normandy. Henry's arms, however, were again successful, and then the emperor died. While Matilda was the emperor's wife there would have been no chance of her succession to the English throne; but although there was no precedent for a

queen regnant of England, Henry now succeeded in persuading the Great Council to do homage to her as his heir. Those who took the oath included her uncle David, the last of Malcolm Canmore's sons, and now king of Scotland, and also Stephen of Boulogne, son of the Conqueror's daughter Adela.

Two years later the Empress Maud, as she is generally called, was wedded to Geoffrey, son of Fulk of Anjou; and the offspring of this marriage, Henry, born in 1133, was destined to establish the Plantagenet

line on the throne of England. The marriage, however, was unpopular, since Normandy had no inclination to find itself annexed as a province of Anjou, and the barons of England were no better disposed. Thus in spite of the death of the Clito, and the renewal by the baronage of their oath of allegiance to Matilda, Henry was painfully aware that his daughter's succession might be disputed. For there were two grandsons of



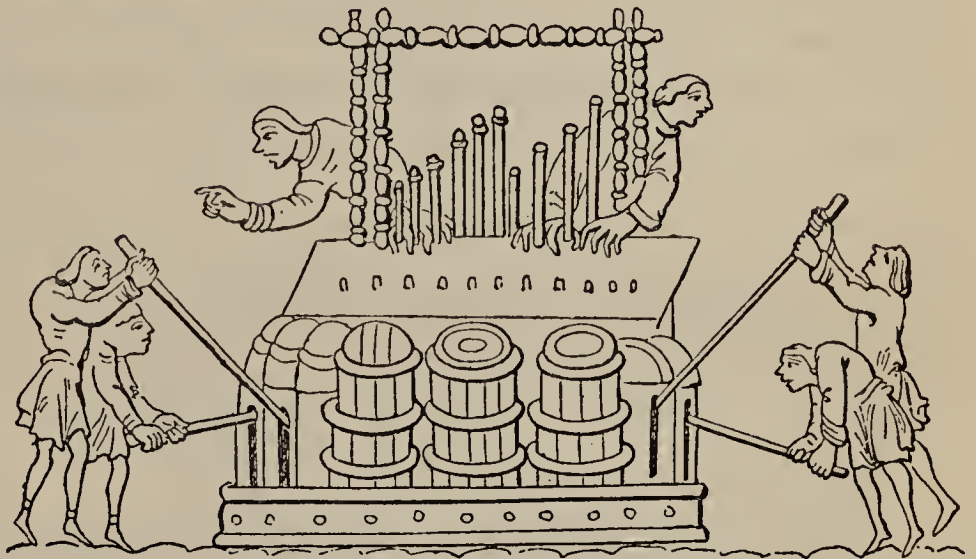
A Norman school about 1130-1140.

the Conqueror, Stephen of Boulogne and his elder brother Theobald of Blois, either of whom might put in a claim, although Stephen could not do so without breaking the oath of allegiance which he had already taken.

In one aspect of his reign, then, a vast amount of Henry's time was taken up with the wars and the diplomacy which first established him on the throne of England, then secured his grip on Normandy and Brittany, and finally was intended to secure the English succession to his daughter. We can now give brief attention to his relations with the Church. One of his first acts was the recall of Anselm with whom he was on friendly terms to the end of the archbishop's life. Nevertheless there was no such co-operation between Anselm and the king as there had been between Lanfranc and the Conqueror. Though Lanfranc was a great ecclesiastic, he had supported William in his determination to surrender no tittle of the independence hitherto enjoyed by the kings of England. But Anselm owed allegiance first to the Pope. In the last years of the Red King a papal decree had claimed new authority, and that claim Anselm felt bound to support so long as it was maintained by the Pope himself. Henry, however, was as definite as the Conqueror himself in his refusal to surrender rights which the Conqueror had claimed. Ultimately a compromise was arrived at which practically recognised the king's power of making ecclesiastical appointments, and required the higher clergy to do homage for their

temporalities—in other words their estates—like the lay baronage. But Henry surrendered the right of actually investing his nominees with the insignia of their spiritual office. For the rest, the king was as firm as his predecessor in refusing admission of papal legates or papal letters to the kingdom without his leave or the carrying of appeals out of his kingdom to Rome.

The great importance of Henry's reign, however, lies in his organisation of the system of government, which provided the foundations upon which Henry II. was afterwards to build. Henry was perhaps not a genius, certainly no idealist and no hero; but he was shrewd, far-sighted, determined, and in things political master of himself. Two underlying principles may be observed in his policy—the disintegration of the forces adverse to the power of the Crown, and the consolidation of the forces making for the power of the Crown. Externally that power was threatened first by rebellion which made Normandy its base, and secondly by the pretensions of the papacy. How he dealt with these dangers we have seen. Internally the danger arose from the power of the barons. Here he was helped by the extensive opportunities for confiscation which followed on the various rebellions. The greater estates the king retained in his own hand, while the lesser he distributed so as to avoid a material increase in the power of those who were already strong. Further, he used his rights as suzerain to divide inheritances which fell vacant among the sons, so as to separate the holders of fiefs in Normandy and fiefs in England, and generally to prevent the accumulation of great estates in the hands of single feudatories. In all this he simply applied the precedents set by his father.



An organ about the middle of the 12th century.

For strengthening the Crown the method upon which Rufus had relied was the merciless application of sheer brute force. Henry's method was the resolute administration of the law without fear or favour, unless it were fear of and favour to the king by ministers dependent on the Crown. And even here there was no encouragement to wrest the law in the king's favour, though he might and did exact his legal rights to the uttermost farthing. It does not appear that Henry was moved by any strong desire to strengthen the courts of the shire and the hundred as against the extensive jurisdiction which had already been appropriated by the landowners. All that he did in this direction was to check the process under which all their functions were gradually departing from them, by requiring that they should meet at regular intervals. Of great importance, however, was the development of

the practice of sending supervising justices on occasional visits to different parts of the country, who took in charge the trial of the more important cases, and uniformly applied the law in the shire courts as it was recognised in the king's own court, the Curia Regis. Their registered judgments were established as precedents, and thus a comparative uniformity was given to the law at the same time that the capricious activity of the sheriffs was kept in check. These justices, or commissions of justices, with the king behind them, had nothing to fear from local magnates, but were rather feared by them; and their exact and even-handed administration of the law won for Henry the title of the Lion of Justice. "A good man he was," said the Anglo-Saxon Chronicler, "and there was great awe of him. No man durst misdo against another in his time. He made peace for man



Officers of the Royal Treasury about 1140 weighing and receiving coin.

[From a contemporary Psalter.]

and beast. Whoso bore his burden of gold and silver, no man durst say to him aught but good."

The Curia Regis, the central court of justice, was always in attendance on the king's person. It comprised the great officers of state and law officers appointed by the Crown. It was practically the same body which, as the Court of the Exchequer, took charge of the national finance and examined the accounts of the sheriffs who were responsible for collecting and handing in the revenue. For portions of the revenue the sheriff paid a fixed amount, and made his own profits off the difference between this agreed sum and the amount collected. For the danegeld, however, and the fees and fines collected under feudal law, he had to render a precise account. It is to be noted that in this reign many payments which had hitherto been made in kind were required to be in silver; a fact which points to a considerable increase in the circulation of the precious metals as a medium of exchange.

Henry was not far short of seventy when he died, a ripe age for a medieval monarch. There was no sign of enfeeblement of his powers

when his end came. His contemporaries regarded him with an admiration which his success as a ruler entirely deserved. In spite of his wars on the continent and the rebellions in England which marked his first years, he gave the country order and peace in marked contrast to the two reigns which preceded and followed his own. The measure of his success is shown by the ease with which Henry II. restored and developed the system which he had organised, although nineteen years passed between the death of the grandfather and the accession of the grandson—years which represent a period of wild anarchy, in which there was no supreme controlling force whatever, and the one institution which succeeded in maintaining something of its own dignity, some fragment even of a higher idealism, was the Church.

VI

STEPHEN

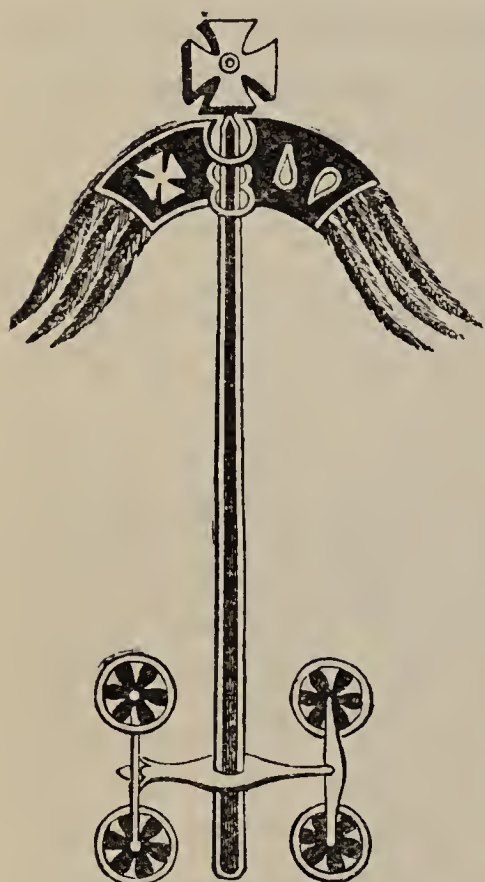
Henry died in Normandy. With all his shrewdness and anxiety to secure the succession to his daughter he had omitted to take the somewhat obvious step of making sure that she should be present in England at the time of his death, though he knew well enough that her succession would be unpopular with every class of his subjects. Perhaps the one time in his life when Stephen of Boulogne showed signs of intelligence was when he hurried over to England to capture the support of the great officers of state and the clergy in claiming the inheritance. The great bulk of the barons, who assumed that the election of a king would remain with them, were in Normandy. After due deliberation they offered the dukedom and the crown to Theobald of Blois, while Geoffrey of Anjou, who cared much more about Normandy than about England, was collecting a force on the Maine frontier in order to make good his own claims. The election of Theobald was interrupted by the arrival of a messenger, who announced that his younger brother Stephen had already been elected and crowned by the English Witan. The cautious and unambitious Theobald accepted the situation and refused to stand in his brother's way.

Stephen, however, was no sooner crowned than his inefficiency became obvious. A very valiant knight in single combat or against any odds, he had no vices and no brains, lacking the most elementary notions whether of strategy, of diplomacy, or of statesmanship. Therefore, from the very outset all over the country every man began doing that which may have been right in his own eyes but was very seldom so in the sight of any one else. Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the Empress Maud's illegitimate brother, was very soon plotting to place her on the throne. David of Scotland, who, as Earl of Huntingdon, had sworn allegiance to her, demanded as the price of peace the succession to the earldom of Northumberland for his own son

Henry, basing the claim on the fact that his own wife was the daughter of Waltheof.

In 1138 the country was ablaze with miscellaneous insurrections, more particularly in the west country. In that year David, whose demands had not been satisfied, having already harried the border, led a considerable host of invaders across the Tweed, and advanced over the Tees. A Scottish incursion was more than the Yorkshiremen would endure, and the stout old Archbishop Thurstan got together a considerable force to meet them,

who marched out with sundry sacred banners at their head, which gave their name to the Battle of the Standard fought at Northallerton. It is curious to note that the Englishmen, instead of employing the usually successful cavalry tactics of the day, dismounted and fought as heavy infantry; also that they fought having clumps of archers intermixed with them, which looks very much like a foretaste of tactics applied nearly a hundred and fifty years afterwards in the Welsh wars of Edward I. and developed in the French campaigns of Edward III. At any rate the Scots, though in superior numbers, met with an overwhelming defeat, due largely to the slaughter inflicted by the archers. Nevertheless, the victory led to nothing beyond the immediate expulsion of the invaders; and very soon afterwards David made peace with Stephen on terms rather better for himself than he had demanded before the invasion.



The English Standard,
A.D. 1138.

Stephen himself proceeded to quarrel with the ecclesiastical party, including his own brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, who had the Pope at his back since he was himself authorised papal legate. Nothing could better have suited the empress and her party, who at this juncture succeeded in landing in England. The king on the one side and the empress on the other began to purchase support by lavishing rights and privileges, lands, and titles on every one who asked for them. With the exception of Robert of Gloucester, whose interests were bound up with those of his sister, no one could be relied upon to remain on one side or other for any continuous period; the civil war was not so much a battle of parties as a welter of private wars. Says the English Chronicler: "Every powerful man made his castles and held them against him; and they filled the land full of castles. They cruelly oppressed the wretched men of the land with castle works. When the castles were made they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those men they imagined had any property, both by night and by day, peasant men and women, and put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with unutterable torture; never were martyrs so tortured as they were. . . . They laid imposts on the

towns continually and called it *tenserie*; when the wretched men had no more to give they robbed and burned all the towns, so that thou mightest well go all a day's journey, and thou shouldst never find a man sitting in a town [that is township or village] or the land tilled." So goes on the hideous record of rank unbridled violence "till men said openly that Christ and His saints slept."

Stephen himself was taken prisoner in a battle at Lincoln early in 1141. His cause seemed to have collapsed, and Maud was elected "Lady of England." She in her turn at once, by her arrogance and violence and her total disregard of the advice of both Gloucester and the king of Scots, aroused such a spirit of resentment that within the year she was herself a fugitive and her brother of Gloucester was a prisoner. Then Stephen and Gloucester were exchanged, and in a few weeks half the country had again acknowledged Stephen. It is scarcely profitable to pursue the ups and downs of the fighting. Gloucester's death in 1147 threatened to ruin the Angevin cause; it was, perhaps, saved by the death four years afterwards of Count Geoffrey, whose son Henry, then eighteen years old, was not long in proving himself a youth of extraordinary capacity, vigour, and intelligence.

So far as concerned the fight between Stephen and Maud herself, it had been practically won when the empress retreated from England after Robert of Gloucester's death. But the succession was another matter. Stephen's one desire was to secure it for his son Eustace; but he had finally succeeded in driving the clergy solidly over to the Angevin side. In 1153 young Henry landed with a small enough force, but one which sufficiently enabled him to display his qualities of leadership. The tide of favour seemed suddenly to turn; Eustace was unpopular, and the barons began to come in to Henry. The death of Eustace made Stephen careless for the future. Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, intervened to negotiate between the rivals, and terms were agreed upon at Wallingford. Stephen was to remain upon the throne, but Henry was to succeed him, and was to be in some sort associated with him in the government of the kingdom; and in the meantime Stephen, with Henry's support, was to set about the ejection of the mercenaries or free-lances, who had been employed in large numbers by both sides throughout the struggle, and the destruction of the many hundreds of unlicensed castles which had sprung up all over the country. Henry, in fact, left Stephen to carry out these stipulations by



Seal of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, brother of King Stephen.

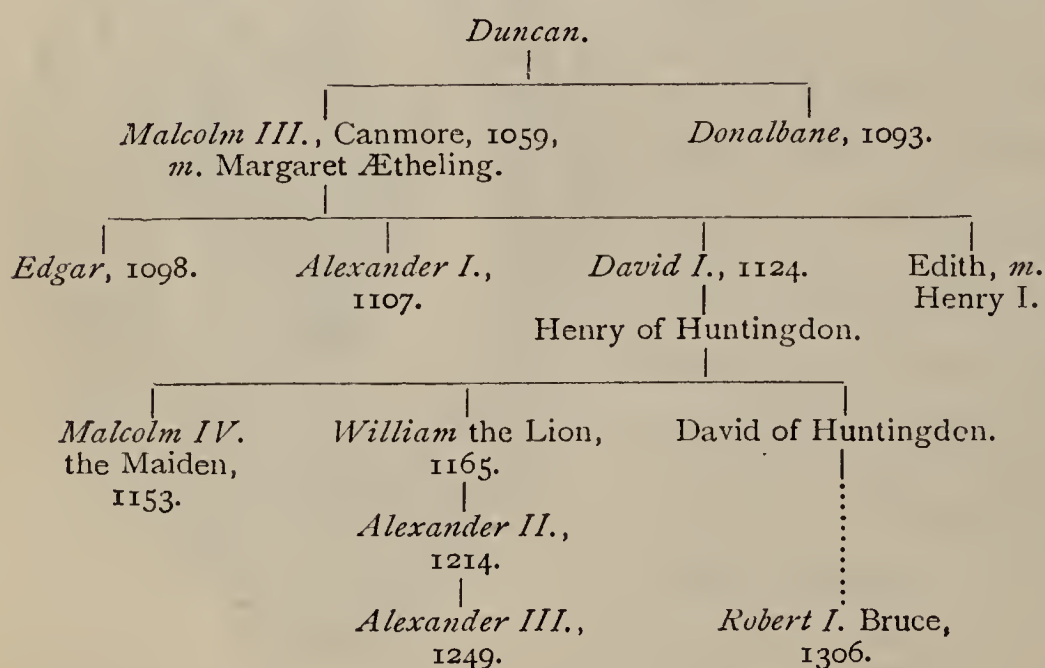
himself; but only a year remained to him for the fulfilment of his undertakings. The something that was done was done with characteristic inefficiency, and the country only began to breathe freely when Stephen died to make room for a man who, whatever his faults or merits, was nothing if not efficient.

VII

SCOTLAND

A half Saxon royal family was established on the throne of Scotland when Edgar secured the throne during the reign of William Rufus in England. Since the reconciliation of Edgar the Ætheling with the

THE SCOTS KINGS



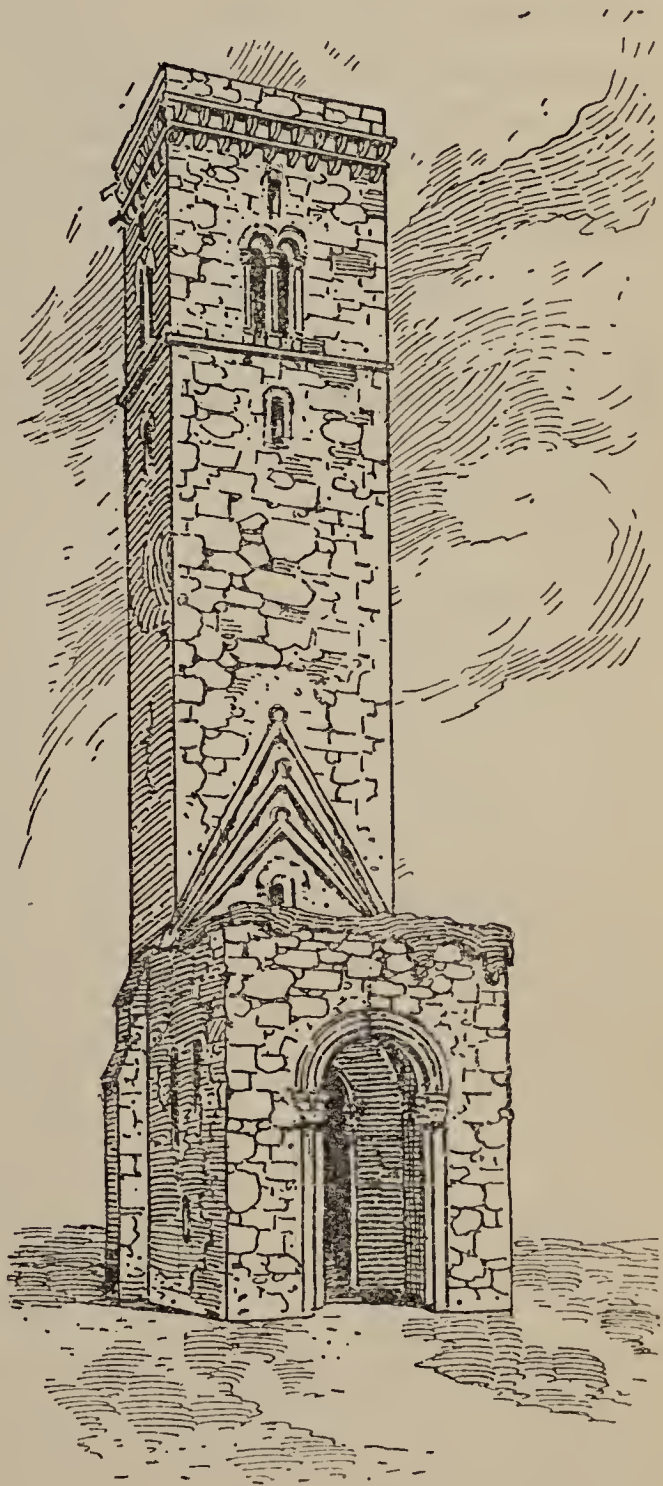
Norman, the undercurrent of hostility to the Norman dynasty in England disappeared among the sons of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret. Those princes in fact, themselves, now represented the hereditary claims of the house of Wessex, any attempt to assert which would have been particularly absurd in view of the relations between King

Edgar and William Rufus. When Henry I. married King Edgar's sister, the family claims, such as they were, were absorbed by the offspring of that marriage. But it is curious to observe that on the principles of pure legitimacy the kings of Scotland were the rightful kings of England, not the Norman line, which, on feudal principles, periodically put in its own claim to the overlordship of Scotland.

Three brothers now reigned in succession. When Edgar died, Alexander I. became king with his capital at Edinburgh; but even during his reign the last brother, David, as Earl of Southern Scotland, was practically the ruler of the whole of the Lowlands. David was in constant contact with the English, and his wife was the daughter of Waltheof. Alexander himself was considerably occupied with the repression of the rebellious Celts of the North, and with the Anglicising or Normanising of the ecclesiastical organisation; although he was extremely careful to avoid doing anything which could be construed into a subjection of the Church of Scotland to the supremacy either of Canterbury or York. Perhaps, if

Alexander had left a son, Scotland might have been parted into two kingdoms. As he was childless, David ascended the throne in 1124.

David's reign of twenty-nine years established the character of the Scottish kingdom, both through his failures and his successes. It was his ambition to obtain the northern earldoms of England and absorb them into the Scottish kingdom; but though he procured from Stephen the grant of Northumberland, he did not succeed in absorbing it. Tweed and Solway remained the lasting boundaries between the kingdoms. It was not to these ambitions that the great importance of David's reign must be attributed. It is to be found rather in the Normanising of the southern aristocracy, in the organisation of the Church and the extension of its influence, and in the municipal development which he fostered. The elements which went to make up the Scottish state proved to be much more difficult of combination than those in England, when Norman feudalism and English institutions blended together. There the Crown took the people into partnership in order to hold the lawlessness of the barons in check; then the barons took the people into partnership in order to hold the lawlessness of the Crown in check. The Church generally took the side of the law, except when it followed an aggressive line on its own account, when the king and the barons made common cause against it. The Celtic element was always insignificant. But in Scotland the Celtic element was always active, and there were constant cross currents of Celtic tribalism in the North and Norman feudalism in the South, both acting against the central government, which was, on the other hand, constantly in close alliance with the Church against both Celtic and Norman nobility. The effect of David's Normanising and ecclesiastical policy was in the first instance pre-eminently civilising, and Scottish culture attained a higher standard in many respects than that of England. Scotland became a nation, and developed a sense of nationality which enabled it to set its far more powerful neighbour at defiance; though the warring elements of which the nation was composed kept it internally in a state of anarchy,



Church of St. Regulus, St. Andrews.
[A pre-Norman church of 10th to 12th centuries.]

which was hardly checked except by the unifying influence of the common hostility to England.

But all this did not become apparent in the reign of David I., or indeed till long afterwards. What was apparent in that reign, which ended a year before the death of Stephen, was that Scotland had emerged definitely in the character of a state developing on the general lines of European civilisation—lines, that is, partly Teutonic and partly Latin; not on the un-Latinised and un-Teutonised Celtic lines which she had been following down to the accession of Malcolm Canmore. The politically predominant division of Scotland approximated not to Ireland or to Wales, but to England; and her future relations with England were for a time at least to be seriously complicated by the fact that the great barons of the Lowlands for the most part held fiefs in England as well, and were vassals at once of the two kings of England and Scotland.

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY PLANTAGENETS

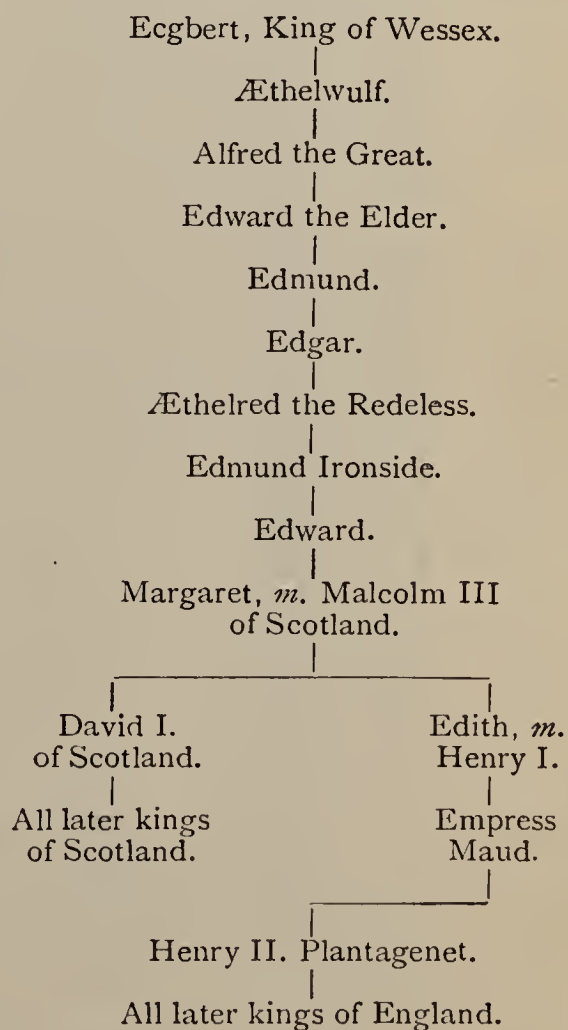
I

HENRY II

HENRY PLANTAGENET, Count of Anjou, was barely one and twenty when he became king of England. Already his audacity and ambition had been displayed by the wooing and winning of Eleanor of Aquitaine, an alliance which added to his dominions about a quarter of the whole French realm. The lady's marriage with her previous husband, the king of France, had been annulled, owing to incompatibility of temper. With the English inheritance came that of Normandy, carrying with it Maine and the over-lordship of Brittany, so that in his own right or in that of his wife he was actual lord of more than half of France, besides having disputed claims on Toulouse. In respect of these counties and duchies the king of France was his suzerain ; in respect of England he was of course entirely independent. The populations which owned his sway even on the other side of the channel were exceedingly diverse ; and undoubtedly it was his ambition to weld all these dominions into a consolidated empire. Hence more than half the years of his reign were spent on the continent ; and we have to realise that he was not a king of England with continental possessions so much as a great continental prince who happened also to be king of England. But since he did happen to be king of England it was in this country that he found scope for his genius as a ruler, while France absorbed his talents for war, diplomacy, and intrigue.

He found England utterly sickened and surfeited with the anarchy of Stephen's reign and ready to welcome the strong hand which should put down disorder. Young as he was, he displayed at once a combined vigour

THE BLOOD ROYAL OF ALFRED



and shrewdness which won him support on every side. In nine months he had restored order and government. The mercenaries were cleared out of the country and the unlicensed castles were levelled to the ground. The nobles who dreamed of recalcitrancy, of asserting their right to follow their own devices, were paralysed by the swift energy of his movements. Men no longer felt that each had to fight for his own hand; the majority were ready enough to combine on the side of law and order when the principles of law and order were incarnated in a chief endowed with so vigorous and capable a personality.

Henry took nominally for his chief counsellor Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, a prelate trained in the school of Roger of Salisbury, who had been the right-hand man of Henry I. For chancellor he took the archbishop's brilliant young secretary, Thomas Becket, a man after the king's own heart, to whom Theobald willingly relinquished the onerous work of the king's chief minister. The administrative system which had been organised by his grandfather and had gone to ruin under the general chaos of Stephen's reign was restored, and for some years to come Henry allowed himself to be absorbed mainly by his continental ambitions. During these years, however, he took advantage of the youth of the king of Scots, Malcolm IV., the grandson of David, to compel him to surrender the claims on Northumberland and Cumberland which Henry had promised David to acknowledge, and to do homage for his earldom of Huntingdon.

Henry's French wars established the important institution of scutage. He could summon the barons and their feudal levies to his banner, but their attendance could only be required for a limited period. Hence the system was extremely inconvenient for him and also for them. Therefore they welcomed a scheme under which they were allowed to commute personal service with their levies for a proportionate money payment, to which was given the name of "scutage" or shield-money. The scutage enabled the king on his side to hire soldiery who were directly in his own pay and were, by consequence, exclusively devoted to his interests. On the other hand, the barons being virtually released from their feudal obligation to maintain forces ready to take the field ceased to do so, with the obvious result that they ceased also to be ready to take the field on their own account. This commutation had already been practised in respect of land held by the Church; but its extension to the lay baronage immensely increased the military power of the Crown. Some twenty years later another step in the same direction was taken by the Assize of Arms, which reconstituted the national fyrd and regulated the arms which all freeholders, burghers, and freemen were required to carry.

In 1162 Archbishop Theobald died. The Church, with ample justification, had acquired under Stephen many relaxations of its subordination to the Crown; rules established under the Conqueror and under Henry I. fell into abeyance. Henry II. was resolved to re-establish the claims of the Crown but was willing to wait for Theobald's death. Now it seemed



EFFIGIES OF HENRY II AND HIS QUEEN ELEANOR AT FONTREVAULT
ABBAY, NORMANDY

that his time had come, and he conceived that he had an instrument ready to his hand in his chancellor, Thomas Becket, who had hitherto seen eye to eye with him. He nominated Thomas to the archbishopric. Becket, as chancellor, acted the rôle of the great minister of the Crown with dramatic zeal and enthusiasm ; but he had a different conception of his duties as archbishop. He had become the head of the Church ; and in that capacity he was no longer the servant of the Crown, but the champion of the Church against all comers, resolute to surrender no tittle of her privileges. Since the part was thrust upon him he would play it like his previous part, with dramatic thoroughness, of which martyrdom would be a welcome climax. In the meanwhile the brilliant and worldly statesman, the king's boon companion, the cleric before whose lance knights had been known to go down, became the ascetic devotee, the father of the poor, the servant of the Lord's servants.

Now the reforms on which Henry was set were twofold. On the one side he claimed the recovery for the Crown of those rights which it had successfully maintained in the time of the Conqueror and Henry I. On the other he demanded the curtailment of ecclesiastical powers which had grown out of that complete separation of ecclesiastical and temporal jurisdictions for which William I. and Lanfranc had been responsible. In the chaos of Stephen's reign there had been little hope of obtaining justice from any except ecclesiastical courts, which, as a natural consequence, encroached upon the jurisdiction of the lay courts. King Henry found that in all cases in which any person was concerned who belonged to the ranks of the clergy, including what was practically the lay fringe of that body, the Church claimed exclusive jurisdiction, and inflicted on clerics penalties which, from the lay point of view, were grotesquely inadequate. Royal expostulations were met by archiepiscopal denunciations. The quarrel waxed hot. The king was determined that the clergy should not be exempted from the due reward of their misdoings. In the Constitutions of Clarendon he propounded a scheme which he professed to regard as expressing the true customs of the kingdom. Becket was induced to promise to accept the customs ; but not without justification he repudiated the king's view of what those customs were.

The clauses in the Constitutions which forbade carrying appeals to Rome and required the higher clergy to obtain a royal licence to leave the kingdom were hardly disputable. But the case for the "customs" broke down when the king claimed that criminous clerks should be handed over to the secular arm for further judgment after the Church had inflicted its

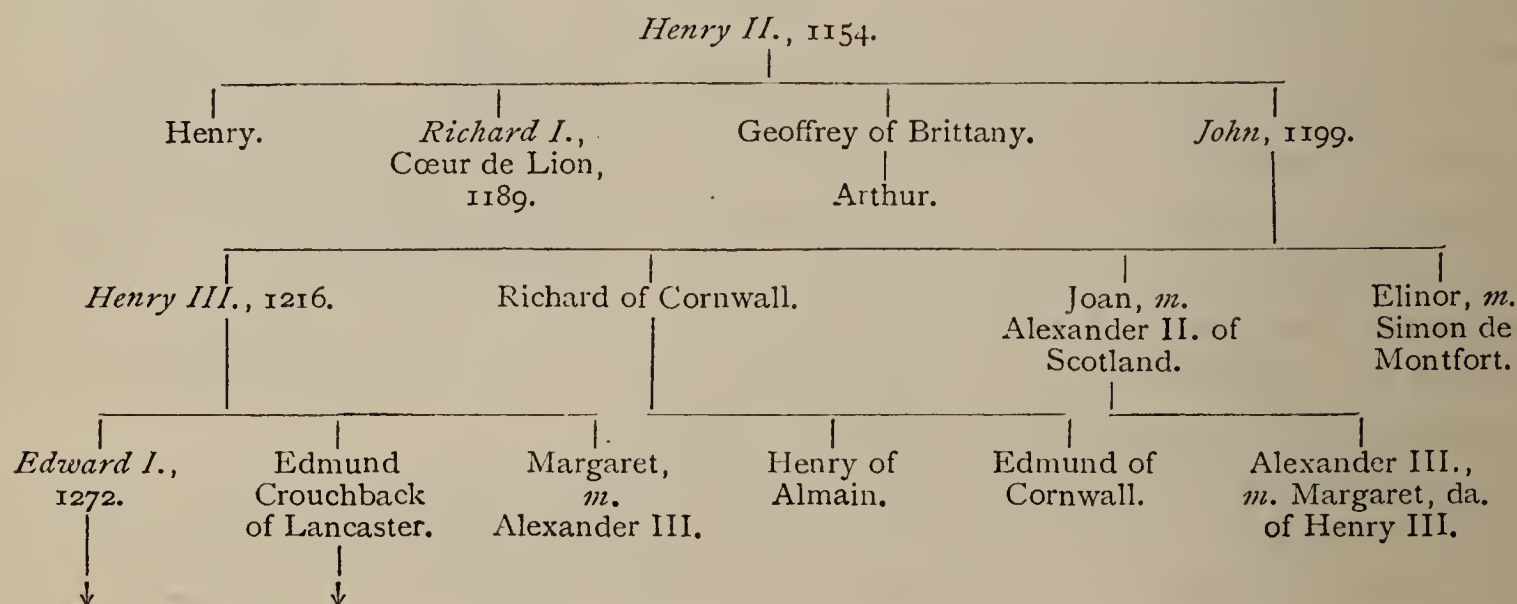


Thomas à Becket arguing with Henry II.
and King Louis.

own penalties. Becket, however, chose to resist the demand on the ground that a cleric as such was exempt from secular punishment in virtue of his office. The barons took the king's side and threatened violence. Becket yielded avowedly to force and nothing else. Having done so he obtained a papal dispensation annulling his promise. The king's indignation was obvious and justifiable. Becket persuaded himself that his life was in danger, as it really may have been ; and he fled from the country to appeal to the Pope and the king of France.

In the course of the quarrel both sides had committed palpable breaches of the law. Now, with Becket out of the country, diplomacy at Rome, coupled with the logic of facts in England, might have secured the king a complete victory ; but he was tempted to a blunder. He had his eldest son Henry crowned as his successor. Coronation was a prerogative of the

FOUR GENERATIONS OF PLANTAGENETS



Archbishop of Canterbury ; the young prince was crowned without him. The Pope threatened to suspend the bishops who had performed the ceremony and to lay the king's continental territories under an interdict. Henry was alarmed and sought a reconciliation with Becket. At a formal meeting in France the quarrel was so far composed that Becket was invited to return in peace to Canterbury.

He returned, but not in peace. He had hardly landed in England when he excommunicated the bishops who had participated in the coronation ceremony. The news was carried to the king, who was then in the neighbourhood of Bayeux. He burst into a fit of ungovernable rage. Four knights caught at the words which he uttered in his frenzy, slipped from the court, posted to the sea, and took ship for England, where they at once made for Canterbury. They broke into the archbishop's house and charged him with treason. He flung the charge in their teeth. They withdrew, but only to arm themselves. The archbishop's chaplains forced him into the cathedral where the vesper service was beginning. As he passed up into the choir the knights burst in with drawn swords crying,

"Where is the traitor? where is the archbishop." He turned and advanced to meet them. "I," he said, "am the servant of Christ whom ye seek." One of them laid hands on him; the archbishop flung him off with words of scorn. They cut him down and scattered his brains on the pavement. Then they took horse and departed.

The murder of Becket gave him the victory which otherwise would hardly have been his. Henry's repentance was abject and sincere. Nearly eighteen months passed before he finally came to terms with the Pope; he evaded the extremity of submission, making a pretext for delay out of the expedition to Ireland, of which we shall presently speak further. When he did come to terms he was able to maintain those claims for the independence



Mounted soldiers of the time of Henry II.

[From a Vulgate Bible at Winchester.]

of the English Crown which had been asserted by his predecessors. But he had to surrender on the question of the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts; and no encroachment was made upon those privileges called "Benefit of Clergy" until the dawn of the Reformation.

The story of the later years of Henry's reign is very much taken up with his quarrels with his sons, the details of which scarcely concern our history. But how effectively the king had organised the royal power we can see by the fact that for nearly twenty years after his accession there was no revolt. And then when of a sudden his enemies rose up against him on all sides—his sons, his foes on the continent, English barons, and the king of Scots—he turned to bay, stamped out rebellion, routed his external enemies, took the king of Scots prisoner, and extorted from him by the treaty of Falaise the one unqualified and unquestionable submission of the northern kingdom which history records.

Henry's victory in this first contest was shortly followed by the Assize of Northampton, which gave a final shape to the system of sending justices on circuit which had first been instituted by Henry I. Two years later, in 1178, another step was taken in the organisation of the judicial system by the appointment of a special committee of the Curia Regis to deal with the bulk

of the questions which normally came before that body. At a later date this committee, now known as the *Curia Regis in Banco*, developed into the two Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas. The final court of appeal, however, continued to be that of the king sitting in council.

In 1183 family quarrels again broke out, in which the three elder sons fought against each other and occasionally combined in order to fight their father. In this year, however, died the eldest son Henry, thus leaving the second, Richard, who was already Duke of Aquitaine, heir to the English throne. Three years later died the third son, Geoffrey, on whom Brittany had been bestowed, to whom after his death was born that son Arthur, of whose tragic fate the tradition, if not the actual facts, are preserved in Shakespeare's play, *King John*. Quarrels between King Henry and Richard were sedulously fomented by the crafty and utterly unscrupulous young king of France, Philip II., called Augustus. A check was put upon them, however, by a sudden blow which fell upon Christendom.



Knights of the late 12th century.

For eighty years the Christians had held Jerusalem and the sacred places in Palestine, which had been torn from the Saracens in the first crusade. But a new leader of aggressive Mohammedanism arose in the person of the Seljuk Turk Sala-ud-Din, the famous "Sultan Saladin." He fell upon the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and captured the Holy City itself. All Western Christendom began to arm for a mighty crusade, and in the horror of that great disaster all other feuds were for the time compounded. The preparations for the crusade led in England for the first time to the imposition of a tax not upon land, but upon movables or personal property, known as the Saladin Tithe. The tax was sanctioned by the Great Council; and it is to be observed that although the individual gave in his own sworn return of the value of his

property, his assessment might be appealed against to a jury of his own parish.

Henry probably and Richard certainly were both sincere in their crusading zeal. But Richard's policy was always ruined by the personal passions and jealousies of the moment, which Philip of France always turned to his own account. Richard involved himself in a quarrel with the Count of Toulouse; Philip joined in against him, and Henry himself was dragged in. Then Philip and Richard became reconciled and turned on the old king.

How and why Henry broke down it is hard to guess; but break down he did, both in body and mind. He had no heart to fight, and submitted, conceding everything that was demanded of him, including the pardon of all who had joined the conspiracy. The last blow fell when he opened the list of traitors and found it headed by the name of his youngest and favourite son John. The shock killed him. Richard, passionate in



Ladies of the 12th century weaving.

[From Eadwine's Psalter.]

his remorse as in his anger, came to view his father's corpse; and men said that blood trickled from the dead man's nostrils, a sign that he who stood by him was his murderer.

The tragedy and failures of Henry's last months do not touch the fact that in England he raised the crown to the highest point that it ever reached. When he came to the throne the one absolute necessity was the concentration of power in the central government, which meant and could mean only in the king's hands. There was no independent political organisation of the people; while of the greater barons each one was a law to himself. They had not learnt to stand together as champions of public law. But they were not unwilling to receive from the king the conception of public law which was afterwards to bear fruit. The new powers of the Crown prepared the way for the tyranny of John; but Henry's own methods implanted in the barons that conception of public spirit which was exemplified at Runnymede and culminated in Simon de Montfort.

The most marked of the royal innovations was to be found in the extension of taxation in the form of exactions for war purposes called "scutage" in the case of tenants-in-chief, and "gifts," "aids," or "tallages" when levied from shires and towns. The Crown was further strengthened when the king made almost a clean sweep of the sheriffs, and for local magnates substituted exchequer officials in that office—an administrative reform of great importance. We have already noted how the dis-

integrating character which attended continental feudalism was checked by the institution of scutage and the more thorough organisation of the national militia by the Assize of Arms, which also extended the obligation of military service to classes which had hitherto been exempt.

In the field of judicature we have noted the reorganisation of the Curia Regis itself and the revival of Henry's system of occasionally sending visiting justices to inspect and supervise judicial administration in the provinces. This system also was reorganised by the Assizes of Northampton and Clarendon, which sent justices regularly on circuit and reserved for their judgment whole classes of cases which had hitherto been dealt with by local courts, although in the main questions of guilt or innocence were settled by the preliminary inquiry. That is, no one was presented for trial who had been acquitted in preliminary investigation ; and the fact of presentation was treated as *prima facie* evidence of guilt. The itinerant justices were the representatives of the Crown. Thus by his various reforms Henry concentrated in the hands of the Crown and of officers dependent on the favour of the Crown the control of finance, the control of the military forces, and the control of judicial administration. When the Crown abused its powers it became the turn of the barons to insist that those powers should be exercised, not arbitrarily, but in accordance with precedent and custom. But those powers were so great that they could not be set at defiance or even challenged at all by individuals, or capriciously even by groups of individuals, but only by the concerted action of men moved by a strong sense of loyalty to a common cause.

II

THE ANNEXATION OF IRELAND

Henry II. won, as we have seen, from the Scots king a complete submission and an acknowledgment of his suzerainty over the kingdom of Scotland. This, however, was to be immediately abrogated by Henry's successor. On the other hand, he made a permanent acquisition by the annexation of Ireland, which hitherto had stood outside the region of English affairs, though it had influenced the early history of Scotland.

The Romans came and passed but never set foot on the sister island. The English came and made themselves masters of Britain, save for the highlands of the west, from the Channel to the Forth, the "Scots water." And they also left Ireland alone. The Irish Celts continued their Celtic development untouched by the Latin or the Teuton. They sent out those tribes which occupied Argyle, and ultimately gave their name to the Scottish nation. They sent out the missionaries who taught Christianity to the wild peoples of the North, and seemed likely enough at one stage to capture all England for their Church. But Celtic tribalism never adapted itself to the

evolution of an advanced political State. The subordination of the parts for the sake of the whole was alien to the Celtic temperament; and the progress which followed upon the stirrings of religious enthusiasm ended when the motive impulse died down. Ireland continued to be peopled by clansmen personally devoted to their petty chiefs, but under no common government. Powerful chiefs exercised some dominion over numerous minor chiefs, and some sort of nominal supremacy over the whole island on the part of the chief of the O'Neills seems commonly to have been recognised by these lesser kings.

But Ireland was no more immune from the attacks of the Northmen than the rest of Western Europe. Danes so-called, and probably many more Norwegians than Danes, harried her coasts and planted settlements from Dublin to Waterford—settlements which were made the occasional base for attacks upon England. But these Danes made no great effort to effect a conquest; the Danish host never flung itself in force upon Ireland as it did upon England and France. According to tradition



An Irish chalice of the 10th to 11th centuries.
[In silver exquisitely ornamented with gold repoussé and filigree work.]

a Norse conquest was attempted early in the eleventh century, when the invaders were overwhelmed at the great battle of Clontarf by the Irish hero, Brian Boromhe, in 1014. This, however, was precisely the time when Denmark was conquering England, and no aggressive national movement was taking place from Norway. The Danes or Norsemen who were overthrown by Brian Boromhe were no great host of invaders from overseas, but probably the folk from the Danish settlements on the coast, though reinforced no doubt by bands of miscellaneous sea-rovers.

However, the battle of Clontarf put an end finally to active aggression on the part of Danes or Norsemen. Ireland was not included in Knut's conception of a northern empire. Seventy years later it appears that William the Conqueror contemplated the annexation of Ireland, of which doubtless also William Rufus also dreamed. The English Chronicler says that the Conqueror, had he lived two years longer, "would have subjugated Ireland by his wisdom without war." But his plans remain unrevealed and never materialised in action. Whatever Rufus may have intended, his ambitions were cut short by Walter Tyrell's arrow in the New Forest.

Nevertheless, if Brian Boromhe delivered Ireland from the Scandinavian conqueror, he did not succeed in organising an Irish state. Ireland remained unconsolidated, a congeries of clans engaged on interminable feuds, and of petty kings engaged on interminable rivalries; politically and ecclesiastically as well as geographically outside the influences which were

shaking western Christendom; un-Teutonised, un-Latinised, and, from the papal point of view, heretical and hardly better than pagan.

Towards this region Henry Plantagenet turned an occasional glance, as one which it might some day be worth while to conquer if he should find time. Very early in his reign he obtained from Pope Adrian IV., the one Englishman who has ever occupied the papal throne, an authorisation to bring Ireland under his dominion and into ecclesiastical obedience to Rome. Other matters were of more immediate importance to the king; but an opportunity presented itself for establishing his authority in Ireland without undertaking a war to that end. Dermot, King of Leinster, was desperately at feud with a neighbour. Deposed from his kingdom, he appealed for aid to the mighty monarch on the other side of St. George's Channel. Henry would not take up the quarrel himself, but he allowed a group of Norman adventurers to make what they could out of the situation, always on condition of their remaining his own liege subjects and doing homage to him for any new territories they might acquire. The chief of the adventurers was Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, called Strongbow, a baron whose acres did not suffice to make him wealthy or powerful at home in spite of remarkable abilities. With him were associated sundry Fitzgeralds, De Burghs, Fitzurses and others. They went over to the aid of Dermot with forces which were not indeed large, but were incomparably better equipped than the half-armed levies of the Irish clans, whom they routed with ease. Dermot was reinstated in his kingdom; Strongbow married his daughter, and was endowed with wide estates and the reversion of Leinster. The rest of the Normans had their share.

But Henry of England had no intention of permitting his own barons to set up independent principalities in the neighbourhood of his own kingdom. He was minded to make his own profit out of their adventure; moreover, the murder of Becket made it particularly convenient for him at that moment to place himself out of reach of rapid communication with Rome. So in 1171 he proceeded to Ireland with a considerable force. Whatever ambitious projects Strongbow may have entertained, he had no thought of defying the king of England, who came, moreover, armed with the papal authority which conferred upon him the dignity of Lord of Ireland. Strongbow was well enough content to retain the ample estates of Leinster as Henry's vassal and to surrender the royal title.

There was no united Ireland to bid defiance to the invader; and most of the Irish chiefs had no particular objection to acknowledging the overlordship of the king of England, such acknowledgments being in their experience easily made and easily set aside. All that Henry wanted was a general submission on their part and a secure foothold for himself in case he should afterwards find it convenient to turn it to account. There was no such prospect of immediate profit as would tempt him to expend time, labour, and money on the organisation of the newly acquired kingdom. Policy however, demanded insistence on the ecclesiastical side of his old

bargain with Adrian IV. in order to conciliate the present Pope Alexander III. The Churchmen in Ireland saw better hope for the future in the prospect of a government organised on the English model than in the prevalent lawlessness. They may perhaps be forgiven if they acted on expectations which were unfulfilled. Their unorthodoxy was not deeply rooted; they accepted the Roman supremacy and ranked themselves on the side of the annexation.

Henry then did not conquer Ireland in the sense in which William I. conquered England, or even in the sense in which William would have conquered England had there been no insurrections after his coronation. It was rather as though William had merely established a few of his followers with a couple of earldoms and several minor baronies carved out of Wessex, and had then left the country to take care of itself under the nominal control of one justiciar. Practically this was what Henry did in Ireland. He placed Hugh de Lacey in Dublin as justiciar, and gave him the great earldom of Meath to counterbalance Strongbow's earldom of Leinster. A few Normans held scattered territories, while the bulk of the Irish chiefs retained their land as feudatories of the English king. The English law ran only in the regions from Waterford to Dublin known as the English Pale. Henry, in fact, was quite as anxious to ensure that the Norman barons in Ireland should not become too powerful as to establish over the whole country a control which would have been costly and unremunerative. It was indeed his intention, at the time of the conquest of Ireland, to part his great dominion among his four sons; and probably when he annexed Ireland he had the idea of making it the portion for the youngest of them, John, who had come into the world ten years after his elder brothers and could otherwise only be provided for by slices out of their territory. But the fact remains that his organisation of a government for Ireland never went beyond the initial stages; and when twelve years later John did actually visit Ireland, his behaviour went very near to driving the native chiefs into a general insurrection. In short, the official government exercised only a very inefficient control within the Pale and none at all outside it; while the Norman barons made fresh acquisitions of territory for themselves and, like the Danes before them, adapted themselves to the native manners and customs; and the Fitzurses, by translating their name into its Celtic equivalent M'Mahon, exemplified the general truth that they had become in spirit much more Irish than Norman.

III

CŒUR DE LION

Richard I. is one of the magnificently picturesque figures of our history, the incarnation of all that most appeals to the imagination in feudalism. He is the fiery soldier dominated by the great ideal of winning back the Holy

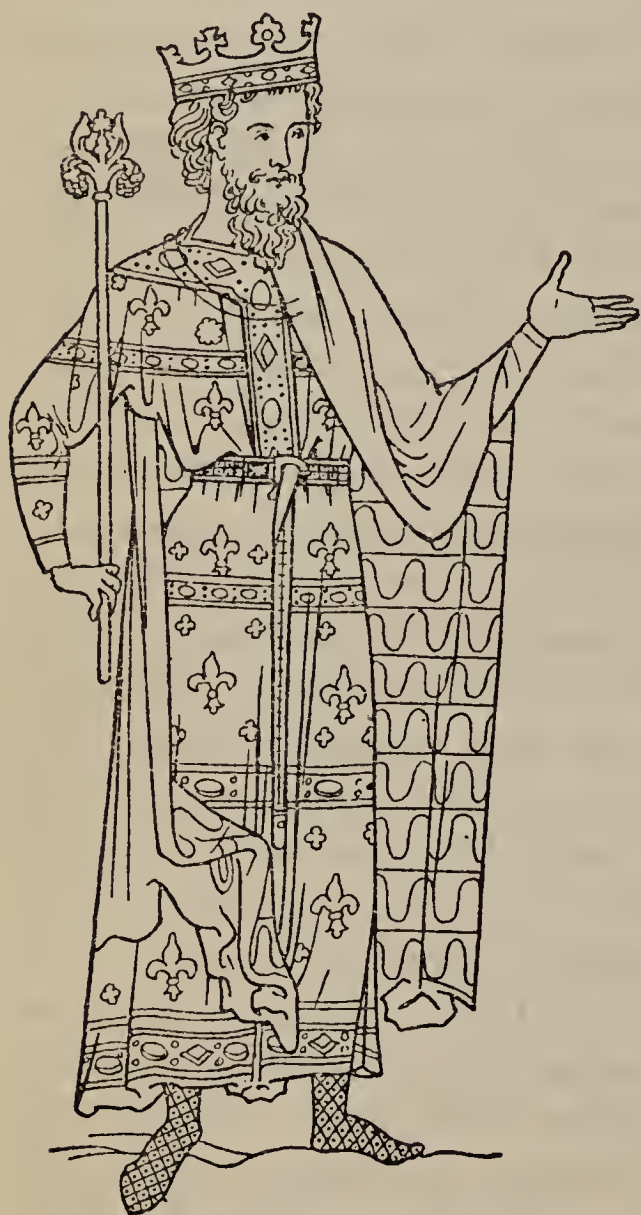
Sepulchre from the Paynim ; he is the knight of unmatched prowess before whose terrific onset the Saracens are scattered like chaff ; he is the hero so fearless and so mighty that it was fabled concerning him that he slew a lion with his hands ; he is the minstrel king, rescued from durance vile by the faithful persistence of his loyal follower, Blondell ; he is the genial monarch who exchanged buffets with Robin Hood and Friar Tuck in merry Sherwood ; he is the generous prince, too chivalrous to punish the traitorous

brother whom he freely forgave ; who, dying, freely pardoned the man who had dealt him his death-blow. Fact and fable are largely mingled in the picture. But as far as concerns the history of England Richard's personality belongs chiefly to romance. Out of his whole reign of ten years he spent barely six months, all told, in England. His crusading exploits form no part of English history ; the political aims on which he was engaged in his latter years belong to his position as a continental potentate, not as king of England. His reign had, indeed, a constitutional importance not very easily grasped and very easily forgotten in the glamour of romance which attaches to him ; but this was owing, not to Richard, but to the ministers to whom he entrusted his kingdom during his absence.

Although there was practically no established law of succession, Richard's title to the crown was unchallenged when Henry II. died. From August to December, 1189, he was in England, engaged in prepara-

tions for the crusade. His great need was money, which he raised with unparalleled recklessness by selling everything he had the power to sell for which he could get a price. For a price he set William the Lion of Scotland free from the obligations of the treaty of Falaise, and cancelled all English claims which rested upon that transaction. He sold a share in the chief justiciarship to the Bishop of Durham ; he sold sheriffdoms right and left ; he sold charters to the towns ; he sold offices and honours ; he sold permission to resign offices and honours. Then he departed, and England did not see his face again till the spring of 1194.

He left behind him as chancellor and chief justiciar—the Bishop of Durham was soon superseded—a low-born Norman, William Longchamp, who had the one supreme merit of being loyal to his master. His brother



An English monarch about 1190.

John and his illegitimate brother Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, were under oath to remain outside the kingdom for two years. Longchamp, who was generally detested as an upstart, and displayed all an upstart's vices, started on a policy of repressing the nobles by re-occupying the royal castles which had been left in their hands in consideration of substantial payments. But Prince John had been allowed to return to the country, and now sought to pose as the champion of liberty against the justiciar's oppression. Richard, whose progress to Palestine was delayed in Sicily till the spring of 1191, received warnings which led to the appointment of the trustworthy and capable Walter of Coutances as justiciar in the room of Longchamp.

John plotted to obtain supreme power for himself, with the connivance of Philip of France, who had returned from Palestine a few weeks after Richard's arrival there. In the autumn of 1192 Richard himself started on his return journey ; but he was shipwrecked on the Adriatic coast, captured by his personal foe, Leopold of Austria, and handed over to the clutches of the German Emperor Henry, who held him in captivity. An enormous ransom was demanded, and the conspirators, Philip and John, spent the year 1193 in intrigues to prevent Richard's liberation. But Walter of Coutances and his successor in the justiciarship, Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, aided by the old queen-mother Eleanor, succeeded in raising the huge ransom ; and the conspirators were checkmated by Richard's own arrival in England in March 1194. Rebellion collapsed and the rebels met with undeservedly generous treatment. Richard's exploits had secured him a popularity in England, which was evidenced by the readiness with which the nation had submitted to fearfully heavy taxation in order to set him free ; and which was not destroyed even by the new taxation imposed for carrying out Richard's vengeful designs against his arch-enemy, Philip of France. Within two months Richard had again departed from England, never to return, leaving the government in the hands of Hubert Walter, who ruled the country for four years.

Richard's wars and diplomatic intrigues concern England mainly because of the heavy demands for taxation and for military service which they entailed. The latter brought about what may be called a constitutional alliance of the greater barons and the higher clergy, which foreshadowed the events of the coming century. Headed by Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, they declared that their feudal obligation did not extend to service beyond the seas. And this Constitutional Opposition carried its point. Hubert thereupon resigned his position, and Geoffrey FitzPeter, Earl of Essex, took his place.

But the fundamental importance of Walter's term of office lies in his development of the system of representation and election for the purposes of local government, which afterwards provided the machinery for a representative parliament. The archbishop, it may be taken for granted, was not looking forward to any such development ; probably he was concerned

only with administrative convenience. But the changes he made also had the political effect of adding greatly to the importance of the class which grew into the gentry of the country, the "knights of the shire," who were for the most part tenants-in-chief holding from the Crown. Men of greater estate than the small freeholders, there was no class in the community whose interests were more bound up with the maintenance of peace and the enforcement of law. Hitherto the local "juries" had been bodies selected by the sheriff; it was their function to lay sworn information before the Crown officials in connection with assessments for taxation and for fiscal purposes, and to present cases for trial at the grand assizes. Walter substituted for this arrangement the election in the shire court of four officers called Coroners, who decided which cases should be reserved to be presented for trial by the judges; and the selection of the juries, instead of being left to the sheriffs, was placed in the hands of four knights of the shire elected for that purpose in the shire courts. Thus the way was prepared for sending elected knights of the shire to attend the Great Council, the name now clearly appropriated to the National Assembly, at which all tenants-in-chief were entitled to be present. Incidentally also knights of the shire were appointed "custodians of the peace," which meant primarily that they controlled the "Hue and Cry," which may be described as the local machinery for police purposes, out of which again at a later stage developed the functions of justices of the peace.

In 1199 Richard received his death wound while besieging the fortress of a recalcitrant vassal, the Viscount of Limoges, and was succeeded by his brother John.

IV

JOHN

There was another claimant to the throne in the person of the twelve year old Arthur of Brittany, the posthumous son of Geoffrey, a brother who had come between Richard and John. Both England and Normandy, not without hesitation, acknowledged John's claim; and in England he was formally elected. Hubert Walter became chancellor, and while he lived co-operated with the justiciar Geoffrey FitzPeter. But Arthur's mother, Constance, claimed for him Anjou and Maine, as well as Brittany, encouraged by Philip of France. Aquitaine in the meantime indubitably belonged to the old queen-mother Eleanor, whose marriage with Henry II. while he was still only Count of Anjou had associated it with the Angevin dominion. John stirred up a host of enemies by divorcing his wife Isabella of Gloucester, whose name is commonly given as Hadwisa, on a plea of consanguinity, and marrying another Isabel, of Angoulême, in spite of her being betrothed to Hugo of Lusignan. Out of these embroilments Philip of France meant to get his

own advantage by giving his support wherever there was most to be gained, though always professedly acting in accordance with feudal law.

The Lusignans formed a party ; revolts spread among John's French vassals of various sorts ; Philip intervened as suzerain and mediator ; trickery was answered by trickery ; and when Philip thought himself strong enough he summoned John to appear before him to answer charges brought against him in his capacity as Duke of Aquitaine. John refused to appear and Philip declared his fiefs forfeited. Normandy

Philip meant to keep for himself ; for the rest of the Angevin dominion he recognised the rights of Arthur. Arthur attacked Aquitaine and besieged the queen mother. For once John exerted the military ability which he really possessed, swooped upon Arthur by a brilliantly rapid march, and captured him with all his company. He had the game in his own hands, and lost it by murdering Arthur as every one believed, and treating others of his captives with a brutality which alienated numbers who would otherwise have supported him. Philip flung himself against Normandy, and

John's English barons refused to fight for him. By the midsummer of 1204 Normandy was irrevocably lost. By the end of the year Gascony, which was bound to England by trade interests, was all that was left to John of the Angevin inheritance except a part of Poitou.

While John was losing Normandy and most of his other territories, matters went tolerably smoothly in England itself under the government of Geoffrey FitzPeter and Hubert Walter. John insisted upon exactions which were excessive and of doubtful legality. But the justiciar made politic concessions, sometimes to powerful barons, sometimes to a section of the clergy, and sometimes to the towns. The charters and trading rights granted to the last served for a long time to keep them royalist, when the baronage had



already been goaded into an attitude of open opposition to the Crown. The obstinate refusal of the baronage to follow John from France made the success of his cause impossible there, though probably in any case he would have compassed his own ruin.

In 1205 the death of Hubert Walter opened the second phase of King John's reign, the struggle with the papacy. For John it was unfortunate that the most powerful and the most uncompromising of all the Popes, Innocent III., now occupied the papal throne. The king's nominee for the archbishopric vacated by Hubert Walter's death was John de Grey, Bishop of Lincoln. The actual right of election lay with the Chapter of Canterbury; but the bishops of the province had in practice claimed to participate, and the king had in practice an effective power of control. The Chapter did not want John de Grey, but some of them at least would have preferred to avoid a quarrel with the king and the bishops. A hot-headed section, however, held a secret and irregular election, chose their sub-prior, and hurried him off to Rome to obtain papal confirmation of the election. The facts leaked out while he was on his journey. The other party in the Chapter hastened to make their peace with the king by electing John de Grey in conjunction with the bishops. De Grey went off to Rome to procure his own confirmation. Innocent took the view that both the elections were highly irregular, and he invited the king to send to Rome a commission of the Canterbury Chapter with authority to make a new election. When the commission arrived, Innocent, having set aside the two previous elections, invited them to adopt a nominee of his own, Cardinal Stephen Langton. The commission obeyed; and now every one concerned except Stephen Langton himself, including the Pope, had behaved irregularly, though there was no question of Langton's fitness for the office, and Innocent had believed that the appointment would be acceptable to the king.

John wanted his own creature and flung defiance at the Pope; the Pope retorted by taking the high ground of his supreme authority as the successor of St. Peter. John seized the Canterbury estates, and the monks withdrew or were driven into exile. The Pope threatened an interdict. John offered submission with a saving clause; Innocent would listen to no saving clause. John proclaimed that if the interdict were issued he would forfeit the estates of every ecclesiastic who obeyed it. Innocent pronounced the interdict, and the clergy obeyed it. Practically the king and the king's officers on the one side declared war on the clergy, while the clergy on the other side closed the churches.

The populace seem to have accepted the situation with a surprising equanimity. On the whole they inclined to the king's side, probably because, when the ecclesiastical revenues were seized, they were themselves delivered from the excessive burden of taxation. But John was threatened with excommunication, which would give every one who wanted it the papal authority for repudiating allegiance to him. At the end of 1209 John was excommunicated, and the excommunication was followed by

the threat of inviting Philip of France to effect his deposition. John continued to be defiant; but discontent increased, the air grew thick with plots and rumours of plots; John could trust no one and suspected all; Philip was preparing for invasion; and John, at last in sudden terror lest he should find himself deserted and alone, resolved on submission. In May 1213 he admitted the papal legate Pandulph, and made the famous submission in which he surrendered the crown of England and received back the kingdom as a fief of Holy Church. Thence-

forth John was the Pope's repentant son and very obedient servant, and Innocent was John's very good lord and father. The submission does not appear at the time to have shocked public opinion to any great extent; John was by no means alone among the European princes who received their crowns as vassals of the Holy See. And



A translation of holy relics in the 13th century.

[Drawn by Matthew Paris.]

John's foes were deprived of the papal sanction for attacking him.

Stephen Langton, now accepted as Archbishop of Canterbury, and Geoffrey FitzPeter, were anxious to turn the new situation to account by efforts to restore the kingdom to its normal condition, and to remedy the abuses which had increased and multiplied while the quarrel with the papacy was in progress. But John had other views. Philip of France had protested loudly that he would not give up at the Pope's dictation the project of deposing John in favour of his own son, which he had taken in hand by the Pope's desire. But immediately after the reconciliation an English fleet had fallen upon the French ships, destroyed large numbers of them, and captured some hundreds with quantities of stores. For anything like invasion Philip was temporarily paralysed. Nevertheless, John's first desire was to pursue a vindictive policy. Continental powers, including the Emperor Otto, were ready to join in an alliance for the overthrow of the French king.

The English baronage, however, would have nothing to say to a renewal of the French war. They mistrusted John as a soldier; they knew that he had before collected vast sums of money, ostensibly for military purposes, which were thrown away in extravagance and mismanagement. John raged, but in the face of their stolidity he was helpless. Resolved to vent his wrath upon some one, he started for the

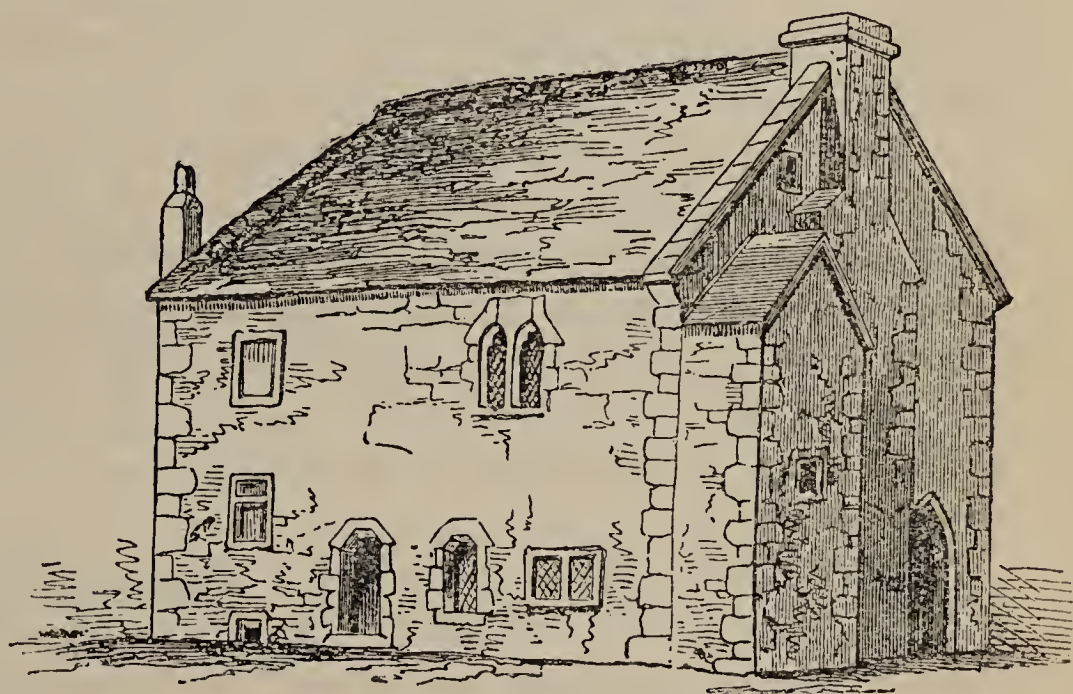
North, intending to exact penalties from the northern barons for their recalcitrance. Stephen Langton followed him, with threats even of renewing the excommunication if he persisted. An assembly was called at St. Albans by Geoffrey FitzPeter, where the proposal was perhaps made that the charter of Henry I. should be laid before John for ratification. Constitutional resistance to unconstitutional action was taking shape. And then the old justiciar, who, like Hubert Walter, had in some sense stood between the Crown and the barons, died. Both those men had been loyal supporters of the Crown, but had exercised a restraining influence on John himself while endeavouring to conciliate the interests which it was most dangerous to outrage.

John had rejoiced in the death of Walter and rejoiced now in the death of FitzPeter. The Pope, who had been ready to depose a disobedient king, was equally ready to condemn disobedience to his repentant vassal. But Innocent himself had presented England with an archbishop who feared neither king nor pope when he saw before him the clear path of justice. If the baronage produced no conspicuously competent leader, the Church gave them in Stephen Langton a guide as courageous as he was wise. It was Langton who produced and set before them the actual charter of Henry I., and gave them the controlling principle that they should demand not innovations, but the observance of the laws which the people and the great rulers of the past had recognised as just and righteous. The strength of the barons in the coming contest lay in the fact that it was made one not on behalf of the privileges of a class, but on behalf of the supremacy of the law.

Still John was bent on his project of destroying Philip of France, in conjunction with the Emperor Otto and other enemies of the French king. Unable to raise the feudal levies, John collected a large force of mercenaries and sailed for Poitou. He made terms with his old enemies of the house of Lusignan, and reports came home of a series of successful operations. But Otto on the east did not strike, and Philip organised his defence. At last Otto did move, in conjunction with a considerable force of John's troops which were in the Low Countries under the command of William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury. Then came complete disaster. At the battle of Bouvines Philip put Otto utterly to rout, taking the Earl of Salisbury prisoner; and his victory entirely dissolved the alliance which had been formed against him. Pope Innocent succeeded in procuring a peace which still left Gascony and Guienne to the king of England; but John returned to his kingdom, not with the palm of victory as he had hoped, but under the stigma of defeat and disgrace.

Characteristically enough John wished to relieve his feelings at the expense of the barons; but Bouvines only served to stiffen them. The leaders entered into a solemn compact to insist on the demand for the confirmation of Henry I.'s charter. In January 1215 they appeared before John in arms and made their demand. John procured three months' delay,

and in the interval employed every device of which he was master to break up the opposition; on his behalf, too, Innocent thundered from Rome. But it was in vain. The barons collected a great army in the North and once more sent in their statement of grievances. John flew into a passion, declaring with many oaths that they had better have asked him for his kingdom at once. They had awaited his reply; now they marched south to London, while John retreated towards the west. London received the barons with open arms; no one gathered to the king's support. He saw that he was beaten, and placed himself in the hands of the archbishop. The Great Charter, based upon that of Henry I., was drawn up, placed before him, and received the royal seal on June 17, 1215, at Runnymede, near Windsor.



West Dean Parsonage, Sussex, a 13th century building.

The fundamental quality of all political revolutions that have taken place in England has been a theoretical conservatism. From the Charter to the Parliament Bill of 1911 the reformers have invariably taken their stand on the doctrine that they were insisting on fundamental principles of the constitution against unconstitutional innovation. The only exceptions are to be found in the divers forms of republic which were attempted between 1648 and 1660; since it was not possible to maintain that England had ever before been a republic. In no case has the doctrine been more completely warranted than in that of the Great Charter, "the Charter" *par excellence*. With the exception of a single point, every line of it insists upon principles either explicitly formulated in previous charters or implicitly sanctioned by them—principles which had been set aside only in times of sheer lawlessness or by the deliberate innovations of the Plantagenets. Its novelty lay in the fact that it was extorted from the king at the sword's point instead of being voluntarily conceded by him. In the charter itself the main variation from precedent lay in its explicit formulation of principles which hitherto had only been implied. But it was precisely that change which established it as a permanent criterion.

It laid down that no man should be brought to trial unless evidence could be produced against him; that no man should be punished except after lawful trial, or in a manner disproportionate to his defence; that justice should not be sold nor delayed nor denied to any man. It claimed also that only recognised taxes and feudal fees (though these are

somewhat inadequately defined) might be levied without obtaining the formal consent of the Great Council. There was ample ground for declaring that every one of these principles had been observed by the great rulers of the past. When the Charter comes to details the remarkable fact is that the barons did not confine themselves to insistence on the privileges of their own order, but also bound themselves to observe the just rights of other sections of the community in accordance with the law. Not that they wished to improve the position of the humbler classes or pretended to be champions of democracy; but they stood for the Supremacy of Law, and the right of every man to be in practice secure of what the law promised him in theory.

The one innovation of the Charter was the machinery which it set up for compelling the Crown to carry out its obligations. It created a committee of twenty-five, nominated from among the Greater Barons with the addition of the Mayor of London, which should have authority to enforce the Charter in arms even against the king. That innovation was the one feature of the Charter in which there was no permanence, although it was followed as a precedent at various crises during the next two hundred years.

The Charter marks an epoch in English history; it set up a permanent formula of liberties to which appeal could for ever after be made. But it did not bring immediate peace and good government. There were numbers of the barons who wanted something very much more drastic than what the wisdom and moderation of Stephen Langton sought to procure. For a short time it seemed that the king meant to fulfil his promises; but insubordination among the barons provided him with an excuse for making preparations to repudiate the Charter. He procured from the Pope a decree which annulled it; the more readily, because Innocent wanted John to take a leading part in a new Crusade, which under the existing conditions was impossible. Langton himself was paralysed by a papal threat to suspend him from his office. By the autumn both sides were preparing for war; and before the end of the year the barons, or a majority of them, took the extreme step of inviting the French Dauphin Louis to come to their aid. The barons suffered from the want of any strong and capable leader, and the coming of a French force identified patriotism with the Royalist cause. At first, indeed, the king gained few supporters, and none from among the baronage. Though Dover held out for him stoutly under the Justiciar Hubert de Burgh, it seemed at the outset as though Louis would carry matters all his own way. But time was on the side of a reaction, and the barons began to perceive with wrath that Louis's French followers expected to reap their own harvest, while the Committee of twenty-five were almost ignored by him. John occupied Lincoln, and already there were signs of the tide turning, when the king was seized with a sudden illness and died at Newark on October 19, 1216.

John deservedly enjoys the reputation of the worst monarch who ever

occupied the English throne, with no one to challenge that unenviable primacy except possibly Æthelred the Redeless. But John's very crimes and failures wrought good for the country. The recklessness of his rule, his utter disregard of law, his violence towards the Church, his extravagance, his monstrous taxation, and his personal wickedness, drove the baronage to assume the attitude of champions of law and order, and to wring from him the Charter to which appeal could for ever after be made when the ruling powers set law and order at nought. He shattered the Angevin dominion, but by so doing he made England English. The fusion of English and Normans had made great progress even in the reign of Henry II.; but the loss of Normandy finally deprived the Norman families in England of their interest in Normandy, and bound them to England; so that in the next reign they looked upon themselves as English, and upon Frenchmen, wherever they came from, as aliens and foreigners. Hence the national development of England was greatly indebted to the loss of John's possession in Northern France. Henceforth no king of England could treat the kingdom, after the manner of Richard I., as secondary to his continental dominions. England was not a province of the Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine; Gascony and Guienne were French provinces in the possession of the king of England.

V

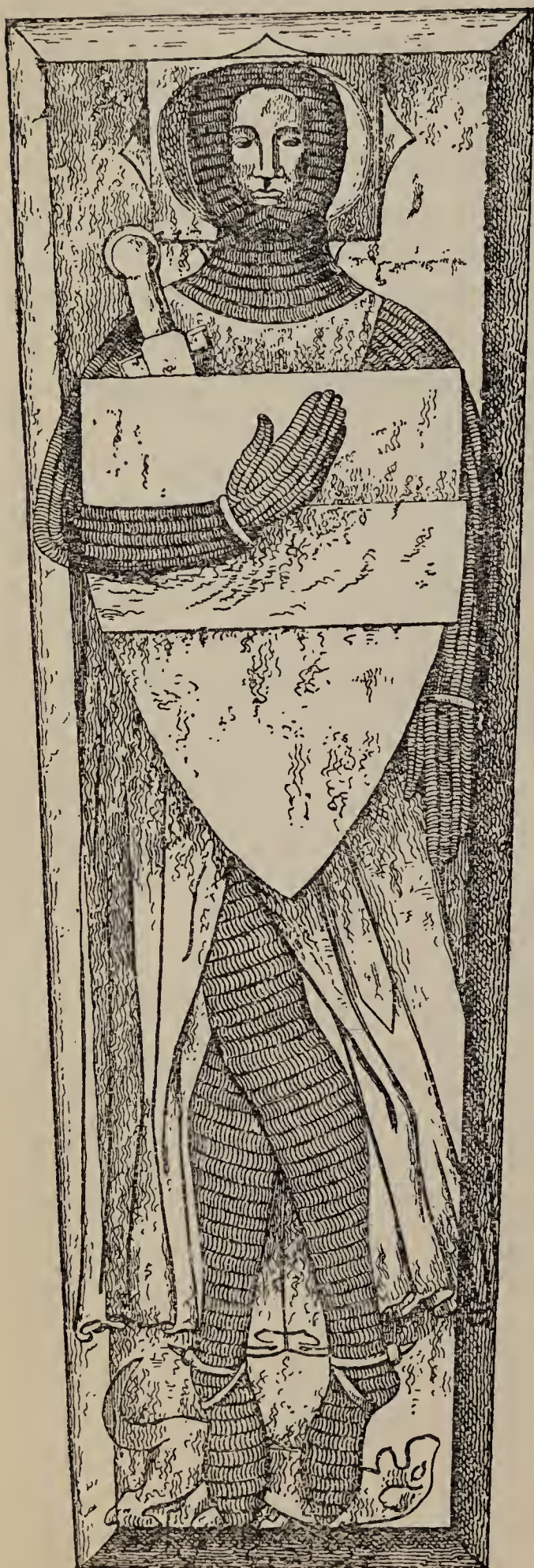
HENRY III. AND SIMON DE MONTFORT

On John's death the small group of loyalist barons and bishops was prompt to proclaim his young son Henry king. At its head was the stout old Earl Marshal, William of Pembroke, who accepted the office of Protector; supported by Ranulf of Chester, as well as by the Justiciar Hubert de Burgh and the legate Gualo, who represented the new Pope Honorius III. The great Charter was reissued by the new government, but with a significant suspension of the clauses which forbade taxation except by consent of the Great Council. The rebels were at pause; uneasy and dissatisfied with the Dauphin and his French companions, but unwilling to submit to the loyalists. Hostilities were suspended till the early summer of the next year, by which time there had been appreciable accessions to the king's party. The run-away fight known as the "Fair of Lincoln" turned the scale; and this was followed in August by the victory of Hubert de Burgh in the Straits of Dover over a considerable fleet bringing French reinforcements for the Dauphin. Louis saw that the struggle had become hopeless, and came to terms in September. An almost complete amnesty was granted to the rebels, the exception being in the severity displayed by the papal legate Gualo towards the clergy who had opposed the Crown in defiance of the papal commands—a severity which accentuated the disposition of the English clergy to resent the exercise in England of control by Rome.

The Earl Marshal lived only eighteen months longer, ruling during that time with firmness and moderation. On his death the control passed to Hubert de Burgh and the Bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches, a Poitevin like John's queen and her kinsfolk, who placed himself at the head of the foreign element which John—forced to depend on mercenaries—had brought into the country. Gualo's successor Pandulph sought to enforce a papal supremacy, but retired in face of the combination of Hubert and Peter; while Stephen Langton persuaded the Pope to give up imposing foreign legates on the country. The barons were leaderless, and for a time there was a struggle for power between the foreign party inspired by the bishop and the patriots represented by the justiciar, from which Hubert de Burgh emerged triumphant.

But in 1227 Henry III. came of age and assumed the government. For five years Hubert remained his chief minister, bearing the burden of the young king's follies and doing his best to counteract or minimise their bad effects; while Peter des Roches intrigued to undermine his position. In 1232 the intriguer in his turn achieved success; charges of maladministration and peculation were brought against Hubert which could not indeed be proved, but were not easy to disprove, and he was deprived of office and of most of his estates; though some of his strongest political adversaries interposed in his favour, and popular sentiment was all on the side of the stout old patriot.

Hubert de Burgh had striven honestly and loyally to restore what the misdeeds of John had destroyed—a strong central government on national lines. Not only were the Commons of England English,



An early 13th century knight.

[From a tomb at Bitton Church, Somersetshire.]

but the baronage of England had become at length definitely English also in the course of the last three generations. The barons were resolved that the government of England should be English, not foreign, but they

were by no means clearly bent on keeping it strong and centralised. For some twenty-five years after the fall of the last great justiciar it is impossible to discover anywhere acknowledged leaders, or a definite positive policy in the opposition to the Crown, or a definite plan for remedying the persistent misrule, mismanagement, and extravagance.

King John was a brutal and debauched tyrant, clever enough to have been a distinguished statesman and general had he not been the slave of his own passions and vices, which were ignoble without qualification. Henry was neither cruel nor debauched, and if he had recognised his own intellectual limitations and allowed himself to be guided by sensible and patriotic advisers, he would have been an eminently respectable monarch. Unfortunately, although he was pious and a gentleman, he was obstinately determined to go his own way, which was invariably unwise; and like many other obstinate but shortsighted persons, he was generally managed by crafty intriguers who took advantage of his weaknesses to gain their own ends. But there was nothing so fatal as his persistent mistrust of all Englishmen, which led him habitually to repose his confidence in foreign advisers, and to place the administration in the hands of men who, whatever their merits, were detested as spoil-hunting aliens and were wholly un-English in their sympathies.

In the first stage the alien domination was that of the Poitevins, the allies or protégés of Peter des Roches. But Henry's marriage in 1236 to Eleanor of Provence, whose mother was of the house of Savoy, brought an incursion of the young queen's Savoyard uncles and Provençal kinsmen, who had been disappointed of expected profits when Eleanor's sister married the king of France, Louis IX.; and a few years later there was a fresh influx of Poitevins, sons and kinsfolk of Henry's mother, who had married again. To these alien swarms had to be added members of the French nobility who by descent or marriage discovered claims to territories in England. When Simon de Montfort, the great Earl of Leicester, first appeared on the scene, he was a conspicuous member of this last group, though as time passed he identified himself with the country of his adoption and made himself the whole-hearted champion of English liberties. And while Henry's jealousy of the English baronage provided power, place, and profit for the foreigners, his pious submission to the papacy made him ready to accede to every demand of the Holy See, to pour the revenues of the National Church into the Roman Treasury, and to fill ecclesiastical vacancies with the nominees of the Pope.

The influence of Peter des Roches was first challenged by Richard Marshal, the son of the Protector, perhaps the one man who was fitted to head a patriotic opposition. But the Earl was done to death by a treacherous stratagem while in Ireland, and although the baronage and the clergy, headed by the new Archbishop, Edmund Rich, succeeded in forcing the Bishop of Winchester into retirement, there was no one strong enough to dominate the king, who kept the management of matters in his own

incompetent hands. A series of magnificent marriages, including that of the king's sister to the German Emperor Frederick II., as well as the king's own nuptials, involved a tremendous expenditure, which was bitterly grudged while it could hardly be resisted. Matters were not improved when Henry made an unpopular military expedition to Poitou, of which only a remnant was left to the Angevins. Year after year saw repeated protests against taxation and extravagance on the part of the Great Council, a body which still for practical purposes usually consisted of the greater barons and ecclesiastics.

At last in 1244 the opposition began to formulate something like a scheme for controlling the king. Their leaders on this occasion were the king's brother Richard of Cornwall and Simon de Montfort, who a few years earlier had been allowed to marry a sister of the king. They urged, though without success, that three great officers of state, the justiciar, the chancellor, and the treasurer, should be elected, and a permanent council appointed with some power of control. But the attempt collapsed. Montfort was for some years employed abroad mainly in establishing the king's authority in Gascony; while the position of Richard of Cornwall prevented him from acting energetically in antagonism to the king. Edmund Rich of Canterbury, a saint but not a strong statesman, was succeeded by one of the queen's uncles, Boniface of Savoy, who showed considerable independence, and was apparently willing to act as a good Englishman, but was inevitably under suspicion as a member of the Savoyard family. Practically the papacy and the Crown combined to lay the country under ever-increasing impositions, which neither the baronage nor the national clergy were strong enough to resist effectively.

The climax, however, was reached when the king accepted from the Pope Innocent IV. the nomination of his second son Edmund to be King of Sicily, which the papacy was determined to take out of the hands of the Hohenstauffen. In accepting the kingdom, Henry in effect pledged himself to extract from England money for Innocent and his successor Alexander IV. to carry through the papal quarrel with the Hohenstauffen, which had nothing whatever to do with England. The immense demands involved upon the national purse strained the endurance of baronage and clergy to the breaking point. The opposition closed up its ranks; although in 1257, a portion of Henry's demands were conceded, the Great Council, known as the Mad Parliament, which assembled in 1258, insisted uncompromisingly on the redress of grievances.

The grievances and the proposed remedy were formulated in the Provisions of Oxford. The facts of portentous extravagance, illegal exactions, endless mismanagement, military incapacity, and subservience to the papacy were patent. Henry's expeditions in France had ended, not in the recovery, but in the complete loss of Poitou. Llewelyn, the Prince of North Wales, had succeeded practically for the first time in uniting nearly the whole of Wales in defiance of England, and the attempts to bring him to



THIRTEENTH CENTURY KNIGHTS IN BATTLE



THE KING CONFERS WITH THE ARCHITECT AT THE BUILDING OF A NEW CATHEDRAL

DRAWINGS FROM AN EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY MS. BY MATTHEW PARIS

From the original MS. in the British Museum. The drawings are perhaps by Matthew Paris himself, and were certainly made in St. Alban's Abbey under his supervision about 1250.

subjection had failed ignominiously. All these troubles the barons attributed in the main to the king's employment of aliens in nearly all positions of trust. Repeated confirmations of the modified Charter went for nothing when there were no means of compelling the king to carry out his pledges. So the Provisions demanded a clean sweep of the aliens and of incompetent and corrupt officials. But they went much further, and insisted on the appointment of a quite novel species of oligarchy, which, on the one hand, was to take the place of the Great Council, and on the other was to exercise complete control over the administration. The arrangements were extravagantly complicated ; but the practical outcome was that there was to be a supreme council of fifteen, two committees of twenty-four, and another committee of twelve, with various functions to discharge, all the committees being made up so that one group of the greater barons were members of each, and government was to be permanently vested in the hands of a few families.

But the oligarchy was united in nothing but the determination to remove the control of the government from the king's hands. The system could in no case have been shaped into a working constitution. Montfort would probably have entirely repudiated the idea that he was seeking his own personal aggrandisement ; his honest aim was the establishment of a strong and just government. But also he would probably never have regarded any government as strong and just in which he was not practically the dictator. There were others who wanted a strong and just government, but would not have Montfort as dictator. And there were others who were actuated by merely personal ambition, and wanted to dominate the government for their own personal ends. Within four years the oligarchs were hopelessly at odds among themselves, and half of them, in order to overthrow Montfort, had gone over to the side of the king, who in his turn obtained from the Pope a dispensation from his repeated oaths to observe the Provisions. At last there was a general agreement to refer the whole question to the arbitration of the French king, Louis IX., one of the noblest characters of the century. Louis gave his award, known as the *Mise of Amiens*, in January 1264, entirely on the side of Henry.

Montfort repudiated the award as the other side would undoubtedly have done had it gone against them. Both sides appealed to arms. Montfort had emphatically championed popular rights and popular liberties, as his opponents had championed baronial privileges. The contest now was not one between the Crown and the barons, but between a popular party headed by Montfort and supported by the towns and Commons generally, and a feudal party which had joined hands with the supporters of the Crown. But Montfort was far superior to his adversaries in military skill ; and although the odds at first had seemed against him, when the opposing forces met in a pitched battle at Lewes he was completely victorious ; Henry himself and his eldest son, who afterwards became Edward I., were obliged to surrender to him.

Thus Earl Simon was able practically to dictate to the king a new arrangement known as the Mise of Lewes. The government was to be in the hands of a council, and the council was to be appointed by a committee of arbitrators from which all aliens were to be excluded. The arrangement collapsed at once, because no tolerably impartial committee could be brought together. But immediately afterwards the Great Council



Simon de Montfort the elder.

[From a window in Chartres Cathedral, about 1230.]

was again assembled, at which there was again present that fleeting element, the representative knights of the shire. To this Council or Parliament Earl Simon presented a new scheme. The Council was itself to appoint three electors, none of whom were to be aliens. The three electors were to nominate a council of nine. The nine were to appoint all officers of state, and were in fact to control the government. The parliament chose as electors Montfort himself with the young Earl Gilbert of Gloucester and the Bishop of Chichester, two of his strongest supporters. The arrangement meant the dictatorship of Simon de Montfort.

At the end of the year the dictator summoned the famous parliament which met at the beginning of 1265. Hitherto the Great Council had consisted of the greater barons and higher clergy, summoned personally by the king, occasionally but irregularly supplemented by elected knights of the shire. Not all of the greater barons were summoned to Montfort's parlia-

ment, which was in fact a packed assembly, but the Earl introduced an important innovation. Besides the elected knights of the shire, he selected a number of boroughs, which were in general favourable to him, and summoned two elected burgesses from each of them. The parliament is famous, not because of what it accomplished, but because it was the first in which the burgess element was represented. There had been previous occasions when burgesses had been summoned for consultation and to give information, but they had not been allowed any voice in the actual deliberations of the Council. Montfort set a precedent which was not to be permanently adopted till thirty years afterwards, but its importance is not therefore to be underrated.

Montfort professedly intended the method of government instituted after the Mise of Lewes to serve merely as a *modus vivendi* until a permanent system could be agreed upon. But in the meanwhile the other side was mustering troops in France for a renewal of the war, and the provisional government was constantly threatened from the side of the Welsh marches, where Mortimer stood for the king's party. Earl Simon's popularity was derived from those qualities in his character which had won for him the name of Earl Simon the Righteous, and heroes of the Puritan type are generally prone to make enemies. His sons lacked their father's idealism and alienated many who would willingly have supported the Earl himself. They quarrelled with the Earl of Gloucester, who opened negotiations with Mortimer. Prince Edward escaped from his custody and joined the Marcher earls who rose in arms.

The insurgents were in overwhelming force from north to south of the Welsh marches. Montfort had at last met his match. A year before he had out-generalled the Royalists ; and at the battle of Lewes, Prince Edward had played the part of Prince Rupert in the great Rebellion four hundred years afterwards. His cavalry charge had swept away the wing of Simon's army opposed to him, but he had rushed on in a prolonged pursuit and returned to the field only to find the battle lost. It was the blunder of inexperience. Edward had learnt his lesson and realised the importance of scientific strategy and scientific tactics in war. Montfort's son was at Kenilworth in Warwickshire, and with him the Earl intended to form a junction and then crush the Prince. But Edward struck at the younger Montfort before the elder arrived. When the Earl reached Evesham, instead of being joined by his son, he was met by the Prince in superior force. With anything like equal capacity in the leaders the result of the battle was a foregone conclusion. Montfort's army was annihilated and he himself was slain.

Nearly two years elapsed before pacification was completed. Gloucester had turned against Montfort on personal grounds, but his aims had always been nearly akin to those of Montfort himself ; and when the Royalists seemed to him to be using their victory unjustly, he threatened to raise revolt again. But, in fact though not in name, Edward had already taken his father's place. The great Earl was dead, but essentially his cause was victorious. Edward was Montfort's disciple in statesmanship as well as in war ; and the Crown itself took up the task of establishing a government which should be at once just, strong, and patriotic. Five years after Evesham order had been so completely restored, and the existence of a new and firm regime so thoroughly recognised, that Edward himself was able to leave the country on the last crusade in which an English Prince took part, and to remain absent for four years, although his father died during the interval.

Earl Simon's career is unique in English history. Born and bred a foreigner, a younger son of that Simon de Montfort of European fame who

led the crusade against the Albigenses and acquired the county of Toulouse, he came to England merely to make good a claim to the earldom of Leicester which had descended to his father. At the outset he was in the eyes of Englishmen a typical alien, to be classed with the Poitevins and Savoyards ; especially when he obtained the royal assent to his marriage with one of the king's sisters, a marriage which greatly disgusted the king's brother, Richard of Cornwall. Yet we find him associated with Richard as most prominent among the barons in calling for a revision of the whole system of government after Henry's expedition to Poitou. He won himself a foremost place by his high abilities as a soldier and as an administrator, which were put to the proof when he was sent abroad to govern Gascony in the king's name. But his high moral character with its Puritan quality, his idealism, his devotion to a cause which appealed not at all to other men of his own class, singled him out even more than his abilities from the rest of the English magnates and made him inevitably the leader. There is little enough sign in him of constructive statesmanship ; he was one of those men who with power in his own hands would have ruled autocratically, with even-handed justice according to his lights, and with a single eye to the welfare not of himself, not of a class, but of the community at large. But the one innovation introduced by him which was in the long run to be permanently established, the representation of the towns in the National Council, was merely an accident, the outcome of the fact that he was himself assured of the support of that new element. None of the machinery which he devised for controlling the power of the Crown could conceivably have been made permanent with beneficial results, though it must also be remarked that he himself never intended it to be permanent. His greatness lies in his insistence on the principle that the aim of the government must be the prosperity of the whole state, and his manifest desire to make the government a government by national consent.

VI

ASPECTS

Norman kings bore sway in England for eighty-eight years. That period was not one of progress ; it cannot be said that at the end of it the people of England were more prosperous or the political status of the country higher than in the days of Canute or of the Confessor. Superficially at least the Conquest has the appearance of a convulsion which turned the land upside down from end to end, overthrew its institutions, and set up an entirely new system while imposing upon the English control by an alien and conquering race. We are able to discover, when we get below the surface, that fundamental institutions were not after all destroyed. The Normans introduced a new factor, but they did not wipe out what they

had found before them. The new factor and the old conditions, violently antagonistic as they were at the outset, had to be adapted to each other and harmonised into new conditions, which should render a national growth possible. The Conqueror by blood and iron, and Henry I. with his cold-blooded aptitude for business, constructed out of the warring elements foundations on which it was possible for their successors to build and which even the impotence of Stephen did not obliterate. The building was taken in hand by the first of the Plantagenets and the era of English progress began.

Henry II. found the hostility of Norman and Englishman already being forced into the background by the common danger from unlicensed feudalism which threatened the bulk of the Normans no less than the Englishmen themselves. Before the close of his reign a notable public official, Richard FitzNeal, could affirm in his *Dialogus de Scaccario* (i.e. the Exchequer) that Norman and Englishman had become practically indistinguishable outside the class of villeins. The unifying process was completed when the separation from Normandy identified the interests of even the greater baronage entirely with the country in which all their estates now lay; and at least from the beginning of the thirteenth century, the entire baronage looked upon itself as English and was imbued with the nationalist conception of the state. This disappearance of racial hostility was the first condition of national progress.

The second necessary condition was the development of a higher moral standard. The Conquest tended to force to the front all the baser and more brutal qualities alike in the conquerors and in the conquered—greed, cruelty, vindictiveness, treachery. The sheer excesses of Stephen's reign brought about reaction, a craving for order, a revulsion against the principle that might is right. In all the civil strifes during the Angevin period there was no reappearance of the horrors of the anarchy. But the change which came was more than a mere revulsion against abnormal excesses. A positive conception of personal duties and obligations permeated the higher ranks of the community. Barons and knights were not indeed possessed with a sudden spirit of altruistic self-sacrifice, but the chivalric ideal became elevated and purified though it was often enough misdirected. A Cœur de Lion provided an infinitely higher type for imitation than a Rufus; and the change which made a Richard rather than a Rufus the ideal of knighthood prepared the way for a conception of knighthood which took for its ideal a St. Louis or a Simon de Montfort. Men had learnt at least to pursue ends that were not purely selfish, and to take thought for the public good.

In bringing about this change the Church played a not inglorious part. At the close of the eleventh century and throughout the twelfth, the papacy was in aggressive conflict with the lay potentates of Europe. But England was too remote from Rome to be very directly involved in that struggle. The claims of the Roman pontiff until the thirteenth century were for the most part resisted alike by the Crown and by the clergy in England; and

in the thirteenth century it was the Crown which submitted to those claims while the clergy continued to resist them. The political aggression of the papacy, however, was in itself the outcome of a lofty conception of the Church's duty in the world, a conception by which the clergy in England were as emphatically actuated as the Popes themselves.

From Lanfranc to Edmund Rich the archbishops of Canterbury and many of the bishops provided conspicuous examples of that public spirit which only began to make its appearance among the lay baronage in the

time of Henry II. Becket and the Popes of the thirteenth century were responsible for translating the ecclesiastical ideal into one of conflict between the ecclesiastical and the secular authority; but Stephen Langton, Edmund Rich, and the great bishop Grossetête of Lincoln, the friend of Simon de Montfort, were the foremost champions of the highest ideals of their day.

And to their support came a new movement which gave the religious sentiment a new vitality. The orders of Mendicant friars, founded by St. Francis of Assisi and by



Ordination of a priest, 12th century.

[From the Roll of Guthlac in the British Museum.]

St. Dominic, were planted in England just after the accession of Henry III. By precept and example the brothers taught men to deny themselves, not, like the ascetics, for the discipline or salvation of their own souls, but for the welfare of others, material as well as moral.

Political and moral progress reacted upon material progress to which the Conquest had in the first place given a set-back. The villeins of Domesday had been freemen; by the time of Henry II. they had become in the eyes of the law serfs bound to the soil. But with the development of the new conditions they ceased to be the victims of perpetual oppression. In practice they were not greatly affected by the change in their legal status, because in practice it would very rarely have occurred to the villein to wish to leave the soil on which he was born, and if he did so wish, the difficulties would in general have been almost insuperable. But we have now to distinguish. The villein had now come to be roughly identified with the

man who held his land from a lord to whom he owed agricultural service, while he who held by payment in coin or in kind was generally looked upon as a free man. The effect of the Conquest had been to transfer large numbers of the latter class to the former. But with the new conditions came an increasing tendency to allow services to be commuted for payment ; with the necessary complementary tendency to employ labour for which wages were paid, in place of the compulsory labour which was commuted for rent. This movement was further facilitated by the growing employment of coin as a medium of exchange and of payment, in place of the more primitive methods of barter and payment in kind which necessarily prevailed when the precious metals were generally unavailable.

The change marked improved relations between the lords of the soil and the actual cultivators, a gradual passing of the feeling that the one class were practically the chattels of the other. But it does not otherwise imply any material modification in the manner of life of the rural population. A more prominent feature, however, of the period is the development of the boroughs.

The borough or town, in the sense in which we shall now use that term, was, as we have seen, at the time of the Conquest, merely a larger *tun*, township or village, formed either by expansion or by the aggregation of two or more townships in a single community. Life in the town did not differ essentially from life in the village ; the population was mainly concerned with agriculture. But so far as trade existed, the town was the centre of trade. Within this larger community men specialised to a greater extent in the few handicrafts which were practised. Thither to market or to fair came the village folk who had produce to exchange for goods which their own labour could not provide. The Norman demanded more and better goods of various kinds than had satisfied the Saxon ; and the Conquest brought in its train foreign merchants with manufactured wares to sell, and willing to buy the raw materials which were the only English produce of which they stood in need. Foreign commerce in the sense of commerce with foreigners in England increased, for the English themselves did very little in the way of direct import or export. Roughly speaking, the trade within each county or shire was concentrated in one or two boroughs, and, on a larger scale, in the half-dozen leading towns in the kingdom, London and Winchester, York, Lincoln and Norwich, and Bristol.

The borough lay sometimes within the lordship of a single manor ; more often perhaps two or more lords of the manor had jurisdiction within its borders. It was also subject to the jurisdiction of the king's officers, often because it had originally acquired its dignity as a *burh*, a fortified garrison town. It regarded its neighbours with jealousy and counted their citizens foreigners, to be admitted to the privilege of trading only because it was inconvenient or impossible to do without them ; so they were to be generally discouraged and made to pay for the privilege.

The boroughs were already possessed of certain powers of self-government separating them from the jurisdiction of the shire authorities, but they had a natural desire to be free also from manorial control and from that of the king's officers. Throughout the early Plantagenet period one borough after another acquired immunities or privileges by a charter or a series of charters obtained from the lords of the manor and the kings. These rights were not granted for nothing, since they involved the surrender by the authority which granted the charter of rights financially

valuable, tolls and fees. In one way or another the charters were purchased at a price, and were granted most readily by kings or lords when in want of money.

The powers and rights conferred by the charters were not identical in form, but the same two objects were always in view—immunity from outside jurisdiction, which was to be vested instead in the freemen of the borough, and authority to establish a gild-merchant having power to regulate trade in the borough.



Travellers in Anglo-Norman dress.

[From a 12th century MS.]

In discussing the gild-merchant we are on exceedingly debatable ground, and can only put forward probable explanations which must not be taken as dogmatic pronouncements. Apparently in the first instance, wherever a gild-merchant was established, the freemen of the borough formed themselves into two separate organisations with separate officers for the discharge of two separate functions—town government, which was the work of the corporation, and trade regulation, which was the work of the gild-merchant. But the gild-merchant became distinct from the body of the freemen of the borough, because in the first place the men who were not engaged in trade would not enroll themselves in the gild-merchant, and in the second place the gild-merchant admitted to its membership persons who were not freemen of the borough. The most explicit constitutional regulation of the gild-merchant was that no one should be permitted to trade within the borough, except by special occasional licence, unless he had been admitted to membership of the gild-merchant. On the other hand, the gild was not a private association which captured the control of trade, but was a body to which every burgess was entitled to belong if he chose. The term merchant had not, it must be remembered, its modern signification; the manufacturer, the wholesaler, and the retailer had not been differentiated. Every one without distinction who sold goods was a merchant.

The gild-merchant could carry its regulations down to the minutest

details. It could fix wages and prices, standards of quality, the time at which work might be done. The idea of free competition had not come into existence. Buying and selling was, of course, a matter of bargaining, but no one had any doubt that a public authority was entitled for the public good to draw the line between fair and unfair bargaining. It was the legitimate business of the gild-merchant to take such measures as it thought fit to ensure good workmanship, fair dealing, and fair wages and prices.

VII

SCOTLAND

Scotland affords no counterpart to the constitutional struggles with which England had been so largely occupied for three-quarters of a century when Henry III. died; and the process of consolidation which went on in the northern kingdom was also on quite different lines. For England the vital fact was that the country ceased to be merely a portion of the dominions of a European potentate, and that French provinces became merely appanages of the English crown. Scotland, on the other hand, had no foreign possessions and no direct interest in European politics. For her, foreign policy meant relations with only two powers, England and Norway.

But Scotland itself was composed of much more heterogeneous elements than England. A dynasty, which until the middle of the eleventh century was pure Celt, had established a claim to supremacy over the whole of the lands north of the Tweed; but very little Celtic blood ran in the veins of the Scottish kings. Malcolm Canmore's mother was a daughter of Siward the Dane, Earl of Northumbria; his wife was the sister of Edgar the Ætheling; his son David, the progenitor of the later kings of Scotland, married the heiress of Siward's son Waltheof. Thus the royal family was to an immense extent Saxonised, and as time went on became also very much Normanised. Of the dominions over which it ruled, two-thirds of the Lowlands and much of the eastern coastal districts beyond the Forth, though still perhaps mainly Celtic in race, were Teutonised in character; but Galloway at least, on the west, and the whole of the highlands, were almost entirely Celtic; while the population of the islands was partly Celtic and partly Norwegian; and Caithness, as well as the Orkneys and Shetlands, was almost entirely Norwegian. From Shetland to the Isle of Man the isles fell under two groups known as the Nordereys and the Sudereys, and it was exceedingly doubtful whether they regarded their allegiance as due to the King of Norway or to the King of Scotland, while the Earl of Caithness, a Norseman, paid homage to the King of Scots for Caithness itself and to the King of Norway for the Orkneys.

The Celtic highlands resented the supremacy of the Anglicised royal house, and whenever it suited them supported any pretenders to the throne who might appear ; of whom there were two groups, one the MacHeths, claiming by descent from the son of Lady Macbeth, in whose name Macbeth himself had seized the crown ; while the other group, the MacWilliams, descended from an elder son of Malcolm Canmore by his first marriage. So that there was, broadly speaking, a Scandinavian or semi-Scandinavian fringe which leaned towards Norway, a great Celtic population



David I. and Malcolm IV. of Scotland.
[From the Kelso Abbey Charter, about 1160.]

covering nearly the whole of the north and the west which still clung to the old tribal system and detested the Anglo-Norman form of feudalism, and a large Teutonic or Teutonised population, mainly in the Lothians, which accepted the Anglo-Normanised monarchy and its Anglo-Norman institutions. But this section, the wealthiest and the most progressive, remained stubbornly antagonistic to the English of England ; while the kings resented the English claims to overlordship, and at every avail-

able opportunity made counterclaims on the English counties north of the Tees.

The period of wildest anarchy in England, when Stephen was king, was the period when David I. in Scotland was organising unity in Church and State, extending Anglo-Norman institutions, and introducing a very considerable Norman leaven into what was now becoming the Scottish baronage. David died a year before Stephen. His eldest grandson and immediate heir was placed on the throne as Malcolm IV. (nicknamed the Maiden) at the age of twelve ; and was followed twelve years later by his brother William, called the Lion. William died in the fifteenth year of his reign, two years before King John. We have already seen how he was captured in the reign of Henry II., when raiding the north of England with intent to assert his claims in Northumberland and Cumberland, and how he was compelled to do homage for the kingdom of Scotland to the King of England by the treaty of Falaise, which was abrogated fifteen years afterwards by Richard Cœur de Lion.

After this time the Scots claim for Northumberland and Cumberland was not again made a pretext for war, although it was from time to time asserted when the King of England appeared to be in a dangerous strait. Moreover, for a hundred years no attempt was made by any King of England to enforce a claim of sovereignty over Scotland ; though on

sundry occasions when a Scots king did homage for possessions in England the English king sought without success to exact homage for the Scottish crown also.

The last of the MacHeth and MacWilliam insurrections were suppressed on the accession of William's young son Alexander II., a vigorous monarch who reigned from 1214 to 1249. He met his death on a western expedition, undertaken in order to bring under his dominion the southern isles, which at this stage professed allegiance to Norway. Twelve years earlier he had finally settled the Northumbrian question, by commuting his claims for estates in those counties held from the King of England.

His son and successor Alexander III. was only a boy of eight, and the years of his minority foreshadowed what was afterwards to become the normal state of affairs on the demise of a Scottish king. A child succeeded to the throne, and opposing factions of the more powerful barons endeavoured to capture the person of the young king and the authority of the regency. When young Alexander came of age, however, he asserted his authority undisputed by either of the rival factions; and very shortly afterwards the Norwegian question was settled as the dynastic question in Scotland itself had already been settled. Alexander resolved to assert his authority over the islands. The chiefs appealed to King Haakon of Norway, and according to Scottish tradition Haakon attempted to make good his own claims by an invasion on the west. The Norsemen were routed at the battle of Largs, and three years later Haakon's successor, Eric, King of Norway, ceded to Alexander all his claims on the islands except the Orkneys and Shetlands. King Eric subsequently married Alexander's daughter, Alexander himself having married a daughter of Henry III.

Broadly speaking, the whole period under review was one of prosperity for Scotland. After the Norwegian treaty following the battle of Largs the royal authority was recognised over the whole of the mainland and the islands from Cape Wrath to the Solway. The risk of political disruption or of a dynastic overthrow had practically disappeared; and in the Lowlands at least, north as well as south of the Forth, the Church flourished and commercial towns were developing. No one anticipated the storms which were destined to arise after the death of Alexander III.

BOOK II

NATIONAL CONSOLIDATION (1272-1485)

CHAPTER V

NATIONALISM AND CONSTITUTIONALISM

I

THE REIGN OF EDWARD I

THE reign of Edward I. marks an epoch in the history of the peoples of Great Britain. It saw the subjugation of Wales and her incorporation into the English kingdom. It saw that attempt at the incorporation of Scotland which aroused the fierce struggle for Scottish independence that was decisively concluded in the ensuing reign. Scotland achieved her liberty; and if liberty were not itself priceless, we might be tempted to say that the price she paid in after years was excessive. In England it saw the final confirmation of the nationalism which had been developing during the previous century, and the establishment of the constitutional system, which assured to a representative parliament the control of the public purse and all which that control implies. It may be doubted whether any one of these things would have happened but for the personality of the king who occupied the throne of England.

For two hundred years England had been ruled by kings of whom all except the two last spent more than half their lives outside her borders. The two exceptions, John and Henry III., had both stood in direct antagonism to the national ideas growing up amongst the baronage, who had hitherto been as alien and un-English as the kings themselves. With those ideas Edward identified himself, so that he became the typical national leader, presenting in his own person and character with a singular precision those qualities which have ever since characterised the nation of which he was the head.

The English people, although foreign critics have always reproached them with inordinate greed, while to some they have appeared, like the Carthaginians to the Romans, as the typically "perfidious" race, have always prided themselves on their love of justice. No less have they prided themselves on their love of liberty, although again the foreign critic is apt to denounce their tyranny. In fact they have always loved liberty passion-

ately, in the concrete for themselves, and in the abstract for their neighbours. But this has not prevented them from being perfectly confident that it is good for other people to be ruled by them. There is, indeed, ample warrant for that belief; but it has been apt to leave out of count the fact that other peoples hold the same view of liberty which they take for themselves, and prefer their own self-rule, however defective, to a rule forced upon them, however admirable. The Englishman loves strict justice administered without fear or favour, but he has an aptitude for persuading himself that the course of strict justice, and the course which coincides with his own interest, are identical; though if he fail so to persuade himself, he will choose the course which he believes to be just. He will keep faith with resolute precision; the letter of his bond is sacred; but he is given to taking an advantage of the letter himself, and is somewhat inclined when occasion arises to evade the spirit in reliance on the letter. Hence the fervid denunciations of England as tyrannical and greedy, hypocritical and perfidious, by those who have suffered from her methods. Edward I. was an exemplar of the English national character as here portrayed; whether we look at his Scottish or Welsh policy, or study his relations with the England baronage and the English people. To Welsh and Scots he is the ruthless king, the tyrannical usurper, though he himself probably never had a doubt of the perfect righteousness of his treatment of both countries. He took for his own motto *Pactum serva*, "Keep troth," while his enemies denounced him as an unprincipled trickster.

From a purely English point of view, however, Edward stands out as emphatically the greatest of the Plantagenets—the greatest, perhaps, of all England's rulers during the six centuries between the grandsons of Alfred and Queen Elizabeth. He completed the work of consolidating the English nation, although he failed in his design of bringing the whole of Great Britain under a single sceptre. No other country in Europe was formed into such a state of unity till nearly two hundred years afterwards. His legislation gave permanent shape to the law. His creation of the Model Parliament gave that assembly a form which it retained for more than five hundred years, and made it the mouthpiece of the will of the nation; while its power of withholding supplies made the administration increasingly dependent on its support and goodwill, as the development of expenditure placed the government more and more at the mercy of those who held the purse-strings. Government in England became essentially, as it had never been before, government by assent of the commons; government which was not controlled by the commons but must rest upon their support. The fact stands out, although it is not to be attributed to any relaxation on Edward's part of the absolutist theory. Rather it was his aim to create a force which would counterbalance that of the baronage and prevent baronial groups from dominating the Crown. But it followed also that the Crown must conciliate that force, lest it should make common cause with the baronage.

In another aspect also the reign of Edward I. was of great importance, because in it were laid the foundations of national commerce, the sense of

community of interests among English traders, and the expansion of trade with foreign countries.

The reign falls broadly into two periods. The first, from 1272 to 1290, during which Edward was admirably served by his great Chancellor, Robert Burnell, was the period of legislation ; within which fell also the conquest of Wales. The second, from 1290 to 1307, was the period of a constitutional struggle in which the two most prominent incidents were the summoning of the Model Parliament and the Confirmation of the Charters. In this period falls also Edward's attempt to establish the English supremacy over Scotland.

II

EDWARD'S LEGISLATION

Down to the time of King John the kings of England had all succeeded to the throne only after a form of election ; it had never been recognised that there was any one with an indefeasible title to the succession. On John's death, when there was no other possible claimant of the blood royal, the boy Henry had been proclaimed as a matter of course by the loyalists ; there being no other pretender except the French Dauphin. Thenceforth the hereditary title was assumed ; though always with a reservation, not explicitly set forth, of the right of parliament to set aside the legitimist occupant or heir of the throne. Edward himself was in Palestine when Henry III. died, but the estates swore fealty without demur to the representatives whom he had appointed. Affairs went on so peaceably that Edward made no haste to return. He was at first detained by affairs in Gascony, and his relations with his cousin and suzerain, Philip III. of France ; and he did not land in England to take up the work of government till 1274.

The disturbances of Henry's reign had been due to the royal and papal exactions and to the favour shown by the king to aliens. The Opposition had attempted to find a remedy by setting excessive restrictions upon the power of the Crown, by transferring to a baronial oligarchy or a dictator powers fraught with danger unless wielded by men of the purest integrity and patriotism. From the baronial wars Edward had learnt two political lessons ; first, that the strength of the Crown must lie in its accord with the feeling of the nation ; and secondly, that it must not be subjected to the control of fortuitous baronial combinations. The most irritating feature of Henry's government had been that it was unstable, capricious, and incalculable. Policy demanded that its methods should be systematic, recognisable, clearly defined. It was the object of the legislation to which Edward now set himself to make definite what had hitherto been indefinite, and thereby to remove sources of disputation ; neither to create nor to abolish rights, but to arrive at and keep to a clear understanding and acknowledgment of rights which were entitled to recognition ; whether of king, barons, clergy, or commons. This definition of rights ought to be

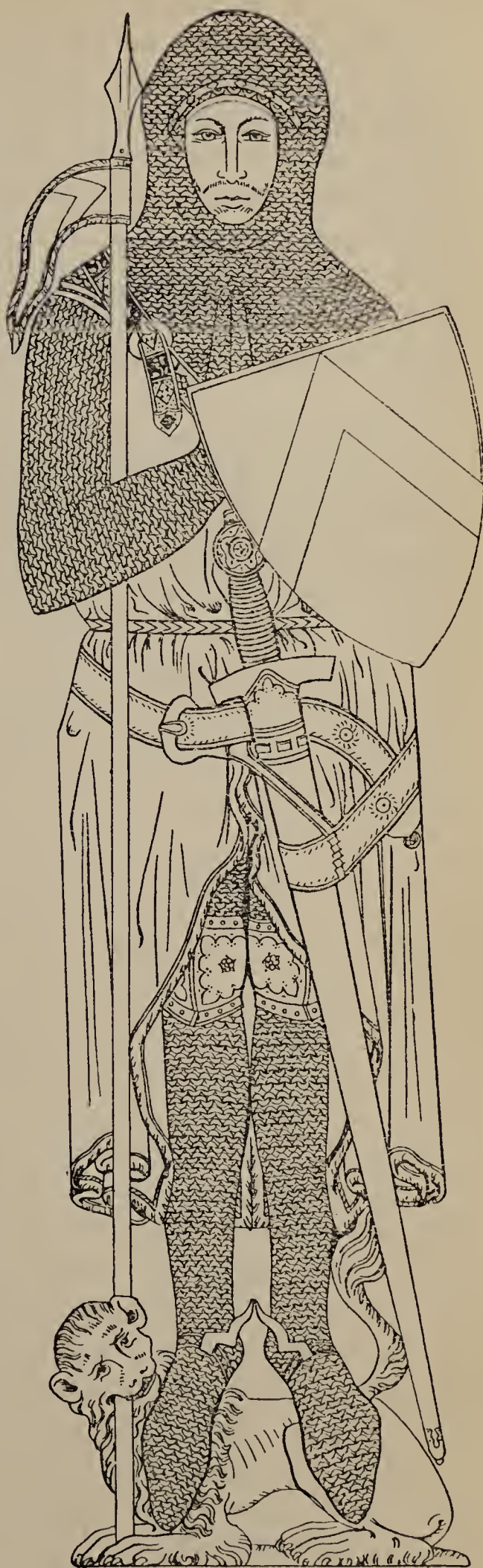
arrived at not arbitrarily, but in such a fashion that the various parties concerned should share the responsibility for the conclusions accepted.

The process opened with the summoning in 1275 of a parliament in which the commons were represented. Of all the sources of friction none was more serious than that of taxation. The Great Charter had laid down the principle that while the Crown had a legal right to exact feudal dues it had no right to make additional exactions except by consent of the Great Council. But the dues which the Crown was entitled to exact were inadequately defined, and claims which Henry III. asserted had been angrily resented. Moreover, there were other claims which in practice were undisputed because their operation was limited and their effect as taxation was not realised. Such was the authority of the Crown to regulate trade, by the issue of licences and the imposition of port duties. The alien who wished to trade in England was only allowed to do so under supervision, and had to pay for a licence, and also to pay toll on the goods which he imported or exported. Magna Carta had merely stipulated in general terms that such tolls should be limited to the right and ancient customs. Edward's Statute of Westminster made progress in defining the feudal dues to which the king was entitled; but it also explicitly conferred upon the king the right of imposing at the ports a fixed toll upon all the exported wool, wool-fells and leather, which very soon came to be known as the "great and ancient customs." The point especially noteworthy is that these port duties had not hitherto attracted notice as sources of revenue. It was the great expansion of foreign trade now setting in which impressed, first on the king and then on the parliament, a consciousness of the value to the royal treasury which such impositions might attain. It is in this reign that taxes on imports and exports take their place beside the land tax, dating from the time of Æthelred, and the tax on movables dating from the Saladin tithe of Henry II., as sources of revenue important enough to demand popular control; whereas hitherto they had been merely an incidental part of the government machinery for regulating trade.

The next step was concerned with a different subject. Various barons claimed and exercised various rights of jurisdiction locally, with exemption from interference on the part of the king's officers, and in effect superseding the royal authority. The Statute of Gloucester empowered the king's officers to examine, in virtue of the writ called *Quo Warranto*, the authority under which the barons claimed and exercised these privileges; on the hypothesis that the claims were null and void, unless supported by documentary proof that they had been conferred by royal grant. As a matter of fact they had been established for the most part only by long custom; and the proceedings of the royal officers aroused among the barons an outburst of indignation so threatening that Edward found it necessary to withdraw the demand for documentary proof and to accept a compromise, under which all such rights were recognised as valid if they had been in practice recognised at the accession of Richard I. Nevertheless the king's

great object was secured; since it was thenceforth impossible for those rights to be extended or multiplied except by express grant of the Crown.

From the baronage Edward turned to the Church. Henry's subserviency to the popes, repaid by the support which he consistently received from them in his contests with the baronage, had allowed them to make great encroachments, to assert successfully their claims to make ecclesiastical appointments, and upon ecclesiastical revenues. In 1279 Pope Nicholas III. ignored Edward's wishes, and appointed to the archbishopric of Canterbury the Franciscan friar John Peckham, who immediately set about asserting the ecclesiastical as against the secular authority in a highly aggressive manner. Edward's immediate answer was the Statute of Mortmain, which forbade the conveyance of land from private ownership to the "dead hand" of a corporation without the assent of the Crown. The particular corporation which the king had in view was of course the Church; and the justification was twofold. For military purposes, that is, for the feudal levies, lands held by the Church were of less use to the Crown than lands held by lay feudatories. In the second place, lands held by a corporation were necessarily exempt from those incidental fees and fines to which individual owners were liable on succession to an estate and in connection with the wardship of minors, marriage, and knighthood. In practice, indeed, the new law made very little difference, beyond ensuring that the transfer of land to the Church should be open and *bona fide*; but, like the Statute of Gloucester, it empowered the Crown to limit the extension of an inconvenient practice. Two years later Peckham invited another collision by an attempt to extend the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, which was checked by the royal ordinance *Circumspecte Agatis*—a warning to the clergy to attempt no extension of their



A knight of the 13th century.

[From the brass of Sir John D'Abernoun, died 1277, at Stoke Dabernon, Surrey.]

attempt no extension of their

jurisdiction beyond the limits recognised by the secular authority, which were carefully defined.

This enactment had been deferred by the exigencies of the Welsh war to which we shall presently revert. It was issued in 1285, a year of considerable legislative activity. In that year the second Statute of Westminster established the principle of entailing estates by prohibiting the tenant from alienating land to the detriment of the rights of his heir. Later the parliament sitting at Winchester reorganised the militia, the ancient *fyrð* which Henry II. had regulated by the Assize of Arms a hundred years before, and at the same time reorganised the system of local police or "watch and ward," and revived the authority and jurisdiction of the local popular courts of law.

The last statute of what we have called the legislative period was that of 1290, called *Quia Emptores*, or the third Statute of Westminster. This, like the Statute of Mortmain, was one which had the approval of the baronage and strengthened the landed interest; but it strengthened the Crown still more, since it was a check on feudal disintegration. It forbade subinfeudation; that is, it required that when land was alienated the new tenant should hold not from the grantor but from the grantor's overlord; so that the grantor multiplied not his own vassals but the vassals of his overlord; whereby to the king as supreme overlord the maximum of advantage accrued.

III

WALES

The legislative activities of King Edward were periodically interrupted by the contests with the Welsh, which were hardly ended with the overthrow of the patriot prince Llewelyn and the absorption of Wales into the English dominion. But Edward's conquest was so far practically effective that the Welsh thenceforth were troublesome only when they acted in concert with English rebels. The story of the relations of the Welsh with their more powerful neighbours, and of their final subjugation, may now be briefly told.

Swept out of England into the mountainous districts beyond the Severn by the advance of the Saxons, cut off from their kinsmen in the south by the battle of Deorham, and from the Strathclyde Britons in the north by the battle of Chester, the Britons in Wales had still defied subjugation by the English. Offa of Mercia drove them in behind his dyke; but the utmost that any of the Saxon kings had accomplished was to exact a precarious tribute and formal acknowledgments of sovereignty. The raids of the mountaineers compelled the Norman sovereigns to grant their own earls on the Welsh marches abnormal powers; a Norman earldom was even planted in Pembroke; but while the lords of Chester, Shrewsbury, Hereford, and Gloucester carried on perpetual wars with their Welsh neighbours, the

Welsh still remained practically independent, separate, speaking their own language, following their own customs, and owning no Norman overlord, except so far as their various princes found it convenient to acknowledge the sovereignty of the King of England. Rufus tried to bring them under his heel, but his Welsh invasions ended in ignominious failure ; even Henry II. was hardly more successful. The Welsh, like other Celtic peoples, were extraordinarily difficult to subdue, and yet lacked the political instinct of unity necessary to the formation of a consolidated state capable of establishing a permanent independence.

Yet in the thirteenth century such a consummation seemed almost within sight. Almost throughout the first half of it, Llewelyn ap Jorwerth was lord of Snowdon, the north-western division of the country. He for the first time succeeded in combining other Welsh princes under his leadership, and made use of the contests between King John, King Henry, and the barons to strengthen his own position. When Llewelyn died in 1240, it seemed that his work was doomed to be undone ; the Welsh again betook themselves to internal strife, until a second Llewelyn, son of Griffith, son of the first Llewelyn, succeeded in establishing himself as prince of Gwynedd or Snowdon, and assumed the rôle of a patriot leader in 1254. Since Henry's principal supporters among the baronage were to be found among the Marcher earls, Llewelyn was presently in alliance with Montfort. Nevertheless he did not fall with Montfort, but made his peace with the king at Shrewsbury on terms highly satisfactory to himself ; making a formal acknowledgment of the English overlordship, and retaining for a price the northern territories which had been annexed to the English Crown after the death of the first Llewelyn, and recaptured by himself on his first assumption of the Welsh leadership.

But Llewelyn on the one side was not content ; he dreamed at least of creating an entirely independent principality. Edward, on the other side, had his own dream of a dominion extending from Cape Wrath to the Channel ; though that dream could not come within the range of practical politics while his brother-in-law, Alexander III., reigned in Scotland. There was no apparent prospect of an opportunity for dealing with the northern kingdom ; but if Llewelyn should give him an opening in Wales he was prepared to turn it to account ; though according to his principles he would only act under colour of legal right.

Henry III. was hardly in his grave, and his successor was still abroad, when Llewelyn began to experiment with the government of England. He evaded every summons to render homage to the new king, and he ceased to make the payments required of him under the treaty of Shrewsbury. Edward was fully warranted in taking active measures. In the beginning of 1277 the royal forces advanced in the middle Marches and in South Wales, where the Welsh made immediate submission. In the summer he marched a great force along the northern Welsh coast, and cooped up Llewelyn in the Snowdon district. Faced with the prospect of being starved out

in the winter, Llewelyn submitted to the treaty of Aberconway, which left him the lordship of only that portion of Gwynedd which he had acquired in 1254.

So far Edward's conduct was unimpeachable, and he now proceeded on the lines which present themselves to the English mind as those obviously dictated by common sense, and to the Celtic mind as a violation of the most cherished sentiment. He tried to Anglicise Wales, and to impress upon the Welsh by the force of example the superior merits of



Conway Castle, North Wales.

[Built during the reign of Edward I, after the English conquest.]

English institutions.

The Welsh looked askance. Customs which in the eyes of the English were relics of a childish barbarism, which an intelligent people would be prompt to repudiate as soon as their eyes were opened, had to the Welshmen the sanction of immemorial tradition. The Welsh mountaineers found nothing to admire in

the little colonies of English traders and agriculturists which were planted in the government centres. The English law and the English legal machinery offended their instincts and ignored their traditions. The Welsh gentry found their rights curtailed and their personal dignity insulted by the intruders, who held them in small respect. In a very short time the Welshmen were repenting of their submission and craving for escape from the beneficent English rule which in their blindness they had brought upon themselves. The men whose jealousy and desertion of Llewelyn had made his overthrow so easy were the first to turn to him as their only possible deliverer. The surface was calm, but under it insurrection was brewing. Edward was deaf to complaints which savoured to him of childish not to say immoral unreason. The storm broke suddenly and without warning.

The first blow was struck by a man who had been hitherto a conspicuous adherent of the English, the arch-traitor in the eyes of patriotic Welshmen, David the brother of Llewelyn, who had been rewarded by a lordship in North Wales. David attacked and captured Hawarden, surprising it. His stroke was the signal for a general rising. Llewelyn flung himself on the English district bordering his principality on the north; David sped south to raise southern Wales. For the moment it seemed as if the English would be swept out of the territories of which not five years

ago they had taken possession. No preparation had been made for an emergency so wholly unexpected. The Marcher levies, hastily raised, could make no immediate headway. The summer passed in a series of isolated operations, in which the English gained very little advantage. In the autumn Edward had succeeded in getting a considerable force in motion on the line of his previous northern campaign ; but the troops, inefficiently commanded, met with a disaster in early winter, close to the Menai Strait. Edward resolved on the unprecedented course of a winter campaign.

But five weeks after the Menai disaster a battle and an accident decided the results of the struggle. Llewelyn himself had moved down to the middle Marches. His forces were posted in a strong position at Orewyn Bridge, and he himself was absent, when the English effected a surprise attack. Orewyn Bridge is noted as the first occasion when an English army employed the method of distributing archers among the men-at-arms and opening the battle with artillery to prepare the way for a cavalry charge ; an adaptation of the tactics employed by the Conqueror at Hastings, and apparently by the English at Northallerton. Orewyn Bridge was improved upon some years later by the Earl of Warwick, again in the course of the suppression of a Welsh insurrection, at the battle of Maes Madog ; where we have a more detailed account of the way in which the archers were distributed among the soldiery. To the student of the art of war, at least as practised by the English, it is interesting to observe that the long-bow did not become conspicuous until after the Welsh campaigns. The cross-bow was still accounted the superior weapon. There is reason to suppose that although the English archers acquired a unique proficiency in the use of the long-bow, they derived the use of the weapon itself in war, not from the outlaws of Merry Sherwood, but from the Welshmen.

At Orewyn Bridge the Welsh were scattered or slaughtered. The accident which made the battle practically decisive was the almost simultaneous capture and death of Llewelyn, not on the field of battle ; his slayers being unconscious of the prize which had fallen into their hands.

These events took place in December. For six months more Llewelyn's brother David held out in North Wales, while Edward was seriously hampered by the defection of the feudal levies which had served their time, and by the difficulty of obtaining supplies for the payment of troops. In June, however, David was captured, and three months afterwards was put to death as a traitor. The conquest was completed.

The practical effect was that so much of Wales as had hitherto remained under Welsh princes, owning not much more than a nominal overlordship of the King of England, was now annexed to the direct domains of the Crown, the Marcher earldoms and baronies under the great Norman feudatories not being immediately or directly affected. The new domain formed the Crown principality of Wales, which it presently became customary to bestow upon the heir-apparent of the English throne. In the principality Edward established the regular shire system, raised castles to keep the

country in subjection, and continued the Anglicising process by the plantation of English colonies under the castle walls. For some centuries to come the principality was governed under the Statute of Wales of 1284 as a Crown domain standing outside the general political system of England. But indirectly also the Marcher earldoms were affected, because the establishment of the king's government in Wales did away with the reasons which had necessitated the bestowal of exceptional power and authority in districts where a state of war had been practically chronic.

Ten years after the Statute of Wales there was another insurrection, headed by Madog, a son of Llewelyn ; but this was crushed at the battle of Maes Madog, to which reference has already been made. After this, though the Welsh preserved their sense of nationality, Wales did not again attempt to break away from England, and the contingents of light Welsh soldiery habitually formed an element in the armies of the Plantagenet kings both on their Scottish and their French campaigns.

IV

EDWARD AND THE CONSTITUTION

It is a common note of constitutional struggles in England that they have been largely concerned with questions of finance. Primarily in theory the policy of the State was the policy of the king. The king was supposed to live "of his own," and so long as he could pay his own way he could follow what policy he chose. But if he sought to pursue an expensive policy he could not live "of his own," and must supplement his resources by taxation of one kind or another ; that is, he must either persuade or compel his subjects to provide him with additional means. Persuasion involved convincing them that the objects he had in view were desirable ; in other words, as long as his subjects could refuse supplies, they could paralyse the king for action, and therefore could in effect control his policy. The Crown, seeking a free hand, sought also every available means of raising revenue otherwise than as a grant by favour of the subjects. The subjects, on the other hand, without in the first instance having any particular desire to interfere with policy, resented arbitrary exactions. The mere fact that, by doing so, they found themselves exercising a control over policy, taught the people to regard the control of policy as an end to which the control of finance was a means ; but to begin with, the motive of the subjects' resistance to taxation was not a political one but a simple objection to being arbitrarily deprived of their property. Thus the principle laid down in the Charter had been that taxation should not be arbitrary ; that apart from the liabilities established by recognised custom, no additional liabilities should be imposed without the subjects' consent. It is not till the time of Edward I. that we have indications of an inclination to be jealous of

the development of new sources of revenue in the hands of the Crown ; to resent anything which helps the Crown to act independently of supplies voluntarily granted by the people. It is the exigencies of war and the expenses involved by war that bring financial and therefore constitutional questions into the foreground of the latter portion of Edward's reign.

The affairs of Scotland demand separate and consecutive treatment, but their bearing upon other aspects of the years between 1290 and 1307 necessitates some reference to them here. The death of Alexander III. in 1286, followed by that of his granddaughter Margaret, the Maid of Norway, four years later, opened the debatable question of the succession to the Scottish Crown. The King of England consented to arbitrate between the various claimants on condition that his own suzerainty should be formally recognised. The demand was admitted by the Scottish magnates, and after a prolonged inquiry and investigation, judgment was delivered in 1292 in favour of John Balliol, who became King of Scotland as Edward's vassal. But when it became evident that Edward meant to treat his suzerainty not, like his predecessors, as a mere formality, but as a substantial fact, Balliol and the magnates attempted defiance. Edward counted Balliol as a recalcitrant vassal,



The Toll House and Prison, Great Yarmouth.
[Mostly built in the 13th century.]

declared the crown forfeited, invaded Scotland, and set up an English government in 1296. In 1297 Scotland was in revolt, led by William Wallace, and the English garrison was expelled. Next year Edward again invaded Scotland, and routed the Scots at Falkirk, but withdrew at the end of the year, leaving the country by no means subdued. Another invasion in 1301 was ineffective, but a campaign in 1304 was followed by a reorganisation of the government of Scotland in 1305. Balliol had disappeared at an early stage ; Wallace, the popular Scottish hero, was captured, and executed in London as a traitor in 1305. But in 1306 a

new liberator appeared in the person of Robert Bruce, and Edward was once more preparing for what he intended to be a final and crushing conquest when he died, a few miles from the Scottish border, in 1307.

Now in the year 1292, after twenty years of rule, Edward's position appeared exceptionally strong. He was the officially acknowledged overlord of the whole island from end to end, suzerain of Scotland, and master of Wales. He had acquired an almost unprecedented reputation as a legislator. The Marcher earls of Hereford and Gloucester had incidentally learnt that they must not presume upon their privileges. Ecclesiastical encroachments had been held in check. After the settlement of Wales Edward had spent three years abroad, mainly in Gascony, where his relations both with his subjects and with his suzerain, Philip IV. of France, were apparently satisfactory. Edward's personal prestige among the sovereigns of Europe was exceedingly high. Nevertheless both in France and in Scotland trouble was brewing, while in England there were members of the baronage, notably Humphrey de Bohun, the Earl of Hereford, who were vindictively disposed.

Trouble began with France. Philip IV. meant to get Gascony into his own hands, though he did not intend to go to war over it. But apart from the antagonistic interests of the two kings in Gascony, their subjects on either side of the English Channel were constantly at feud, each perpetually charging the others with piracy. In 1293 there was an organised sea-fight, in which the English were completely victorious. Philip IV. used the opportunity to summon Edward before him as a vassal. Edward, particular always in insisting on the letter of the law, could not on his own principles ignore Philip's claim. For form's sake certain castles in Gascony were temporarily placed in Philip's hands. Having got the castles, Philip showed his hand, pronounced the duchy forfeited on the ground of Edward's contumaciousness, and proceeded to establish his own government.

Philip's action made war inevitable. Parliament was called, large grants were made reluctantly enough by the estates, and further, the king arbitrarily took possession of the wool, the staple export of England, which was lying at the ports, and compelled the merchants to redeem it at a high price. A considerable force was collected and despatched to Gascony. Even the Welsh wars had proved that feudal levies, with their limited periods of service, provided at the best of times very unsatisfactory armies for the conduct of long campaigns. Now, the claims for compulsory service overseas led to that Welsh insurrection which was only suppressed at the beginning of 1295 by the battle of Maes Madog. The Welsh rising hopelessly crippled the expedition to Gascony, where Edward's forces met with repeated disaster. It was hardly suppressed when the Scots added to the complications by making a treaty with France, the beginning of an alliance which was to be as a thorn in the side of the English for more than two and a half centuries. Edward even saw himself threatened with a French invasion.

The king met the immediate danger by a strategic organisation of the fleets

in the Channel which marks the first clear recognition of command of the sea as a specific need of the military organisation. But beyond this it was realised that a situation had arisen in which it was emphatically necessary that the nation should consciously identify itself with his policy, and to this end he summoned the Model Parliament of 1295.

The summons to parliament included the significant pronouncement that "what touches all should be approved by all," and that the common danger should be faced with a united front. To this parliament Edward called all the magnates, lay and ecclesiastical, representatives of the lower clergy, two knights from every shire, and two burgesses from every borough. Parliament had at last almost achieved its permanent shape. The three estates, baronage, clergy, and commons, met and deliberated separately, each estate taxing itself in answer to the king's appeal. The baronage voted an eleventh, the clergy a tenth, the boroughs a seventh. But it is to be observed that at this stage the knights of the shire voted with the baronage, not with the burgesses. It was not till nearly forty years afterwards that the different division was established under which the hereditary and ecclesiastical magnates sat in one chamber, the shire and borough representatives in another as the Commons, while the clergy ceased to attend as an estate of parliament, but made their grants in their own separate assembly, called Convocation.

Though Edward was thus enabled, with the nation at his back, to make great preparations for meeting the gathering storm of war, he felt himself obliged to divide his forces; and himself spent the year 1296, as we have seen, in an invasion of Scotland, while the second expedition was despatched under his brother Edmund to Gascony. Though the Scots war was to all appearance completely successful, the expedition to Gascony fared little better than its predecessor. Free to concentrate on the French war, Edward called a new parliament, where the barons and the commons gave the king liberal support; but to the intense indignation of every one else concerned, the clergy declined to contribute.

This surprising action was the outcome of the celebrated Bull known as *Clericis Laicos*, issued by Pope Boniface VIII., forbidding the clergy to make contributions for secular purposes except with the permission of the Holy See; an injunction which had perhaps been issued not so much with the object of asserting papal authority as to prevent the revenue of the Church from being devoted to the carrying on of war between Christian princes. The effect, however, was intolerable to the kings both of France and of England. But while it brought the Pope in direct personal collision with Philip, the collision in England was between the king and Archbishop Winchelsea, the successor of Peckham. The Archbishop pleaded in vain that the clergy were ready enough to make the grant, but that their allegiance to the Pope forbade their doing so until they had obtained his permission. This doctrine, that allegiance to the Pope stood before allegiance to the king, was peremptorily rejected. The king replied that unless

the clergy made a contribution of a fifth, they should be outlawed—that is to say, denied the protection of the civil law—and proceeded to carry the threat into execution.

The clergy did not hold out long, but some of the barons who owed the king a grudge found their opportunity. Edward had formed an alliance

with the Count of Flanders, the friendship of Flanders being for commercial reasons of great value to England. Edward's design was to throw a force into Flanders to strike at France on the north-east, instead of confining himself to military operations in Gascony itself. Of this force he intended himself to take command, while the Constable and the Marshal, the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, the highest military officers of the kingdom, were to command in Gascony. Both refused flatly, on the ground that while they were bound to follow the king in person, they were not bound to go to Gascony without him. And there



Edward I. receiving the Bull of Pope Boniface VIII.

[From a MS. written and illuminated in Edward's reign.]

was no disputing the fact that the technical right was on their side

Meanwhile the exigencies of the situation had driven the king to further arbitrary exactions. Again he had seized large quantities of wool, and extracted a heavy fee called a *male-tolte* from merchants who had been allowed to retain their goods. A spirit of resistance was kindled, and the king found clergy, barons, and commons all clamouring against him.

Edward realised that he had placed himself in a false position, and nothing, perhaps, testified more completely to the real strength of his character than the wisdom of the concessions by which he retrieved the

situation without loss of dignity. As concerned the clergy, indeed, not only lay sentiment, but probably that of half the clergy themselves, was on his side. It was the clergy who gave way, not the king. The two earls having refused to serve in their capacity as marshal and constable, the king yielded on the technical question, and their places were taken by other barons. In like manner Edward publicly admitted that there was no feudal obligation to accompany him to Flanders, and offered pay for volunteer services, whereby he was enabled to raise an adequate force. He was at pains to pay for all the military supplies which had been seized, and announced that in due course the wool impounded should also be paid for. The North was left to look after Scotland, where Wallace had just raised anew the banner of insurrection; and the king and his army departed for Flanders, while Gascony was left to take care of itself.

But even at the last moment the two recalcitrant earls presented a demand for a confirmation of the Great Charter and the Forest Charter; and they made it clear that the further collection of supplies would be made exceedingly difficult unless their demand was conceded. They did not stop the king's departure, but six weeks later, when the regency which had been left in charge of affairs summoned a parliament, they appeared in arms and presented a petition which later generations interpreted as a statute, *De Tallagio non Concedendo*, and cited practically as if it had been a second Charter; it required that the claims called tallages or aids should not be imposed without the consent of parliament. The regency responded by publicly confirming the charters, to which they added the express inclusion of the *male-tolte*, though not of tallages, as a burden which might not be imposed except by assent. The action of the regency was endorsed by the king in Flanders, and this *Confirmatio Cartarum* of 1297 stands out in constitutional history as a landmark hardly less prominent than the issuing of the Great Charter itself or the calling of the Model Parliament.

The great Flemish expedition, which had brought about the crisis, came to nothing from a military point of view. Philip brought up an army too big for the English and their allies to attack, while he was afraid himself to adopt the offensive. When the kings had got tired of doing nothing they agreed to refer their quarrel to the Pope, in his private capacity, for arbitration. The enemies were reconciled; Edward took to his second wife the French king's sister, while the Prince of Wales was betrothed to his infant daughter. Both parties tacitly dropped their allies; and for the remainder of Edward's reign England and France were on terms of amity.

Edward's return in 1298 was followed by the Falkirk campaign, but Scotland remained sporadically in arms. Through the winter and the whole of the year following Edward was much occupied with efforts to avoid giving effect to the Confirmation of the Charters, whereby much irritation was revived among both baronage and commons; however, in the spring of 1300 he found himself compelled to give the royal sanction to

what were known as the *Articuli Super Cartas*, which were in effect additional clauses dealing with recent grievances. But still another year passed before the reconciliation could be regarded as complete. Perhaps what conduced more than anything else to this consummation was the action of Archbishop Winchelsea, who supported Pope Boniface in a claim to interfere between England and Scotland, on the somewhat amazing ground that Scotland belonged to the papacy. The barons were as angry as the king, and a reply was returned to the Pope signed by more than a hundred of the lay magnates, in which he was very bluntly warned that temporal affairs were the king's business and not the Pope's. The remainder of the reign was mainly occupied with Scottish affairs, which can now be recorded in detail.

V

THE LORDSHIP OF SCOTLAND

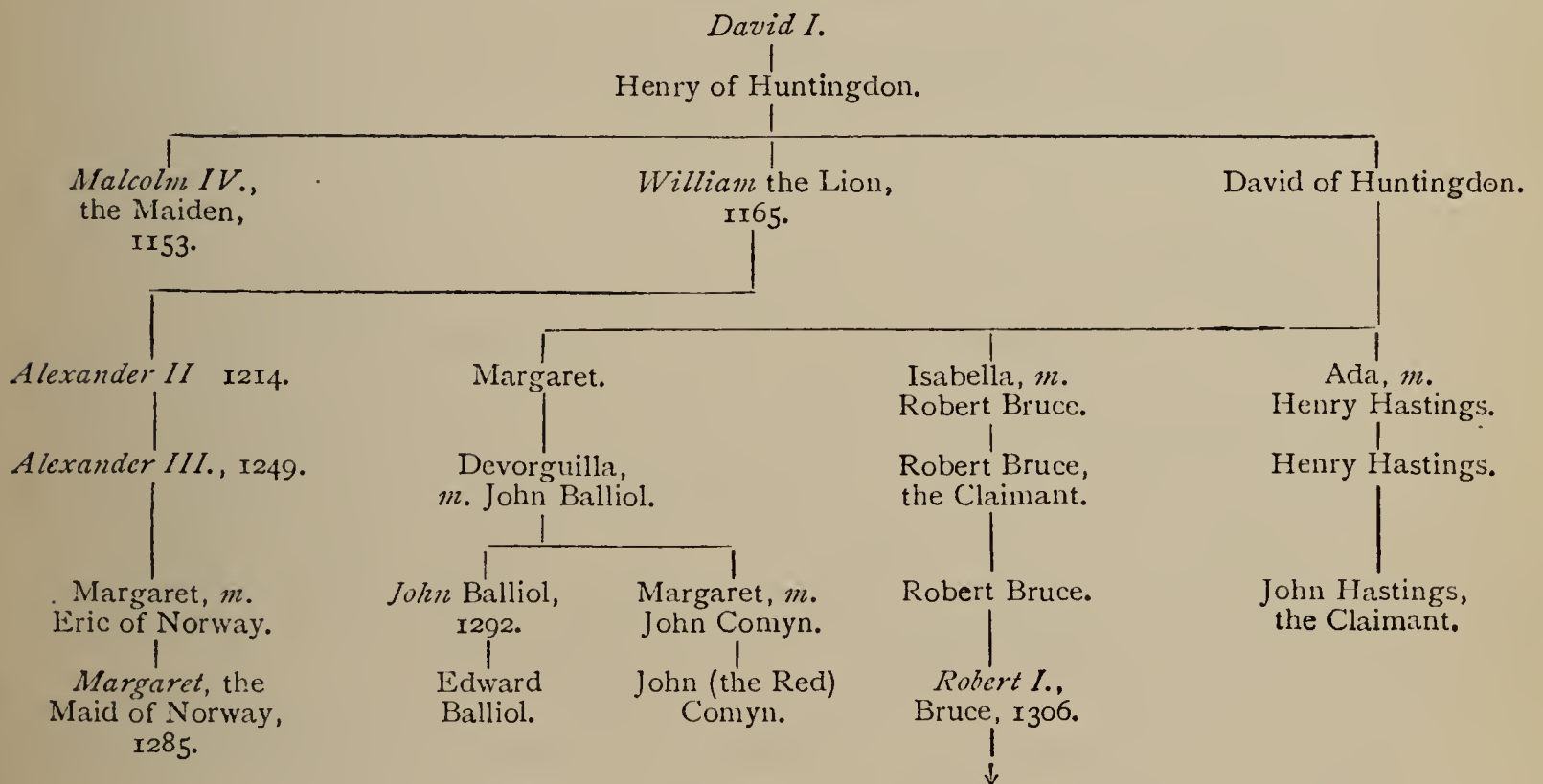
For a hundred years after the abrogation of the treaty of Falaise Scotland prospered, and had no serious collision with her southern neighbour. English kings had from time to time formally claimed the fealty of which the three Scottish kings carefully evaded any formal acknowledgment. After the accession of Edward I., Alexander III. in 1274, on the occasion of the coronation, very definitely rendered homage only for his English lordships. Four years later Edward again required Alexander to do homage, and in respect of the details the contemporary English and Scottish chroniclers are not in precise agreement. It is clear, however, that homage for the Scottish Crown was not explicitly included in the form of the oath which was taken by Alexander's proxy, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick; while the Scottish chronicler affirms that it was explicitly excluded. Edward, on the other hand, explicitly accepted the homage, reserving the right to claim homage for Scotland. Evidently, therefore, the whole question still stood precisely where it had stood at all times except during the fifteen years while the treaty of Falaise was in force.

Alexander lived and the kingdom prospered until 1286, when the king was killed by a fall from his horse. The sole surviving heir of his body was his very youthful granddaughter, Margaret, the Maid of Norway, the child of his daughter who had married King Eric and had died herself when little Margaret was born. She had been formally acknowledged as heir, and a regency was appointed to carry on the government until the child should be brought from Norway. Such a state of affairs was eminently conducive to the formation of parties among the nobility, since at any moment the succession to the throne might become an open question. Edward saw his opportunity, and suggested a judicious and peaceful union of the Crowns by the marriage of Margaret to his own youthful heir, Edward of Carnarvon, an arrangement which promised to be satisfactory.

The treaty of Brigham was signed in 1290, by which it was agreed that if the marriage took place the laws and liberties of Scotland should be maintained. If heirs failed, the kingdom was to go to its "natural heir," and was to remain free and separate, "saving the rights of the King of England."

The little queen was despatched from Norway, but was landed in the Orkneys only to die. The law of inheritance was exceedingly vague. In England itself a hundred years before, and in Normandy, it had been held that Richard's youngest brother stood nearer to the throne than the child of an intervening brother. In Scotland it was possible to hark back to Celtic custom, and argue that even the vague feudal rules of succession did

THE SCOTTISH CROWN



not apply to the Crown. No fewer than thirteen claimants now came forward, each asserting some sort of title to the succession. Of these only four counted: Robert Bruce, Earl of Annandale, John Balliol, Hastings, and Comyn of Badenoch. All these were descended in the female line from David of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion; and all were of Norman families holding lordships in England as well as in Scotland. Balliol claimed as the grandson of David's eldest daughter. Comyn's claim through the same grandmother could not stand against Balliol's, but he also had a claim as descending from Donalbain, the brother of Malcolm Canmore. He, however, withdrew from the competition. Bruce claimed as the son of David's second daughter, and therefore as standing nearer to the throne than the grandson of the eldest daughter. Hastings claimed through the third daughter, but could only maintain that the kingdom should be divided among the descendants of the three sisters instead of going to the representative of one of them.

The magnates appealed to the King of England to act as arbitrator. Edward agreed, but on condition, as he was master of the situation, that all parties should acknowledge his overlordship. The magnates, faced with a prospect not only of civil war, but of a forcible assertion of his own claims by Edward in the event of their refusal, accepted the situation. While the arbitration was proceeding Edward was to hold certain castles, and was to remain in possession until the award settled who the new king was to be. A strong committee of investigation, mainly Scottish in its composition, was appointed, and in course of time arrived at what seems the most obvious conclusion, that Balliol's claim was the strongest. He was accordingly crowned, and did homage for the Scottish kingdom.

The Scots had probably assumed that Edward would be content with the formal acknowledgment of the suzerainty which all his predecessors had claimed and none had attempted to enforce. Neither the magnates in general nor the competitors in particular can be greatly blamed for yielding to Edward's demand ; and most of the Norman barons in Scotland, being in any case feudatories of Edward in respect of estates in England, had no inherent objection to recognising him as supreme overlord in Scotland as well. But when Edward made it evident that the overlordship was not to be a mere formality at all, the situation was changed. Appeals were carried from Scotland to be decided by the overlord in England, and Edward summoned feudal levies from Scotland to aid in his projected wars in France. Balliol was a feeble person, with no capacity for asserting himself. Two years after he became king the Scots virtually deposed him, and set up a Council of government, something after the fashion of the Provisions of Oxford ; while they repudiated Edward's claims, forced Balliol to the same course, and entered upon negotiations with Philip IV.

Edward summoned Balliol to appear before him as a recalcitrant vassal ; and early in 1296, just after the Model Parliament, he appeared in arms on the Scottish border. Then, since Balliol did not present himself in answer to his summons, he fell upon Berwick and subjected its inhabitants to a massacre. Balliol renounced his allegiance, and Edward marched through Scotland, meeting with little resistance. In the summer Balliol surrendered, and was adjudged to have forfeited the kingdom, which by feudal law reverted to the overlord : exactly as a short time before Philip IV. had declared Gascony to be forfeited to the French Crown.

There should be no new King of Scotland ; a hint from Bruce, that his own title might now be recognised, was waved aside. Edward himself was to be king, and would govern through his own officers. He appointed Earl Warenne his Lieutenant, and Hugh Cressingham Treasurer. Nearly every prominent person in Scotland took the oath of fealty, and Edward withdrew to England to devote his whole attention to the Flanders expedition.

Edward's probable intention was ultimately to assimilate the government of Scotland with that of England ; but practically the government he set up was a military occupation by the English ; and the English garrison be-

haved after the arrogant fashion of conquerors. Whatever feudal magnates might do, the people of Scotland had no mind to submit to the tyranny of foreign masters: and long before Edward had departed to Flanders popular insurrections

were on foot, headed in the western lowlands by a gentleman named William Wallace, round whom large numbers of the common folk promptly gathered. Several of the barons joined the insurrection, though their attitude was habitually half-hearted, and most of them were to be found during the following years fighting alternately for and against the English king. Warrene attempted to suppress the rising; but owing to his blundering incapacity his forces were cut to pieces by Wallace at the battle of Cambuskenneth or Stirling Bridge. Except for two or three castles, the English forces were swept out of Scotland; while the

barons of England were engaged in extorting the Confirmatio Cartarum from the regency which Edward, now in Flanders, had left in England.

Wallace was the one man who had openly and uncompromisingly set England at defiance. He had begun his career by breaking the heads of English soldiers and continued it by what the English called brigandage; whereas such of the barons as had joined with him were at least in no



The battlefields of English and Scots in the 13th and 14th centuries.

worse position than that of mere rebels against feudal authority. None of them was prepared openly to stand forth as leader of a revolt in the name of King John Balliol. Wallace, by what authority we do not know, was proclaimed Protector of the kingdom. But six months after Cambuskenneth Edward was back in England, and in July he was in Scotland with a large army.

Wallace had collected a large force, though he had but few archers, and a mere handful of cavalry, on whom no reliance could be placed. Still, at Falkirk he gave battle to King Edward's host. The Scots fought after their own fashion, and if Edward had not drawn the moral from his Welsh wars the Scots would have won. Wallace massed his men in four solid bodies of spearmen, the formation known as the "schiltron." The few archers posted between the solid masses were promptly cut to pieces by the charging English, and the cavalry incontinently took to flight. But the chivalry of England hurled itself against the mass of spears as vainly as the Normans had done at Hastings, until Edward, coming up with the main body of his army, advanced the archers within point-blank distance and bade them concentrate their fire on particular points in the spear-hedge. The Scots could only stand to be shot at or break their formation and charge. Great gaps were made in their ranks, and into these Edward hurled his cavalry. The stubborn resistance was turned to a rout, and thousands of Scots were left dead on the field, though Wallace escaped and remained at large.

For the moment it seemed that the battle of Falkirk was decisive. Edward withdrew; but he had only effected a temporary reconciliation with his barons, who were still pressing to have full effect given to the *Confirmatio Cartarum*. He was too much taken up with other affairs immediately to organise the government in Scotland. Wallace's power was gone, and probably he betook himself abroad to negotiate with the King of France and the Pope; but the barons, who withheld their support from a mere gentleman like Wallace, were more inclined to act when Wallace was out of the way. Hence in the years following Falkirk there was little enough sign of English authority north of the Tweed, though no one knew at any given time which of the nobles would be posing as patriots and which as Edward's men a week later. Then came the Pope's intervention, which seemed to unite the English barons in support of Edward so far as Scotland was concerned.

The prospect of an invasion of the country by Edward in person brought over some of the Scots nobles, including young Robert Bruce, the grandson of the old claimant, who at this stage of affairs appears to have changed sides perpetually.

In 1303 Edward marched through Scotland, meeting with little resistance as usual; and when he again entered Scotland with an army in 1304, the nobles of the national party gave up the struggle and surrendered on terms. Edward was ready to admit practically every one to his peace with the exception of William Wallace, who was back again, though without

any recognised authority. Not long after, Wallace himself was caught, by vile treachery according to common tradition, carried to London, and hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor. Myths and legends swarm about the national hero who never bowed the knee to the foreign usurper. He was probably bloodthirsty, and he had suffered personal wrongs enough to make his bloodthirstiness excusable. But he stands out alone as conspicuously the one man who gave himself body and soul to the cause of Scottish liberty, and therefore the one who in Edward's eyes was guilty of unpardonable crime. It was he and no other who inspired the people of Scotland with that passionate patriotism which was to bear fruit when another leader came to the front who had hitherto shown little enough promise of becoming a national hero.

The capture of Wallace seemed to have removed the last obstacle to the establishment of Edward's supremacy. Balliol was forgotten; Bruce and Comyn of Badenoch, the only possible pretenders, had both come into the king's peace. At last, then, in 1305, Edward, at peace with France, reconciled with his own subjects, victor in his contest with the archbishop, was able to set about the organisation of the Scottish government. A constitution was prepared something after the Welsh precedent. Evidently it was Edward's intention to leave Scottish law and custom unaltered so far as was compatible with the establishment of a strong central government under his own royal control. There was to be no general substitution of English for Scottish authorities after the manner of the Norman Conquest. An administrative system was to be set up which would probably have proved excellent if it could only have won acceptance from the Scottish people; if also the English who were planted in Scotland, forming necessary garrisons, should endeavour to make themselves acceptable to the natives. While revolt was leaderless Scotland might have time to accustom itself to the new order, to recognise its merits, and to settle down into a peaceable union with the southern kingdom. But these things were not to be.

If a leader appeared it was still probable that the hatred of the English burnt into the Scots by recent events would rouse them to another effort to fling off the foreign supremacy. And the leader appeared immediately in the person of Robert Bruce. In 1306 the startling intelligence was brought to Edward that Bruce had met, in the church of the Grey Friars of Dumfries, John Comyn, who was temporarily acting for Edward as Lieutenant of Scotland, had quarrelled with him, and slain him before the high altar. Apart even from the sacrilege, the deed would have been unpardonable; and Bruce had left himself no alternative save to make a desperate bid for the crown of an independent Scotland or to die ignominiously as a traitor. Probably he had already made up his mind to the former course before he slew Comyn, with whom he had sought the meeting in order to bring him over to his own cause. At any rate the deed was done, and Robert, the vacillating turncoat of the past, perforce transformed into the champion of Scottish independence, redeemed the sins and faults of his youth as the

indomitable and magnanimous hero who fought and won against enormous odds the victory of Scottish freedom. Comyn was hardly dead when Bruce got himself crowned by a few uncompromising supporters, declared himself King of Scotland, and proclaimed a war of liberation. It began unpromisingly enough, for the king was promptly placed under the ban of the Church, and the whole of the Comyn kin was roused against him. The few bold adherents who at once collected were routed by a superior force at Methven. He himself became a fugitive; two of his brothers were captured and beheaded, and his wife and daughter also fell into the hands of the English. Bruce passed the winter in hiding, but with the spring he reappeared in his own earldom of Carrick, where he began an energetic system of raiding diversified by hairbreadth escapes; while Edward was collecting a large army in the north of England to crush Scottish resistance once and for all. A victory in the open field at Loudon Hill over an English force under Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, brought new adherents to the adventurer. But Edward's own army of conquest was on the point of crossing the Border when the great king died at Burgh-on-Sands. His bones were carried back to Westminster, and his tomb bears the significant inscription, *Malleus Scotorum*, "The Hammer of the Scots."

VI

ASPECTS OF THE POLICY OF EDWARD I

We have seen that Edward's policy during the first twenty years of his reign tended to restrict the individual powers of the great nobles. This was the effect of the legislation from the Statute of Gloucester to *Quia Emptores*. A like effect was produced by the conquest of Wales, so far as the Marcher earldoms were concerned; since it was no longer necessary to concede to the earls that freedom of action which in practice was required so long as it could be pleaded that the Marches were virtually in a persistent state of war. The same sort of policy was observed by Edward during the remainder of his reign. When Gloucester and Hereford attempted to assert their traditional authority, they were promptly taught that their independence had disappeared with the disappearance of its *raison d'être*; and that was the main cause of Hereford's subsequent attitude of persistent opposition to the king.

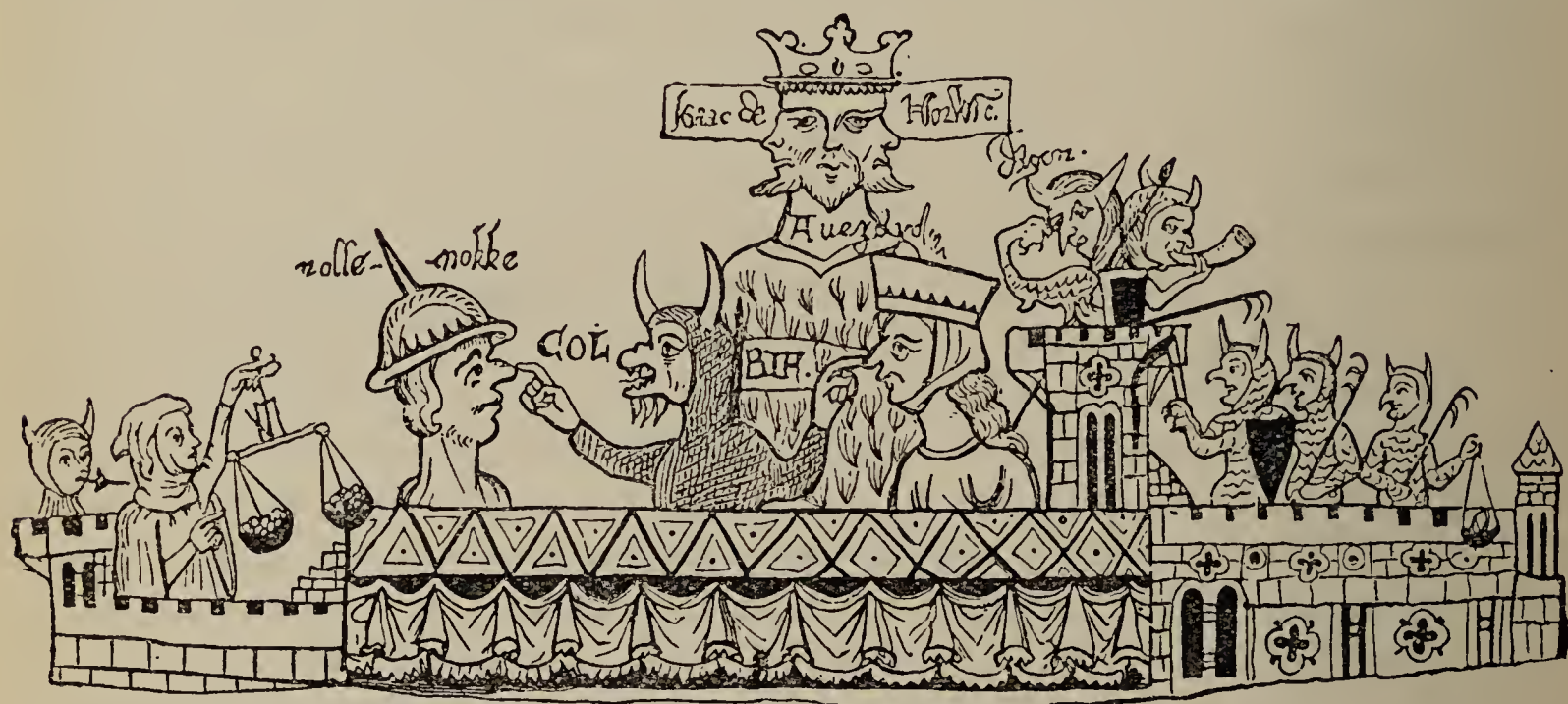
Edward, however, sought to strengthen the Crown as against the great feudatories in another way, by the absorption of great estates into the lordship of the royal house. First Gloucester, and afterwards Hereford's successor, were compelled, willingly or unwillingly, to marry two of the king's daughters, so that the earls of the next generation were both of the blood royal. The third member of the baronage who had stood in conspicuous opposition to the king was Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. His estates

were entailed on the heirs of his body ; and since he was childless, they passed on his death to the Crown. In like manner Cornwall lapsed to the Crown on the death of its earl, the king's cousin. Thomas of Lancaster, Edward's nephew, held three earldoms, to which two more were ultimately added by his marriage to the daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. The immediate effect was to secure a great preponderance for the blood royal among the greater barons. The same policy with the same end in view was pursued by the king's grandson, Edward III. ; although, as we shall presently find, it subsequently bore fruit of a very different kind from that which had been intended.

In the second place, the king aimed at procuring authority for pronouncements which should secure to him beyond cavil powers of raising money without a direct appeal to the goodwill of his subjects. To that end his statutes defined feudal aids and expressly authorised the levying of the "Great and Ancient Customs," the fixed tax on exported wool. But he was in no haste to procure definitions which expressly limited his powers of exaction, and tried his hardest to avoid formal ratifications of the Charters in terms which expressly required the assent of parliament to various imposts such as the tallages which had from time to time been levied from the towns. The tallages, as we have seen, were not formally surrendered by him in his Confirmation of the Charters, despite the petition of the barons which was subsequently treated as a statute. In effect, Edward devised or applied various means of raising money, to which exception was taken sooner or later as contravening the principle that only specified taxes might be raised without parliament's consent. Thus under pressure of circumstances the king seized the wool of the merchants, or war supplies, as being within the prerogative of the Crown, though of his grace he consented to compensate the sufferers for their losses. Long custom treated an estate of a certain value as being a knight's holding ; and on it he based a decree that every one in possession of such a holding must take up knighthood, and pay the feudal fee on taking up knighthood, on pain of a heavy fine. He made, at the very close of his reign, a bargain with the foreign merchants, in accordance with which he of his own authority imposed what were afterwards called the New and Small Customs as opposed to the Great and Ancient Customs—additional taxes on exported goods. On occasion, instead of applying to parliament, he bargained with separate sections of the community for particular grants. Hardly any of these methods were decisively challenged at the time ; but all later provided bones of contention between Crown and parliament when parliament learnt to think of financial control as a means to the control of policy and administration.

Apart from these various sources of supply, legitimate or otherwise, English kings in the past had been in the habit of meeting financial emergencies by borrowing ; and the source from which alone they could borrow was the Jewish community. The ethical standard upheld by the medieval Church forbade Christian men the practice of usury, that is, of lending

money at interest. The Jews recognised no such moral restriction, and as a body they derived their wealth not from trading but from financing their neighbours. Socially they were outside the pale; but the kings of England generally took them under their own protection, because they were a useful source from which the Crown could obtain supplies upon reasonable terms, as their protector. That proviso did not apply to private persons who found themselves driven to borrowing; and the Jews were detested both on the ground of religious prejudice and as extortioners. Perhaps the most popular act of Edward was his expulsion of the Jews from England; a measure which, while it gratified popular prejudice, appeared to be conspicuously disinterested because the Crown thereby deprived itself of the source from which it had hitherto been able to borrow



A 13th century caricature upon the Jews of Norwich.

[From the Jews' Roll in the Public Record Office.]

on emergency. But in fact Edward found a substitute for the Jews. The great commercial houses of the cities of northern Italy had already developed a financial business, in spite of ecclesiastical doctrines as to usury, which had deprived the Jews of their monopoly; and the expulsion of the Jews made room for the Lombards and Florentines. The Crown in fact probably lost little by the exchange.

Before the time of King Edward the development of national commerce had not presented itself to the kings as an object of policy. The mere expansion of trade developed the consciousness of common interests as opposed to merely local interests among the English producers, and so fostered that national idea which was so prominent in Edward's own mind; and a similar notion is latent in Edward's habit of negotiating with mercantile groups in preference to individual boroughs.

These beginnings, however, of the nationalisation of commerce went on side by side with the development of the corporate life of the boroughs themselves, both being encouraged by the final recognition of borough

representatives as an element of the national parliament. And here we may note in the boroughs, beside the gilds-merchant, the growth of the craft-gilds, to which the authority of the gilds-merchant was gradually transferred. The craft-gilds were associations of the members of the separate trades or crafts; and we must not be led by modern analogies to imagine that they consisted of handworkers in opposition to capitalist employers. In the thirteenth century the trader was a master craftsman who was already a free burgess. He might or might not have journeymen and apprentices in his employ, but in any case he was practically certain to be a worker himself. And every apprentice and nearly every journeyman looked forward to the time when he should himself become a master craftsman and a burgess. There was no active antagonism between employer and employed when the employed looked upon himself as an employer in the making. Nor was there direct antagonism between the gild-merchant and the craft-gild, because the master craftsman was of necessity a member of the gild-merchant—seeing that if he were not so he could not carry on his trade. In the main, the substitution of the leading craft-gilds for the gild-merchant as the local authority for the regulation of trade was not the outcome of the struggle between rival organisations but merely a matter of practical administrative convenience.

The national idea was, as we have seen, only in embryo, and the commercial idea of breeding and accumulating wealth was only in embryo. Commerce was practically the local exchange of goods of which there happened to be a superfluity, for goods of which there happened to be a deficiency, and the local producer was extremely jealous of the competition of the outside producer, whom he called a "foreigner." But Edward saw in the development of a national commerce a means not only to increasing the material prosperity of his subjects, but also to filling the royal exchequer. By increasing the volume of exports and imports, the produce of the customs, new or old, would be proportionately increased. The superior quality of certain English products, notably wool and hides and some other raw materials, had created a demand for them on the Continent, notably for the looms of Flanders. The export was to be encouraged; and Edward sought to concentrate it at particular ports, partly because the trade could thereby be better supervised in the interests of the traders, and partly because the customs could be more easily collected in the interests of the Crown.

VII

ROBERT BRUCE

The death of Edward I. put an entirely new complexion upon the prospect of Scottish independence. The old king had made up his mind to punish the fresh revolt with an iron hand and to bring Scotland under his

heel. A successor of the same quality as himself might have carried out his plan, though it may be doubted whether he could have effected a permanent pacification of Scotland. But Edward II. was of an altogether different type. Devoid of patriotic or kingly ambition, the young Edward had little thought except for his amusements and the gratification or the wealth of the favourites by whom he was surrounded. Moreover, as often happens with a masterful ruler, the great Edward had been served, latterly at least, by men who were efficient instruments for executing his will but were not capable of relieving his successor of the responsibilities of government. So instead of carrying out his father's plans, Edward II. contented himself with a mere military parade, dropped the conquest of Scotland, left its government in charge of the Earl of Pembroke, and retired to England. No one troubled about Scotland, since the whole of the baronage immediately found themselves entirely taken up with the personal rivalries and jealousies which were let loose by the conduct of the new king.

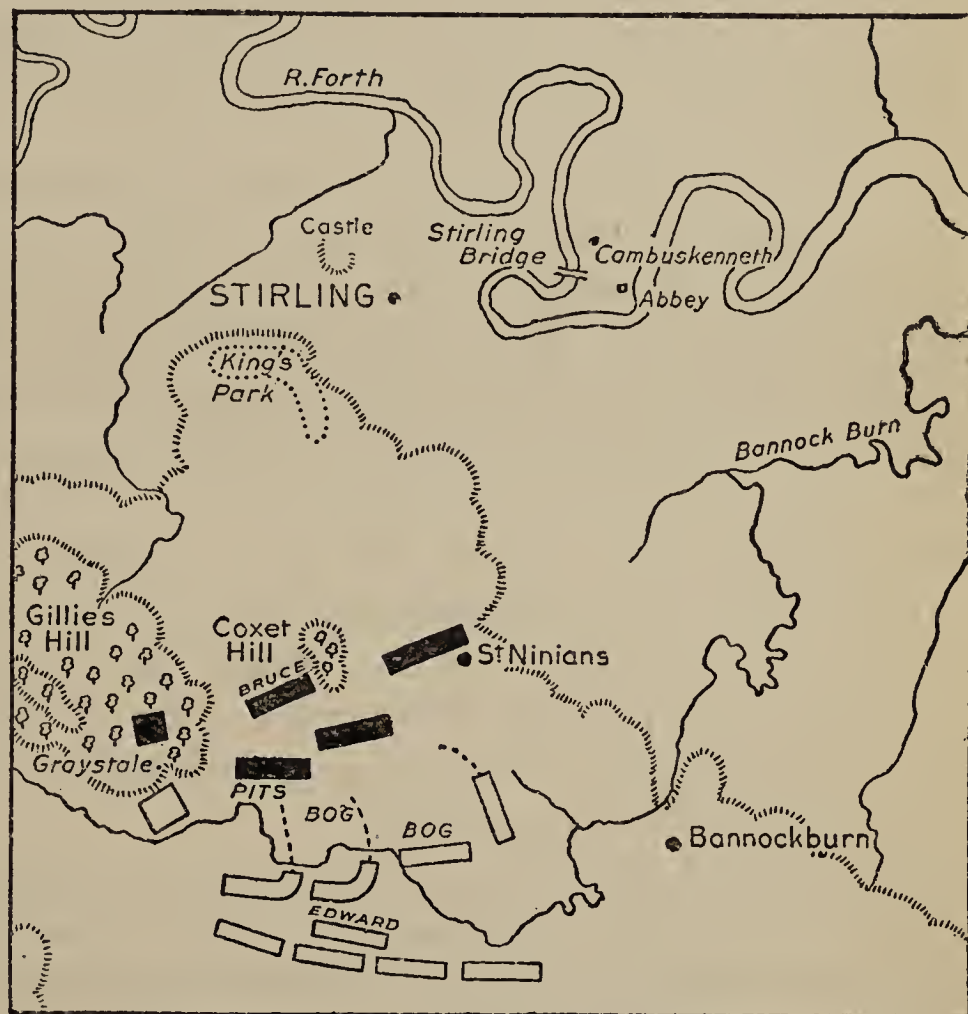
So Bruce continued his raiding, held in check only by the various castles which the policy of the first Edward had filled with English garrisons, and by the hostility of nobles who were either involved in the blood-feud with the Comyns or, for one cause or another, were irrevocably committed to the English side. Those who were not so committed either sat still and awaited events, or, as one success after another attended the arms of the adventurer and the band of brilliant fighting men who had attached themselves to him, became open adherents of King Robert. Each new feat of arms achieved by the king himself or his brother Edward, by James Douglas or Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, brought in fresh supporters; while no similar successes attended the English, who sat sullenly in their castles until one after another was surprised, and, being captured, was levelled with the ground. For the Scots could not afford to lock up their own fighting men to garrison the castles, nor would they run the risk of their being reoccupied by the English.

In 1310 Edward was stirred up to lead an invasion into Scotland; but he found no one to fight, the country was laid waste before him, and he retired in inglorious discomfiture. In 1311 and 1312 the Scots took the offensive and raided the northern counties of England. Then Perth was surprised in January 1313, and Roxburgh a year later, by Bruce himself and by Lord James Douglas respectively. Before Easter Randolph had surprised Edinburgh, scaling the precipitous rock by night. Stirling had already been invested, and was now the only fortress of importance which remained in English hands; moreover the commandant had pledged himself to surrender unless he were relieved by the Midsummer Day ensuing.

The fall of Stirling would mean that the last fragment of Edward I.'s conquest of Scotland would vanish. Even Edward II. awoke to the necessity for action. A superficial reconciliation had just been effected between the king and his barons; and, though some of them still declined to join him in person on a Scottish campaign undertaken without the express

sanction of parliament, he led a mighty army across the border in June 1314, magnificent in equipment and attended by a vast baggage train. He had a short week in which to reach Stirling before the hour should arrive when it was pledged to surrender unless relieved. The great host rolled to the north-westward in a hasty and ill-managed march. King Robert knew that the crucial hour had come, and posted his comparatively small force on a carefully selected position, the field of Bannockburn, covering the immediate approach to Stirling. Wal-

lace had staked all on the field of Falkirk, which had come near to being a decisive victory for the Scots. Bruce himself had been present at that battle, and fully understood how it was that Edward had turned it into a decisive English victory. Falkirk was not to be repeated at Bannockburn, since Bruce rightly calculated that there was with the English army no commander possessing the large experience and the technical resource of Edward I. It was a moral certainty that the English, with their huge force of men-at-arms, would rely upon the customary mediæval tactics, and endeavour to crush the Scottish infantry by the shock of charging squadrons. He himself must rely, like Wallace, upon the stubborn valour of his footmen; since he, like Wallace, had no masses of cavalry and few archers. Therefore he had to guard against the possibility of having his flank turned, and against a repetition of the archery tactics.



Plan of battle of Bannockburn.

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|---|---|
| <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 10px; display: inline-block;"></div> English main body. | <div style="background-color: black; width: 30px; height: 10px; display: inline-block;"></div> Scottish forces. |
| <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 10px; display: inline-block;"></div> English archers. | <div style="background-color: black; width: 30px; height: 10px; display: inline-block;"></div> Scottish horse. |

The position chosen gave Bruce what he needed, a narrow front where his soldiery could be massed, with broken and boggy ground on the flanks which secured them from being turned. Boggy ground on the front itself would minimise the shock of the charge; and where it was not boggy it was carefully prepared with the iron spikes called calthrops, and with covered pits, so as to produce a similar effect. The bulk of Bruce's cavalry too were dismounted, and disposed so as to strengthen the line of infantry, while only a picked squadron was retained to strike suddenly and swiftly when occasion

should arise. The Scots were outnumbered by more than three to one, but on the field the English could not bring their numbers into play.

Such was Bruce's plan. When the advancing hosts of the English appeared, the incidents of the day gave a foretaste of the coming struggle. A detachment of English horse made a dash round the Scottish flank in order to reach Stirling and effect the technical relief. A detachment of Scottish foot was just in time to intercept it and drive it back in rout. An English knight, Henry de Bohun, seeing the Scottish king riding almost unarmed along the Scottish line, charged down upon him. At the critical instant Robert swerved his palfrey, and as De Bohun crashed by, clove his skull with his battle-axe.

On the following day the battle went precisely as Bruce had designed. The masses of mail-clad horsemen were hurled against the Scottish front, crashing vainly upon the serried spears. The archers were thrown forward on the left, but no steps were taken to cover them, and almost with the first flight of the arrows the small squadron of Scottish horse burst upon their flank and cut them to pieces. With repeated charges, the English horse became a huddled, unmanageable mass; the Scottish infantry rolled forward in unbroken line; a band of camp followers descending the neighbouring Gillies' Hill was mistaken for a fresh Scottish host; and the great English army broke in a panic rout. Never had the English met with a disaster so overwhelming; the fugitives were slain in heaps, though the small supply of cavalry made the pursuit only desultory. Numbers of prisoners and vast spoils fell to the conquerors.

On the field of Bannockburn the independence of Scotland was decisively won, though fourteen years were still to pass before England acknowledged the fact by the treaty of Northampton. During those fourteen years the Scots became the aggressors. Berwick, the only corner of Scottish soil still held by the English, was captured; and year after year Douglas and Randolph harried the north of England, while the unfailing misrule in the southern country prevented any organised effort to retrieve what had been lost. Edward himself had been murdered, and his queen Isabella with her paramour Mortimer were ruling England in the name of young Edward III., when the government at last bowed to the logic of facts, and the treaty of Northampton acknowledged Robert Bruce as king of the independent Scottish nation. But the great liberator's life was already drawing to a close, and a year later he died, leaving the crown to his son David II., a child of six years old.

A curious episode followed the battle of Bannockburn. For nearly a hundred and fifty years the King of England had been titular lord of Ireland. Within the small group of counties known as the English Pale, English government and English law and customs prevailed. Outside the Pale the north of Ireland remained almost entirely Celtic, the De Burghs, the Earls of Ulster, being almost the only great Norman family. But, in the south, Norman families, most notably the Geraldines and the Butlers, extended

their dominions and ruled almost as independent princes ; very much Celticised in their sympathies though retaining some of their Norman traditions. Outside the Pale the central government was practically powerless. After Bannockburn, the O'Neills and O'Connells, the most powerful of the northern clans, offered the crown of Ireland to Robert Bruce. That shrewd prince declined, but the proposal to substitute his brother Edward was accepted. The Bruces went over to Ireland to win the crown, and obtained a very general support from the native chiefs. The Normans, however, stood by their fealty, and while the Bruces were victorious in the field, they were unable to reduce the Norman strongholds. Still Edward Bruce got himself crowned King of Ireland, and was left by his brother to establish himself in his kingdom. His reign was brief, for a vigorous English governor arrived in the person of Roger Mortimer. In a fight at Dundalk Edward was defeated and slain, and Ireland thereafter was more or less reduced to submission ; but if the episode had any permanent effect, it was to diminish rather than extend the authority of the central government ; and the efforts of the English lieutenants were still mainly directed to vain attempts to prevent the Celticising of the English in Ireland.

VIII

EDWARD II

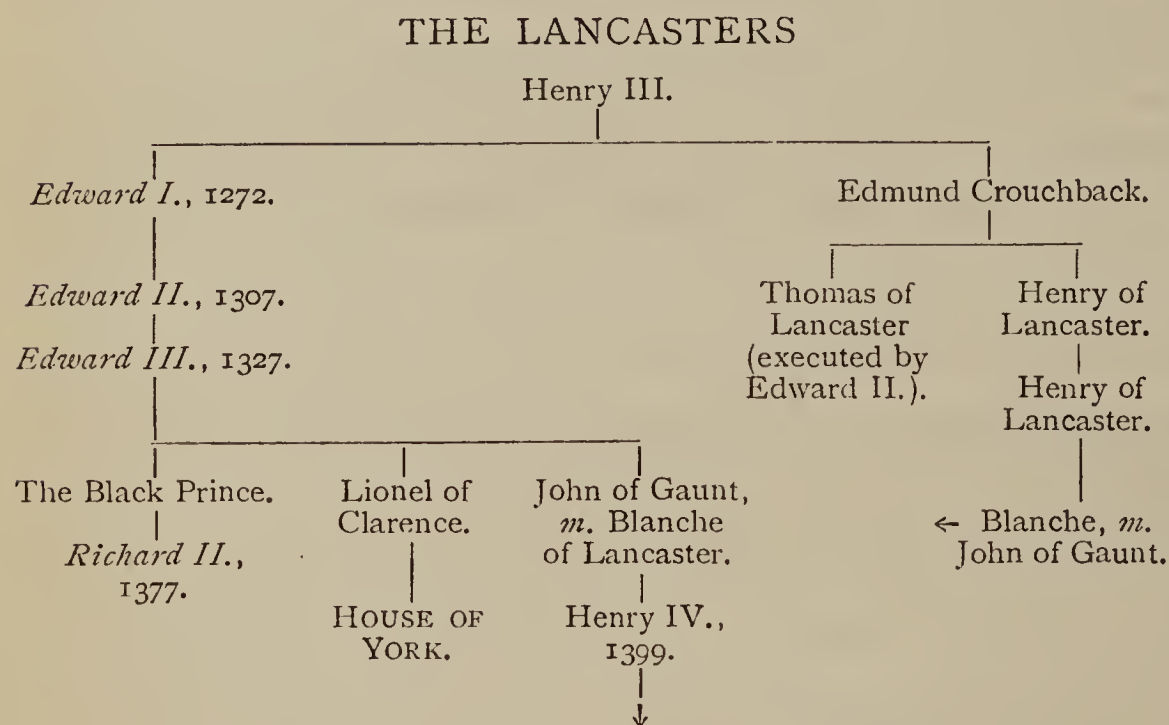
From the English point of view Bannockburn was merely the most disastrous incident in a reign which presents us with no incident and no character that Englishmen can think of with pride or respect. When it has been recorded that Edward of Carnarvon was not a bloodthirsty tyrant, or personally vicious, there is nothing left to be said in his favour. He lacked even the personal valour in which his grandfather, Henry III., was not deficient, as well as the intellectual sympathies and the personal piety which were at least amiable traits in that monarch's character. He is redeemed from unmitigated contempt rather than from positive execration mainly by his tragic end.

His grim father's body was hardly cold when the young king was already doing his best to make havoc of his policy. His first step was to recall to court his boon companion, the young Gascon knight, Piers Gaveston, whom his father had banished as being no fit companion for the heir to the English throne. Gaveston's sole merit lay in the beauty of person, the frivolous wit, the showy accomplishments, and the superficial cleverness which had conquered the affections of the young Edward ; who now made haste to marry him to his niece and endow him with the earldom of Cornwall, which had recently passed to the Crown by escheat. There was a general ejection of the old king's officials, who were largely replaced by men whom Edward I. had conspicuously distrusted. There was no im-

mediate opposition. The baronage had had little enough sympathy with the masterful monarch whose strong hand had been removed by death, and were content to await events. If the young king tried to play the part of Rehoboam, he was not likely to fare any better than his prototype.

With the turn of the year, Edward proceeded to France to espouse the youthful bride, Isabella, to whom he was betrothed. He left the regency in the hands of the new Earl of Cornwall, but no open dissatisfaction was yet expressed. Within two months, however, of Edward's return and corona-

tion, the simmering wrath of the barons had reached boiling-point. The mocking tongue of the Gascon upstart was not to be endured. The old Earl of Lincoln and the young Earl of Gloucester, both loyal adherents of the Crown, were drawn into the circle of disgusted opposition. A parliament,



of the baronage only, met in April, and unanimously demanded that Gaveston should be banished and deprived of his new earldom; while the bishops, headed by Winchelsea, threatened him with excommunication. The king, finding himself helpless, sent Gaveston off to Ireland as Lieutenant. Twelve months after the parliament of barons, Edward's need of supplies caused the summoning of another parliament of the three Estates. The Estates at once drew up and presented a schedule of grievances; and by promises to remedy these the king secured from the magnates their assent to the recall of Gaveston—always excepting the implacable Guy, Earl of Warwick, whom the favourite had nicknamed the Black Dog of Arden.

But Gaveston was as irritating, and the administration through the king's favourites as incompetent, as ever. Again within twelve months the parliament of the barons took matters into their own hands. They met in arms. They demanded unanimously the banishment of Gaveston. But they went very much further; reverting to the precedent of the Mad Parliament of 1258, they demanded that the government should be placed in the hands of a committee of magnates. They set forth the grievances of the realm. Like their predecessors fifty-two years before, they ignored the assembly of the Estates, and claimed in effect that a baronial oligarchy should perform the functions of an absolute monarchy. Backed as they were by the whole feudal force, and probably by the whole popular sentiment, of the nation, the king could offer them no resistance; and after

the precedent of the Provisions of Oxford, a committee of twenty-one "Lords Ordainers" was appointed, with full powers of government for eighteen months. Seven bishops, eight earls, and six barons made up what may be called the Committee of Reform. They did not immediately strike at Gaveston, but—at first, at least—endeavoured seriously to deal with some of the more serious ills of the administration.

Edward spent the latter part of the year in an abortive expedition to Scotland. Then Lincoln, the last of the old king's trusted servants, and the most powerful influence among the barons on the side of moderation, died; and Thomas of Lancaster, the king's first cousin, now lord of five earldoms, became indisputably the head of the baronage. About Midsummer the Ordainers had completed their scheme of reform, which was then submitted to a parliament of the three Estates. Various laws in the Statute Book were to be properly enforced. The "New Customs" were to be abolished. All officers of State both in England and in Gascony were to be appointed by counsel and consent of the barons, and a baronial parliament was to be summoned once or twice annually. War and peace, even the king's personal movements as well as every department of government, were to be under the control of the barons. Gaveston and all his kinsfolk and following were to be banished; so were the Lombards and Florentines who had become the financial agents of the Crown.



Housewife, early 14th century.

Gaveston departed, but early in 1312 he was back again in the north of England, and in the king's company. Five of the earls, Lancaster, Pembroke, Hereford, Arundel, and Warwick, joined by Warrene, who was not one of the Ordainers, took up arms to enforce the Ordinances of the previous year and to hunt down Gaveston. None took the king's side. Gaveston surrendered to Pembroke and Warrene, under promise of protection; his fate was to be submitted to the decision of parliament. But while Gaveston was travelling south in Pembroke's custody, Warwick captured him, and in conjunction with Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, cut off his head on Blacklow Hill.

This violent action split up the Ordainers. Pembroke, and in a less degree Warrene, felt that their honour was implicated. The young Earl of Gloucester had always been opposed to extreme action. The king's hand being thus strengthened, the four earls who had been responsible for Gaveston's death presently submitted to a form of reconciliation and amnesty which was ratified at the end of 1313.

The reconciliation was celebrated by Edward's great invasion of Scotland, which ended with the huge catastrophe of Bannockburn, where Gloucester was killed and Hereford was taken prisoner. But Hereford was exchanged for the ladies of Bruce's family, who had been held prisoners

in England ever since 1306. The disaster was a political triumph for Lancaster's faction. Lancaster at once became the most powerful man in the realm, and had he been a real statesman, or even a tolerably competent administrator, he would now have had a magnificent opportunity. He was neither the one nor the other, and anarchy reigned from end to end of the kingdom. His supporters fell away; and Pembroke, who had never forgiven the Gaveston affair, devoted himself to forming a middle party, which acquired a definite ascendancy in 1318 and gave the country a less desperately anarchical government for some three years. More could scarcely be said for it.



Costume of the commonalty,
Edward II.

But Edward was incapable of learning wisdom. He had found a new favourite in Hugh Despenser, the son of an official of some capacity. Honours were bestowed on the Despensers, who soon raised up enemies. The magnates united to demand their banishment in 1321, when the demand was endorsed by a parliament of the three Estates. But the union was only superficial. On the one hand, Hereford and Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, the head of the Mortimer connection, the bitterest foes of the Despensers, were suspicious of the king's intention of recalling the favourites. On the other hand, an insult to the

queen produced a strong reaction in the king's favour. He ventured to recall the Despensers, whereupon the Marchers and Lancaster rose. Edward marched to the north; the Lancastrians were routed by Sir Andrew Harclay, Commandant of Carlisle, at Boroughbridge; Lancaster himself was taken, and was sentenced and executed without being allowed to defend himself. The vagaries of popular sentiment transformed into a hero and a miracle-working saint this most powerful of the barons, who in his public life had displayed no single virtue which entitled him to the smallest respect.

The king and the Despensers had won for the time; and the Despensers posed as champions of popular as opposed to baronial rights; an attitude traditionally appropriate to the descendants of a Despenser who had received the confidence of Simon de Montfort. A parliament was promptly called at York, in which the commons were fully represented. The Ordinances were repealed, but the principle was asserted that affairs of state should be treated by the king in full parliament of the prelates, the baronage, and commonalty. In effect the Ordainers were condemned, not for what they did, but for doing it without the authority of the assembled Estates.

The Despensers proved no better than any of the series of inefficient administrations under which England had suffered for fourteen years past. They in their turn drove into opposition those of the great nobles whose temper inclined them to moderate counsels. Such a man was Henry of

Lancaster, the brother and in part the successor of Thomas. The queen, Isabella—a quite young woman, who had been but sixteen when in 1312 she became the mother of the future Edward III.—was violently jealous of the young Despensers' influence with her husband, and the humiliations to which she was subjected would have awakened bitter resentment in a far less passionate woman. The Scots raided at will over the northern counties, and were only bought off by an ignominious but practically unavoidable truce. There prevailed everywhere the disorder and insecurity which in medieval times inevitably accompanied a weak government. In France, Charles IV., the last king of the old direct line of the Capets, was carrying out the old policy of his father, Philip IV., and re-establishing in Gascony the authority which that monarch had filched from the first Edward but had surrendered in the closing years of his reign.

By a master-stroke of impolicy, Isabella was allowed to go to France to negotiate with her brother; thither she was followed by the boy Edward, who now bore the title of Duke of Aquitaine. But while the queen played at diplomacy, she was more occupied in a private intrigue with Roger Mortimer, who had been imprisoned after Boroughbridge but had made his escape to France. The fruits of that notorious intrigue were made manifest when Isabella and Mortimer landed in England in the autumn of 1326, announcing that they had come to remove the now generally hated Despensers. For the king and his favourites scarcely a hand was raised, while nobles and gentry flocked to the queen's standard. The king became a fugitive, but was captured along with the younger Despenser, who was forthwith put to death. Edward himself was held in honourable custody by Henry of Lancaster. In January a parliament of the three Estates met, and was invited to pronounce whether it would have for king Edward of Carnarvon or his son, the Duke of Aquitaine. It pronounced in favour of the boy. The king was forced to abdicate, and Edward III. was proclaimed and crowned. The fallen monarch was withdrawn from the charge of Henry of Lancaster and placed in that of new custodians. When the brutal treatment to which he was now subjected failed to kill him, he was



Brass of Sir John de Creke, 1325.

foully murdered in Berkeley Castle. As in the case of Thomas of Lancaster, not his virtues but the sins of his enemies and the tragedy of his death transformed the murdered king into a popular saint.

Practically, though not nominally, the government passed into the hands of the queen and her paramour, Roger Mortimer, who was now created Earl of March. They also did evil in the sight of the nation. An attack on Scotland met with the now familiar fate of such attempts. The regency gave up the futile struggle and disgusted the entire nation by the treaty of Northampton, which acknowledged Scottish independence. The little Prince David was married to the little English Princess Joan. A year later Robert Bruce died, and for a short time the Scottish regency was placed in the capable hands of Randolph, Earl of Moray.

But Mortimer in England, supported by the besotted queen mother, had no immediate aim save the accumulation of vast estates in his own hands. A conspiracy was set on foot for the overthrow of the regency and the release of the young King Edward from a state of practical subjection. The boy had been married to Philippa of Hainault, and the birth of a son in 1330, when he was seventeen, made him realise that he had come to man's estate. He joined with the conspirators, who on a night in October were privily admitted into Nottingham Castle, where Mortimer, the queen mother, and the young king were lying. Mortimer was seized, despatched to London, and hanged. Isabella was sent into an honourable retirement—honourable so far as concerned her treatment. Almost four years after his coronation Edward III. became King of England in fact as well as in name.



Opening a joust in the 14th century.

CHAPTER VI

EDWARD III. AND RICHARD II

I

BEFORE THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

ROBERT BRUCE had achieved the liberation of Scotland, and had organised a government which was effective so long as he lived, supported by the able and patriotic captains who had helped him to his triumph. But he had left the seeds of trouble, by the forfeiture of the estates of sundry Norman nobles who had failed to support his cause. Moreover, he left on the throne a six-year-old son by a marriage in his later years, though his elder daughter Margaret was the wife of the hereditary Steward of Scotland. The government was safe in the hands of the Regent Randolph; but the prospect if he should die was not too promising. The disinherited nobles, and in particular Edward Balliol, the son of the old King John, were eager to find an opportunity for their own reinstatement. In 1332 Randolph died, leaving no one with the ability to take his place adequately. Edward Balliol at once struck for the Crown, supported by the "disinherited" and by many of the Border lords. A force sailed from England—it was not allowed to make an invasion across the Border—landed on the coast of Fife, and at Dupplin Moor routed a large army collected by the new regent, the Earl of Mar. The victory was achieved by the combination of archers, this time, with foot soldiers massed after the fashion of the Scots themselves; while the blunder of Bannockburn, which had there exposed the archery to destruction by the attack of a small body of horse, was not repeated. Dupplin Moor was decisive for the moment, and Edward Balliol was crowned. Three months later he was a fugitive; but in the interval he as King of Scots had made a new treaty with England. This Edward was pleased to regard as cancelling the treaty of Northampton; and thenceforward, till the course of events turned his attention from Scotland altogether, he gave active support to the pretensions of Balliol. In the following year (1333) he



Edward III. and St. George.

[National Portrait Gallery.]

led an army into Scotland, and Dupplin Moor was repeated at Halidon Hill. The tactics here developed, out of those employed at Falkirk and Maes Madog, were destined to make the English arms invincible for a century to come whenever they were brought into play.

Balliol was now again King of Scots, placed on the throne emphatically by the English arms ; and he forthwith handed over half the Lowlands to the King of England, to whom he also did homage for the rest of the kingdom. The Scots declined to accept the situation. They sent off David and his wife Joan, the king and queen whom they recognised, to France for safety, and despite the lack of a leader prepared to fight. The Disinherited, replaced in their estates, proceeded to quarrel. Instead of fostering and strengthening Edward Balliol, Edward of England treated him with ostentatious distrust. In spite of annual incursions on the part



A royal dinner party in the 14th century.

of the English, continued until 1336, Balliol's cause gained no ground ; the Scots avoided any pitched battles with the invaders, and reverted to the guerilla warfare so successfully practised by Robert Bruce and his captains ; and in 1338 Edward's attention was finally absorbed by France so completely as to forbid the idea of his again attempting effective intervention in Scotland. A year later Balliol himself was ejected, and in 1341 David returned to his kingdom as its acknowledged monarch.

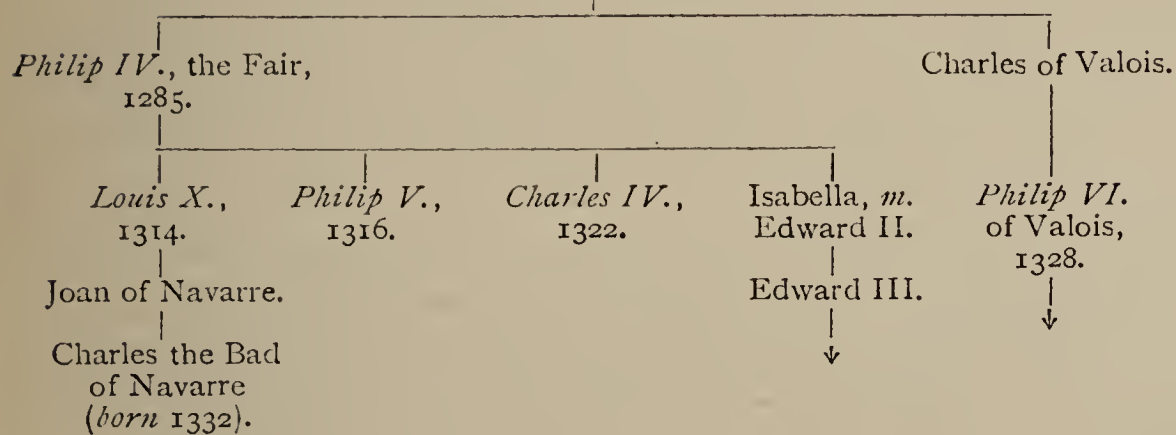
For England itself these were years of recovery from the endless broils, revolutions, and counter-revolutions under which the country had been suffering ever since the death of Edward I. The most prominent incident, if it may be called an incident, is the record that in 1332 and 1333 the knights of the shire became definitely associated with the borough representatives in a House of Commons, instead of with the barons, in the parliament of the three Estates ; though the time when the clergy ceased to act as an Estate of parliament is uncertain.

But in France events were taking place which were leading up to the

outbreak of the Hundred Years' War. In 1328 the French King, Charles IV., died; like his brothers, leaving no son behind him. A child born posthumously proved to be a daughter. From the days of Hugh Capet, the first of the reigning line, son had invariably succeeded father except when,

THE FRENCH CROWN

Philip III., 1270.



failing a son, a brother had succeeded. There had been no female succession, or succession through a female. The French now assumed the principle of the male succession, and forthwith acknow-

ledged as king Philip of Valois, the nephew of Philip IV. and first cousin of the three brothers who had reigned since that king's death.

Now no one disputed the doctrine that a woman was not herself eligible for the throne; but laws of succession had not been definitely and decisively formulated; they varied in different countries and in different parts of one country; and there was a custom quite familiar in France, by which the



Edward III. meets his Cousin of France, Philip VI., in 1331.

[From a 14th century MS. in the British Museum.]

succession to an estate might pass on to the son of a woman who was herself precluded from the succession by her sex. Accordingly, when Charles IV. died, his sister Isabella, the queen mother of England, made a formal claim in favour of her son, as being nearer to the throne than his cousin of Valois. There was nothing absurd or irregular about the claim, which was based upon one of the recognised customary grounds of succession. But it practically rested with the French nation to choose at this stage which of

the various customs prevalent should be adopted in deciding permanently the course of succession to the French throne. They did not greatly trouble themselves over the technical pleas with which lawyers subsequently amused themselves ; but finding that their choice lay practically between the first noble of France and the king of a foreign country, they did not for a moment hesitate in choosing Philip. It is not without interest in this connection to notice that, a century and a half later, Henry VII. claimed the throne of England through his mother, but for himself, not for her ; and although succession in the female line was maintained, it was held until the reign of Henry VIII. to be a matter of doubt whether a woman could in her own person succeed to the throne.

In 1328 Isabella's claim on behalf of her son was rejected by the French baronage, and was unsupported even by the barons of Aquitaine. It is to be observed, however, that even at this stage the cities of Flanders, whose Count was a vassal of the French Crown, were prepared for reasons of their own to support Edward's title. War on this account was, however, out of the question ; Edward accepted the accomplished fact, and did homage to Philip for his French possessions ; and outwardly the two kings became very good friends. Nevertheless two bones of contention remained. Philip would not abandon his friendly attitude to the Bruces, and gave young David shelter in his court when Edward Balliol was reigning as *de facto* King of Scotland. Also the conflicting rights of the King of France and of Edward, as Duke of Aquitaine, remained unsettled. The differences, in fact, over Aquitaine were such that they could hardly in any case have been settled except by the arbitrament of war. There was no reconciling the irreducible minimum of the respective claims. So in 1336 Edward was already engaged in diplomatic efforts to secure the alliance of the Counts of the Netherlands, Flanders, Brabant, Hainault, and others, and of the German Emperor Lewis of Bavaria himself. At the end of 1337, Edward renounced the homage which he had rendered while still a minor to Philip, and again put forward his own claim to the French Crown. Hostilities of an informal character opened with conflicts in the Channel and on the Channel coasts between the seamen of England and of Normandy. In 1338 Edward had secured Brabant, and his alliance with the German Emperor was ostentatiously established. In 1339 the long-drawn-out preliminaries came to an end, and the contest known as the Hundred Years' War was fairly joined.

II

THE ERA OF VICTORIES

The old idea that the Hundred Years' War was a piece of wanton aggression on the part of King Edward, having for its object the usurpation of the French Crown, has long been abandoned. The real point at issue, the

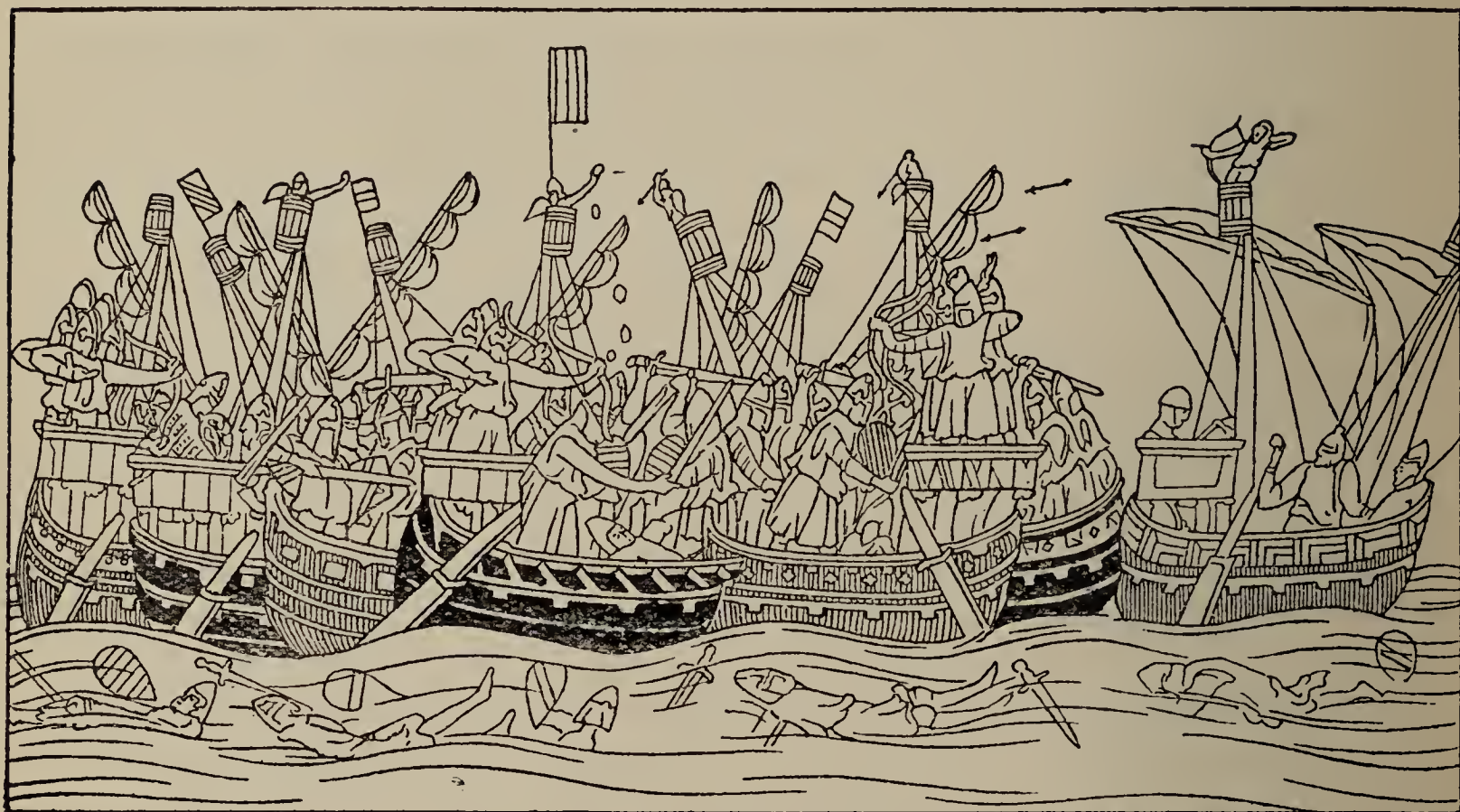
matter which made war inevitable, was the question of Aquitaine ; over which Edward I. and Philip the Fair had wrangled at the end of the last century. A settlement had then been arrived at which outwardly satisfied both parties ; but during the incapable rule of Edward II. the French kings had continued the old insidious policy of procuring and acting upon excuses for confiscation, until the Duke of Aquitaine was effectively lord of only a small part of that inheritance which was legitimately his. But for that, other differences might have been adjusted.

But war being inevitable and not unwelcome, Edward for diplomatic purposes asserted a claim to the French Crown which in the then existing uncertainties of the law of succession was by no means without plausibility, at least in the year 1328, when it was first put forward. Had it not been asserted at that time, it would have been vitiated later by the birth in 1332 of Charles of Navarre, called the Bad ; for Charles was the son of a daughter of Louis X., the immediate successor of Philip the Fair, and the child's claim was therefore stronger than that of Edward as the son of a sister of Louis. But his birth did not vitiate Edward's claim to have been *de jure* king four years before that event. It is therefore only fair to recognise that Edward's title was one which could be maintained by a perfectly conscientious lawyer, although the weight of legal opinion would undoubtedly have supported the title of Philip VI.

Political issues, however, not the dynastic issues, provided the real motive of the contest ; and among these were very important commercial issues. The commerce between England and Gascony was of great value to both countries, and was hampered by the relations between the King of France and the Duke of Aquitaine. The commerce between England and Flanders was still more important, and was endangered by the complicated relations between the cities of Flanders, the Count of Flanders, and the French king, which made the Flemish cities desirous of having the King of England for their supreme overlord rather than Philip of Valois. It was this more than anything else which caused Edward to give prominence to his claim to the French Crown among the reasons for the war.

The opening campaigns were futile. Philip and Edward challenged each other to meet in the open field, but carefully evaded any actual collision in force. The armies ranged along the north-eastern marches of France, and desolated the country without accomplishing anything. But in 1340 Edward made formal alliance with the cities of Flanders, and explicitly took upon himself the title of King of France. In the course of the year was fought the great naval engagement of Sluys which decisively gave to the English the mastery of the Channel, hitherto disputed by the sailors of Normandy. At that time Sluys had a large open harbour, where a great fleet, chiefly Norman, was gathered. Here they were engaged by a great English fleet, the ships grappling each other ; and the fierce hand-to-hand fighting resulted in the complete victory of the English. The king took part in the engagement, which at once established his reputation as a warrior.

But the land campaign was as futile as the last, and a truce was signed which remained in force till 1345. Edward, who had lavished large subsidies on his German allies, who made little enough practical return for them, was already in serious financial difficulties, and had incurred heavy debts to the Flemish cities ; and it was only by the ignominious expedient of secret flight that he was able, after signing the truce, to escape to England, leaving his debts unpaid. Attributing his embarrassments to the neglect of the officials whom he had left in charge of affairs in England, he attacked Archbishop Stratford, who, however, was able successfully to assert his title to be tried



A sea fight about the time of the battle of Sluys.

[From a MS. in the British Museum.]

by his peers, and to procure a statute rendering the king's ministers responsible to parliament.

We may, however, set aside constitutional questions at present and proceed with the story of the war, which was in effect continued in spite of the truce. Theoretically France and England were at peace ; but a question of succession arose in Brittany between John de Montfort and Charles of Blois. The two kings supported the rival claimants ; each of them as regards Brittany reversing the doctrines of succession by which he himself claimed the throne of France. From the English point of view this phase of the contest is chiefly notable on account of the battle of Morlaix, where the Earl of Northampton, in command of the English, won a victory over superior forces, by employing the archery tactics of Halidon Hill and Dupplin Moor for the first time on Continental soil. However, under these conditions the pretence of truce could not long be maintained. In 1345 it came to an end.

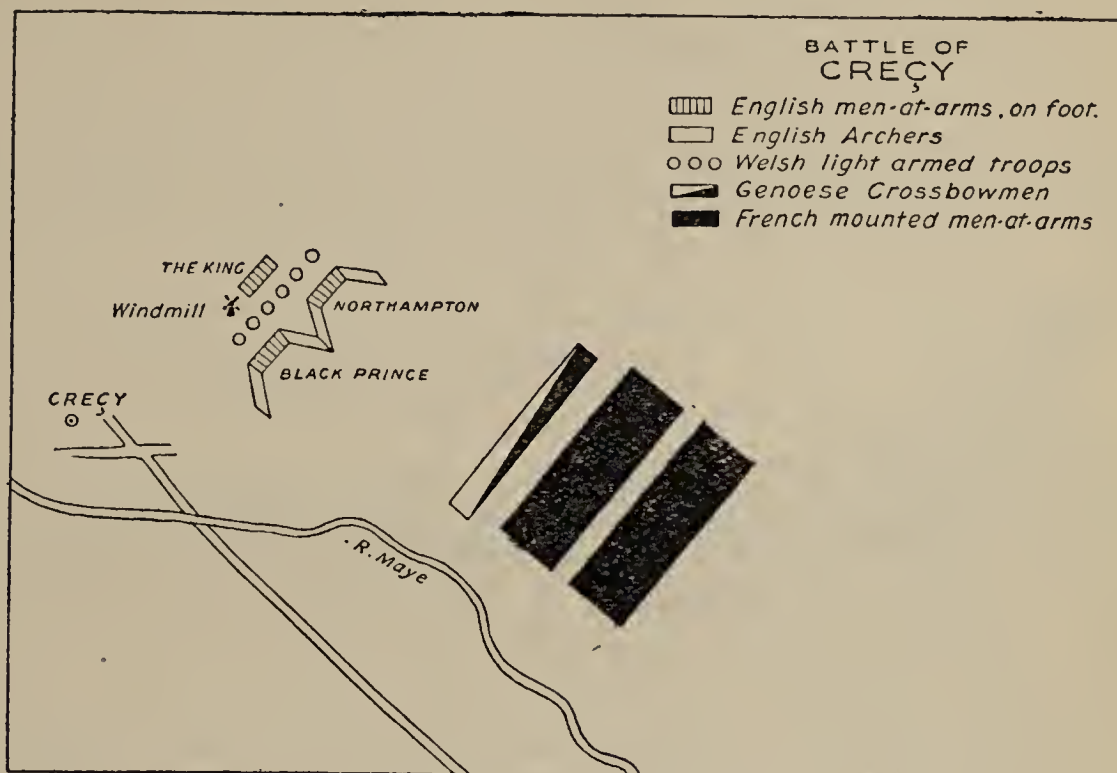
The king, now in dire need of money, cheerfully repudiated his enormous debts to the financial houses of Florence; thereby very nearly ruining that city and cutting himself off from the sources from which he had hitherto managed to borrow.

A new campaign was opened, this time in Gascony; but the great interest centres in the northern campaign of 1346. In that year Edward invaded Normandy, and within two months had advanced almost to the walls of Paris. But Philip had collected a very much larger army, and Edward resolved to fall back to

Flanders, with the French in pursuit. Having with great difficulty effected the passage of the Somme, he took up his position, on August 26th, on the famous field of Crécy, where he turned to bay.

Crécy typifies the English tactics which found their origin in the Welsh and Scottish wars of Edward I. and were now perfected by Edward III. The approaching French outnumbered by four to one the English, who would have been doomed to destruction in a contest on the normal medieval principles, which decided battles by the weight of charging masses of heavily armoured horsemen. But the Flemings and Scots had both proved that massed bodies of spearmen could stand their ground against any cavalry charge, though their resistance could be shattered, as at Falkirk and Halidon Hill, by bringing archery into play. Edward III. was now to prove that the combination of infantry with archery could not only beat off but could annihilate an attack which relied wholly on cavalry.

Like Bruce at Bannockburn, Edward drew up his forces with a narrow front, flanked by ground not available for cavalry. The front was ranged in two divisions, a third being held in reserve; while archers were thrown forward on either flank of each division, where, if attacked, they could fall back to cover. The regular foot soldiers were strengthened by dismounted horsemen, again as at Bannockburn,



English and French at Crécy.



An archer of 14th century.

while only a few mounted men were held in reserve. The French, though they arrived late in the day, resolved on an immediate attack. They advanced troops of Genoese cross-bow men, but the cross-bow was helpless against the long-bow. The Genoese were shot down before they had the English within range. The chivalry of France clamoured for the charge, and crashed forward, riding down the hapless Genoese. A storm of arrows poured upon the flanks of the charging columns, driving them instinctively to huddle together, and rolling over horse and man, so that



Cross-bow and quarrell as used at Crécy.

they were already in helpless confusion long before they reached the masses of heavy infantry. Again and again they charged with desperate valour, but only for a brief moment

did any of them succeed in breaking into the English lines. Light-armed Welshmen dashed out to slaughter and strip the fallen; the rout was as complete as that of Bannockburn; vast numbers were slain; the flower of the French nobility were either taken prisoners or left dead on the field.

Complete though the victory was, Edward could make no use of it except to continue his march to the coast unmolested. There, however, he settled down to besiege Calais; a port from which English shipping had suffered much injury, while its capture would provide a permanent gateway for entering France. For almost a year Calais held out stubbornly, but was finally starved into a surrender more famous for its medieval picturesqueness than even for its political importance; a story too familiar to be repeated here.

In the interval another success attended the English arms. As the ally of France, David of Scotland, who had recovered his throne in 1341, seized the opportunity in the autumn of 1346 to invade the north of England while Edward was in France. The invasion failed to relieve David's ally by drawing back troops, as was intended, for the defence of the north; which very successfully took care of itself. At the battle of Neville's Cross the Scots were routed and David was taken prisoner.

But in spite of brilliant victories the financial strain of the war was too great for Edward's resources, and in England taxation had reached the limit of popular endurance, although the general prosperity had been increasing so rapidly that the nation could have borne much heavier burdens without serious suffering. Moreover, Edward's allies were doing him no service; so, having secured Calais and transformed it into an English town, the English king agreed to a truce in September 1347. The truce continued for eight years, although miscellaneous fighting was going on all the time. In 1354 the Pope nearly succeeded in negotiating a

definitive peace, which would undoubtedly have been welcomed by the peoples of both France and of England. Edward was prepared to resign his claim to the French Crown if the quarrel over Aquitaine were settled by the grant of full sovereignty in Guienne and the disputed provinces. But the French king refused to give way, and the English Estates supported Edward in reviving the war in 1355.

Military operations were renewed on an extensive scale. The king's son, Edward the "Black Prince," who had won his spurs at Crécy, was despatched to Aquitaine, while the king himself intended to operate from Calais. The second movement, however, was paralysed, since the Scots effected a successful diversion by capturing Berwick and drawing Edward back to England in haste. But that winter the Black Prince devastated French territory in the south, while the king himself carried fire and sword over the south of Scotland in the raid known as the Burnt Candlemas. Also he resumed his grandfather's title as not only overlord but actual King of Scotland in place of Edward Balliol, who formally resigned his own futile pretensions in his favour.

Then in Normandy and Brittany the tide of war surged to and fro, mainly in favour of the English. But the grand event of the year 1356 was the Black Prince's incursion from Bordeaux into the regions of the Loire, which culminated in the brilliant victory of Poitiers. On this occasion, as in many other of the French battles, the force commanded by the prince was immensely outnumbered by the French ; while it was largely Gascon, not English, and was accompanied by only a few archers. The details of the battle are unusually obscure. Almost for the first time both sides fought on foot, but the English had the advantage of the slope. The decisive blow, however, was struck when Edward executed an unsuspected turning movement with the reserve force of mounted men, who instead of having fled as was generally supposed, appeared suddenly on the French rear, fell upon them, and turned what was already almost an assured repulse into a total route. Both the French King John and his youngest son Philip, afterwards Duke of Burgundy, were taken prisoners.

With the two kings of France and Scotland in his hands Edward was now in a strong position for dictating terms. France fell into a condition of anarchy. English soldiers fought for their own hand as captains of "free companies." The peasantry broke out in the desperate revolt known as the Jacquerie. Edward released David of Scotland for a ransom which the Scots king was never actually able to pay in full ; but the terms of peace for France included not only a huge ransom to the king, but practically the cession in full sovereignty of all that had ever been held in France by an Angevin King of England. In spite of her miseries France would not yield.



Archer and arbalestier, 14th century.

In the winter and spring of 1359-60 the war was renewed with increased fury ; but in May the hostilities were stopped by the temporary treaty of Bretigny. Edward renounced his claim to the French throne, and John his claim to the allegiance of the disputed districts of Aquitaine. All Aquitaine, and in addition the substantial north-eastern district which came to be known as the Calais Pale, was ceded in full sovereignty to the English king ; but in the final treaty of Calais the first-mentioned clauses of the treaty of Bretigny were not actually embodied. Peace, it seemed, had come at last.

III

THE ERA OF FAILURES

Edward III. stood now at the height of his renown. In popular estimation he was by far the greatest captain of his day ; having, indeed, no rival except his own son, the Black Prince, who was still little more than thirty years of age. Of neither does the military reputation stand so high with posterity as it did in their own day. Neither was in any sense a master of strategy ; both planned even the campaigns in which they achieved their greatest triumphs as if the one object of generalship was successful raiding. But both were masters of the art of handling troops on the field of battle ; both knew how to inspire their men with complete confidence in their leader and in themselves. Under them the English fought to win, whatever the odds might be. And Edward III. has the credit for having perfected that form of battle array which did in practice repeatedly give the English victory in the face of immense odds. It is not without interest to observe that the principle of breaking up cavalry charges by a flank fire, which won the day at Crécy, reappeared with decisive effect nearly five hundred years later at the battle of Waterloo.

But neither the conqueror's day of glory nor the triumphant peace which he seemed to have achieved were to be of long duration. France, indeed, had never formed a united nation, and Gascony felt no sense of alienation in being parted from the French Crown. But there were other portions of the dukedom of Aquitaine which resented the overlordship of the English king ; also there were French districts of which sundry captains of free companies had made themselves masters, and these were by no means minded to surrender what they had won with their own swords merely because the Kings of England and France had made a treaty. Therefore the process of establishing the supremacy of King Edward and King John in the regions assigned to them respectively by the treaty was by no means a simple one, and was attended by a large amount of free fighting. Moreover, while the renunciatory clauses of the treaty of Bretigny had been omitted from the definitive treaty of Calais, it was with the understanding that they were to be given effect later ; which completion of the

treaty was evaded by both parties. Hence large opportunities were presented, which might be seized by one party or the other, for denouncing it altogether.

The King of France, John the Good, a mirror of knightly faith and honour, made every effort to fulfil his own obligations, even to the extent of voluntarily returning to his captivity in England when the payment of his ransom fell into arrear. The Edwards were equally punctilious in performing all that the laws of chivalry had demanded; their courtesy and generosity were proverbial; but neither Edward nor John's successor, Charles V., had any qualms about evading a promise if they could find a plausible excuse for doing so. Hence those renunciatory clauses were never formally ratified. Charles, a very much shrewder man than his father, set about the pacification of his realm with considerable success.

Troubles in Spain to a great extent relieved France of the free companies, who with a light heart joined the stout French warrior Bertrand du Guesclin in supporting the revolt of Henry of Trastamare against Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile. But Pedro fled to the Black Prince, whose father had now instituted him the independent lord of Aquitaine. The prince's curiously distorted views of his chivalric *devoir* led him to take up the cause of the exiled tyrant. He crossed the Pyrenees with a large army, won the great victory of Navarette, and reinstated Pedro the Cruel. But he ruined his own health and that of his entire force, besides exhausting the finances of Aquitaine on the enterprise and incurring immense debts. Pedro, having won his crown, repudiated his obligations to his ally; who returned to Bordeaux, and unwillingly enough taxed his subjects that he might pay his debts. The towns and the commonalty of Aquitaine had found in the prince a ruler who treated them fairly enough, and were now ready to submit to his exactions; but the barons, who had found their privileges curtailed, and preferred for their suzerain a very much hampered King of France to a vigorous duke in Bordeaux, took the opportunity to appeal against the taxes to Charles as their suzerain. Charles admitted the right of appeal, on the ground that King Edward had



A temporary besieging fort of timber.
[From Froissart's "Chronicles of England."]

never formally renounced his claim to the French Crown: and cited the Black Prince to his court. The result was defiance from the Black Prince and the formal resuscitation of his father's claim to the French Crown.

So once more France and England were at war, but under very much altered conditions. For the once mighty Edward III., though still far short



France and the Angevin Dominion.

- Boundary of France.
- Boundary of the dominion of Henry II.
- English Boundary at Breteuil.

of sixty, was already falling into a premature old age, and the Black Prince's powers were wrecked by disease. The English king had obtained little enough practical help from his allies in the past; but now the German Empire had passed to the house of Luxemburg, and the marriages of the last generation had so changed the interests of counts and princes that the French king now had allies where before he had enemies.

The renewal of war, then, in 1369 was attended by a series of successes for the French arms, while all that the Black Prince could effect was the capture of Limoges, the sack and destruction of the city, and the

massacre of its inhabitants. This was in 1370; and it did much more to alienate the population of Aquitaine than to terrorise them into submission to the duke. A year later the Black Prince himself was in England, having neither the health to lead his soldiers nor money to pay them. Again, a year later, a British fleet met with an overwhelming defeat off La Rochelle, thereby losing the command of the sea which had been held for more than thirty years. The war had no redeeming features; and the defeat at La Rochelle effectively cut Aquitaine off from England. Edward's second surviving son, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, led an expedition through France; but the French avoided pitched battles after the manner of the Scots, wasted the country before the invaders, worried them on flank and rear, and raided their communications. Without having fought a single serious engagement, it was but a wreck of John of Gaunt's army which finally struggled into Bordeaux. The record of exhaustion and futility was only brought to a close by a truce which covered the two last years of the old king's life; when England was in practical possession of little more than Calais and Guisnes, the "Calais Pale," in the north-east corner of France, and Bordeaux on the south-west.



English man-at-arms and archer.

[From Froissart.]

Disaster abroad was accompanied by faction and discord at home. Parliament readily endorsed Edward's resolve to renew the war, but disgust took the place of enthusiasm as disaster followed disaster. At the demand of parliament the king dismissed in 1371 the clerical ministers whose mismanagement was popularly held to be responsible; but the new anti-clerical ministry brought no improvement. Pembroke, who had led the opposition, was defeated and captured at La Rochelle, and John of Gaunt, who had identified himself with the same party, got nothing but discredit out of his expedition in the following year. Anti-clericalism became the party cry of John of Gaunt's faction; while the party now in opposition was headed nominally by the dying Black Prince and more actively by Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. Mortimer had married the daughter of Edward's second son, Lionel of Clarence, recently dead; so that his infant son Roger stood next in succession to the Black Prince's own son Richard. The Anti-clericals called in to their aid the learned doctor John Wiclif; who held austere views as to the iniquity of wealth and worldliness among the clergy, and was further promulgating unaccustomed doctrines, which were presently to be denounced by the Church as heretical and by politicians as anarchical.

The parliament, summoned after a somewhat unusual interval of three

years in 1376, gave the temporary victory to the Black Prince's party, who had honestly enough adopted the rôle of constitutionalists. A vigorous attack was made on the Anti-clerical or Court party. The trial and imprisonment of Lord Latimer and other ministers are regarded as the first example of impeachment—the process under which officers of state are arraigned before the House of Lords by the House of Commons. At this juncture the Black Prince himself died. John of Gaunt made the mistake of inviting the Commons to make a declaration in favour of the



A 14th century abbot preaching.

French rule of succession, which would have given to himself and his son priority over young Roger Mortimer, who, as we have seen, claimed through his mother to stand next after Richard in the succession. Lancaster's proposal was emphatically rejected, but he had given colour to the belief that he was really playing for the Crown. Although his own position had been strengthened by the death of his elder brother, he could not resist the demand of the Commons that the control of the government should be placed in the hands of a nominated council. Nevertheless, he succeeded in packing a new parliament, which met at the beginning of the next year, with partisans of his own; the pro-

ceedings of the last or "Good" Parliament were reversed, and Lancaster forcibly protected Wiclif against the attacks of the clerical party, though these were supported by the citizens of London. Conciliatory counsels, however, averted the outbreak of a civil war at the moment when the old king was dying neglected and almost forgotten. Whatever Lancaster's ambitions were, actual disloyalty was not among his sins, and the Black Prince's son Richard, young as he was, succeeded to the throne without opposition in June 1377.

The accession of the young king, a boy of eleven, was accompanied by a general reconciliation, which found its expression in the personnel of the Council of Twelve who were placed in control of the government. Both parties were represented. Though neither Lancaster himself nor his younger brothers, Edmund of Langley and Thomas of Woodstock, were members of the Council, Lancaster's vast estates left him individually the most powerful man in the kingdom. A government thus constituted was hardly fitted to deal effectively with a crisis. The truce with France had come to an end, and matters went ill both in Aquitaine and on the seas. A new parliament was summoned in January which reverted definitely to the attitude of the Good Parliament, turned some of the Lancastrians out of the Council, and claimed definitely that no Act passed in parliament should be repealed without consent of parliament. The House then proceeded to vote supplies expressly for the war, and required the appointment of



ENGLISH LIFE IN THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Drawings from the beautiful Luttrell Psalter (made before 1346). Those in the upper half illustrate the domestic preparations for a great feast in Sir Geoffrey Luttrell's house ; in the lower half are husbandry scenes.

special auditors, who should see to it that the money was expended on the war and on nothing else—the first definite instance of the principle of “appropriation of supply.”

Still the spirit of conciliation was abroad, and Lancaster, in spite of his political defeat, was entrusted with the control of naval and military operations, which as usual he mismanaged. The treasury was exhausted ; and to raise more money the Commons agreed to a poll-tax, graduated according to wealth, and ranging from a groat up to six pounds. The tax brought in less than half of what had been expected, and the fleet on which it was expended was shattered by a gale. There was another reconstruction of the ministry, but no improvement in efficiency. Once more additional taxation was demanded, and again the reluctant Commons assented to a poll-tax, which this time was not graduated, but was assessed at a shilling a head on the whole adult population. Although an attempt was made to introduce a sort of local graduation, so that in each district the wealthier men should pay more than the poor, the practical effect was only to make the tax more severely felt in the poorer districts, since the average of a shilling a head over the district had to be maintained. This second poll-tax was the occasion, though not the cause, of the conflagration of 1381, known as the Peasants' Revolt or Wat Tyler's Rebellion.

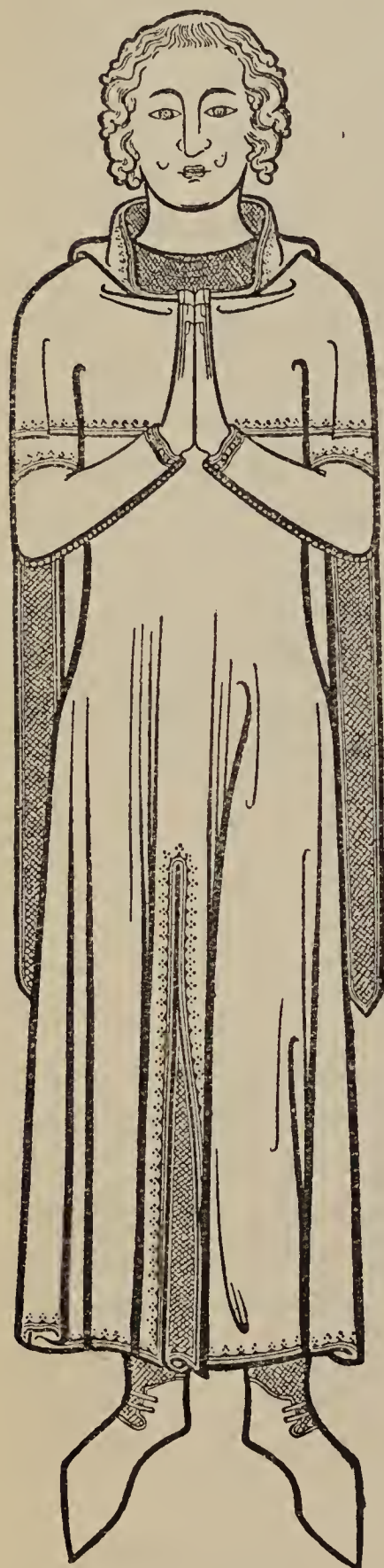
IV

CROWN, COMMERCE, AND PARLIAMENT

Edward I. established the parliament of the three Estates in the closing years of his reign ; but that parliament had not learnt to assert itself generally, and offered no resistance when the earls and the greater barons took upon themselves the office of controlling the king's government. The Good Parliament at the close of Edward III.'s reign shows the Commons taking a much more active part in affairs of state. Petitions and protests were freely put forward by the knights of the shire ; and the overseers appointed at the beginning of the reign of Richard II. to control the accounts were neither ministers of the king nor members of the baronage, but two leading citizens of London.

The change that had taken place meant that the Commons had been step by step throughout the reign of Edward III. acquiring the effective power of the purse ; because the enormous expenditure, involved primarily by the wars, made the Crown more and more dependent upon supplies voluntarily granted by the Commons ; and at the same time the Commons grew more and more jealous of methods of raising revenue which were not dependent upon their goodwill. They had not at first made their control effective. They were strong enough to refuse money unless the king would make satisfactory promises ; but they were still without effective means of compelling the

king to carry out his promises when he had made them. For parliamentary supremacy, the first necessary stage was for parliament to have the power of withholding the supplies necessary to the carrying out of the king's policy ; the second step was the application of that power to the control of legislation ; and the third, still very remote, was its further application to the control of the Executive.



A merchant of 1367.

[From a brass at Lynn.]

Accordingly the reign shows the Crown becoming more and more dependent for funds on the goodwill of parliament ; while the doctrine is gaining ground that legislation, to be permanent, requires parliamentary sanction ; though parliament is only beginning to assume the initiative by expressing in petitions the principles which it wishes to see enacted. Its attempts to influence the administration are still more embryonic. Only under extreme circumstances and at the very end of the reign does parliament, as distinct from a baronial faction, take upon itself to attack the king's ministers or to demand powers of supervision.

Edward was perfectly conscious that the policy on which he was embarking when he entered upon the French war involved his own dependence upon parliament, and he took care that parliament should expressly commit itself to endorsing his policy ; although by so doing he encouraged the development of the idea, which as yet existed only in germ, that parliament was entitled to a voice in the direction of policy. At the same time it was an object with him, as it had been with his grandfather, to minimise that dependence. He endeavoured, therefore, to develop independent sources of revenue. Something which may be called a commercial policy had first become operative in the time of his grandfather ; partly because Edward as a nationalist statesman had begun to recognise in commercial expansion one of the roads to national welfare and national strength ; partly because he hoped to obtain from it an increase of the royal revenue which should not involve direct reference to the Estates. Like aims caused the third Edward to

develop a commercial policy so energetic that he has been called the Father of English commerce.

We have seen that until the reign of Edward III. foreign commerce was extremely limited. Every borough and every district aimed at being self-sufficing ; so also did the nation. The enterprising foreigner sought a market for his own goods in England and purchased raw materials from

England ; but the Englishman hardly attempted to seek a foreign market for his own goods or to procure from foreign countries goods which he could sell again at a profit at home. The wine and the cloths which he had not learnt to manufacture at home the foreigner would bring to his doors ; and if the foreigner chose to bring his goods for sale, he must spend the purchase-money in buying other goods from Englishmen.

But the Englishman was now progressing beyond this passive attitude. He was beginning to produce with an eye to the foreign purchaser ; even to exporting on his own account, instead of merely selling to the foreigner who came to buy. And because Englishmen were prospering they were also inclined to buy more of the goods which were only to be had from the foreigner. It was realised that prosperity comes to those who seek a market. The Crown perceived that



A goldsmith's shop in the 14th century.

if energy were devoted to facilitating the expansion of trade, it could take its own toll at the same time without discouraging enterprise ; and the more trade expanded the bigger the toll would be. Hence the value attaching to the commerce with Flanders and the commerce with his own Gascon dominions materially influenced Edward III. in his French policy. English wool growers and Gascon wine growers would flourish ; and the more they flourished the more the royal exchequer would extract as the price of the privileges of exporting wool and importing wine. It followed that the king sought to strain to the utmost the royal prerogative of imposing customs nominally for the regulation of trade, and of bargaining with the merchants for their assent to such impositions without referring to parliament. And when parliament realised what was going on, parliament in turn insisted that its own assent was necessary to the imposition of customs. In spite of repeated efforts to evade the principle, Edward found himself obliged to give way. The Crown's right to the "Ancient Customs" in accordance with the statute of 1275 was unchallenged ; but it was established during the reign that other duties, even if they became habitual, required the assent of parliament for their imposition ; and even if their renewal might be practically relied upon, it was on each occasion made only for a definite period.

In the conditions of medieval society, both the expansion of trade and the collection of revenue were facilitated by the famous institution of the Merchants of the Staple. In modern times, *laissez faire* doctrine condemns the regulation of commerce by the State on the ground that private enter-

prise is hampered thereby. When the State gives the individual protection against violence and fraud it has discharged its proper function. But in the



The towns underlined are "Towns of the Staple"

middle ages the great danger to private enterprise was insecurity against violence and fraud. For security, State or municipal supervision was a necessity. The export trade in English staple products, wool, wool-fells,

hides, leather and some others, was made a monopoly of the merchants of the staple. Membership was open on the payment of fees, and was conditional only on the observance of the company's regulations ; while the members traded severally on their own account—not after the fashion of a modern Joint Stock Company, in which the society does the trading and distributes the profits. The trading was confined to specified towns connected with specified ports in England ; and also to specified towns on the Continent, though ultimately the monopoly was given to Calais. It was thus possible to compel all traders to conform to definite regulations, and to provide security for the purchaser in respect of the bulk and quality of the goods purchased. At the same time the collection of the customs was very much simplified.

But Edward was not satisfied with the encouragement of exports. He also encouraged imports by offering privileges to traders from Gascony and the Low Countries ; to the Gascons, with an eye to the wealth of Gascony rather than of England ; to the Flemings, with an eye to reciprocal privileges ; to both with an eye to the revenue derivable from customs. Edward is not to be credited with any anticipation of Free Trade doctrines as to the economic advantage of buying in the cheapest market ; he probably looked very little beyond the opportunity presented of taking a toll for himself from the traders. The doctrine was fully accepted that money, a scarce and valuable commodity, should not be carried out of the kingdom in exchange for the goods brought in. The foreigner in England could only trade as member of an association under strict regulation and supervision, at particular times and particular places ; and he was obliged to buy goods to the value of those he sold. But he was encouraged to sell as well as to buy ; and the volume of trade and the amount of material wealth in the country increased rapidly.

In one particular Edward appears to have been moved by more definite economic considerations. He encouraged foreigners to settle in England and carry on industries which had not taken a natural root in the country. From the foreigners in their midst the English learnt industrial arts which they had hitherto ignored ; and during the fourteenth century the English became not merely wool-growers but manufacturers of the cloth which had hitherto been imported from the Low Countries. So much advance was made in this industry that regulations were made to limit or even prohibit the export of wool in order to keep down the price for the benefit of English cloth-makers. Before the end of the century English cloths were in full competition with those of Flanders.

The customs then provided a source of revenue which in previous centuries had hardly been taken into account ; but it was one which the king could only to a very limited extent claim as falling within his control. Except as concerned the "Ancient Customs," it was a source of supply which it was technically within the power of parliament to cut off, although in practice an authority to levy particular customs, frequently renewed, was

likely to become permanent as a matter of course if not as a matter of technical right. Thus the impost called tonnage and poundage, a fixed tax upon every ton of wine and every pound of merchandise imported, was first sanctioned towards the close of Edward's reign, renewed for periods of two or three years, and gradually became a practically assured source of income; until in the reign of Henry VI. it was granted to the king for life, and continued to be so granted at the beginning of each reign until the accession of Charles I. Similarly, Edward I. had laid tallages upon the



Gold rose-noble of Edward III.

towns, and bargained with the merchants for subsidies on wool. Both practices had been challenged, but neither had been definitely prohibited; and Edward III. made use of both. But both were finally prohibited in his reign by statute, the tallages in 1340 and the wool subsidies in 1362.

Practically the permanent expenditure so far exceeded what the king could meet out of revenue under his own control that he was in constant need of specific grants from parliament; especially after the ruin of the Florentine bankers, by Edward's repudiation of his debt, made it impossible for him to borrow on a large scale. The form followed was for the king to invite the Estates to grant him what was needful; they responded each according to its own willingness and capacity, the barons, the clergy, the shires and the cities taxing themselves severally. Thus it became the custom with the Commons to make a tenth and a fifteenth the standard subsidy; which on occasion might be raised to two-tenths and two-fifteenths. But the right was reserved of presenting petitions for legislation as a condition preliminary to the grant being made. It did not, however, follow that the statute actually promulgated was a precise fulfilment of the petition presented. That principle was not formally laid down until the reign of Henry V.

In 1341, at the time of the quarrel with Stratford, the king to obtain funds accepted the demands of parliament; yet a few months later he repudiated his promise and cancelled his concessions. But when parliament again met, its formal assent to that cancellation was obtained, and the king did not repeat the experiment. When, five and thirty years later, John of Gaunt on his own authority cancelled the Acts of the Good Parliament after its dissolution, although the parliament immediately following endorsed his action, it was subsequently enacted formally that Acts of parliament could only be repealed by Act of parliament.

Of the legislation of the reign an important portion consists in the various declaratory Acts defining and limiting the rights of the Crown as to

raising revenue ; much as we saw that precise definition was the object of a great deal of the legislation of Edward I. In the same way the direct outcome of the quarrel with Stratford was the final definiteness of the assertion of the principle of trial by peers. To the same category of defining Acts belongs the important Statute of Treasons, which for the first time set forth precisely that the crime of treason consisted in the compassing of the death of the king, the queen, or the heir apparent, and in levying war against the king or assisting his enemies. With these were included the slaying of the king's ministers or judges, and counterfeiting the king's coinage or the Great Seal. In another field, legislation pointed to the increase of anti-clerical feeling marked by the Statutes of Provisors and of Præmunire ; the first directed against the usurpation by the Pope of the right to make ecclesiastical appointments, and the second against the ecclesiastical custom of carrying appeals to Rome. In both cases the principles asserted were those which no kings of England had surrendered until the submission of King John to Innocent III. Even Edward I., however, had only succeeded in resisting papal claims which were new in his own day ; he had not recovered the ground which his father and grandfather lost. But throughout the fourteenth century papal authority and ecclesiastical influence were losing weight ; because for three-fourths of the century the headquarters of the papacy were at Avignon instead of at Rome, and the Popes, instead of standing forth as the theocratic heads of Christendom, were politically to a great extent subservient to the French Crown. Moreover, when at last the captivity at Avignon came to an end, it was followed by the Great Schism, when there were constantly two rival popes, one of whom was supported by one-half of Western Christendom and the other by the other half. The awe and reverence inspired for two hundred years by the successors of Hildebrand faded ; the ground was being prepared for the great revolt against the papacy which culminated in the Reformation, of which Wiclif was already sowing the seed before Edward III. was in his grave.



A bishop's court.

[From a 14th century MS.]

One more feature of the reign remains to be noted in connection with

the relations of the Crown with the baronage. Edward III. carried to a much higher pitch his grandfather's plan of creating a dominant baronage of the blood royal by the absorption of earldoms and great estates in the hands of members of the royal family. The great territorial possessions of the house of Lancaster, itself sprung from the brother of Edward I., passed to the king's third son, John of Gaunt, who became Duke of Lancaster, by his marriage with Blanche, the heiress of Lancaster. At the time of Edward's death there was no one else bearing the title of Duke. Another group of earldoms went to the king's second son, Lionel of Clarence, and passed on his death to the house of Mortimer through his daughter, the wife of the Earl of March. Two other sons survived, of whom one, Edmund, was later made Duke of York, and the other, Thomas, Duke of Gloucester. At the close of Edward's reign the hereditary peers summoned to the Lords' chamber were little more than half as many as those summoned to the Model Parliament; and the process continued during the following reigns. The old principle of preventing the accumulation of great estates was abandoned for that of accumulating them in the hands of the royal kin; with results which presently proved disastrous.



A state-carriage of about 1330.
[From the Luttrell Psalter.]

V

THE BLACK DEATH AND THE PEASANT REVOLT

We turn now to the social conditions and the events which led up to the great Peasants' Revolt of 1381, the story of the revolt itself, and the examination of its importance in the social and economic progress of the country.

We saw that at the time of the Norman Conquest the soil was divided into the demesne lands or private estates of lords of the manor and the holdings of ceorls politically free, though the great bulk of them held their plots—"yards" or "virgates" of thirty acres, half virgates of fifteen acres, or still smaller holdings—by payment of agricultural service, or rent, or both, to the lord of the manor. We saw further that by the reign of Henry II. the bulk of these occupiers holding by service had become serfs bound to the soil, this whole class bearing the general name of villeins; among whom were not generally included those who paid rent but not

service, nor all of those who paid service. With the enforcement of the habit of law and order which characterised the Plantagenet rule, the condition of the villeins steadily improved. They were permitted to commute service for rent, though this did not free them from the technical status of serfdom ;



Penshurst, the hall of a 14th century Baron.

[Built about 1340.]

and it followed that the old forced services were largely replaced by labour for which wages were paid. Thus there grew up a class of wage-earning agricultural labourers, consisting of landless men and small cottars, who were still technically bound to the soil, though in practice some degree of liberty of migration was permitted. The process continued steadily and

almost unconsciously for nearly two centuries ; so that in the early years of Edward III. the superior villeins were materially little if at all worse off than the yeomanry, that is free-holders or holders by free tenure, although they were socially inferior ; while the inferior villeins made their subsistence mainly as wage-earning labourers, enjoying while in full employment wages sufficient to feed and house and clothe them very much better than their contemporaries in France and elsewhere—though they probably found life hard enough in winter and in seasons of scarcity or pestilence.

But in the years which followed the battle of Crécy, England, in common with Europe in general, was visited by the appalling pestilence known as the Black Death. It appeared in England in 1347 and 1348, and recurred at intervals during the next twenty years. So terrible was the visitation that in the rural districts it may be estimated from the evidence that not less than one-third—perhaps a full half—of the population was swept away. The fields were left untilled, and there was a terrible scarcity of food. The demand for labour greatly exceeded the supply, while the price of provisions rose. The labourer demanded higher wages. High wages and high cost of living reacted on each other ; the men would not work except at prices which from the landowners' point of view were extortionate.

In 1350 the government intervened with an ordinance which was ratified by parliament as the Statute of Labourers. The knights of the shire, the most influential section of the House of Commons, were themselves landowners with whom the landowners' point of view inevitably prevailed, though they had no intention of acting unjustly or in the interests of a class. The Statute ordained that food should be sold at the prices ruling before the coming of the Black Death, and that the labourer should work for the same wages. For infractions of the law both parties were to be penalised, those who demanded and those who paid more than legal wages and prices. Further, the law which bound the villeins to the soil was to be enforced, and the labourer might on no account migrate from his manor to seek higher wages elsewhere. But if the landowners had the law behind them, the labourers were for the most part practically masters of the situation. The law was only partially successful in checking the high prices and the high wages. In the circumstances it was inevitable that many of the landowners should fall back upon any technical rights they possessed. In many cases the commutation of service for rent had been merely an act of grace ; that is to say, it had not been secured by any proper legal bond. Landlords and their agents strained the technical point of law to claim unpaid service from the villeins.

It is quite superfluous to accuse either landlords or labourers of a monstrous reversion to an obsolete tyranny or of a monstrous attempt to take an immoral advantage of a national disaster. Both could easily convince themselves that reason and justice were all on their own side and not at all on the side of the other party. A bitter class hatred sprang into being,

which may well have been fostered by appalling tales brought back from France of the Jacquerie, the horrible sufferings of the French peasantry, and the horrible doings which attended their revolt and their suppression. Moreover, the peasantry learnt a new antagonism to the existing social order from the consciousness that the greatest of the English victories had been won by men not of knightly rank but practically of their own class, the yeomanry from whom the archers of England were drawn.

It does not appear that the growing discontent and bitterness were due to any extreme destitution among the peasantry. William Langland, the writer of the great contemporary allegory, the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, paints an ugly enough picture of the doings of some of the lords of the manor and their agents; but there is no reason to suppose that such oppression and chicanery were more than occasional. And, on the other hand, Langland does not spare the lash in describing the unthrift of the peasants, their self-indulgence, and their love of shirking legitimate toil. His indignation was begotten of the moral deficiencies which he saw in every class, and must be discounted, like the indignation of embittered moralists in all ages. But the mere fact that the accustomed conditions of labour and of food production were hopelessly disorganised by the great pestilence, and were kept in a state of disorganisation by its occasional recrudescence, necessarily prevented the country from recovering its former sense of easy prosperity; while the moral atmosphere was made worse by the depression and disgust attending the later phases of the war with France. The soil thus prepared was eminently fitted for revolutionary doctrines to take root in.

And revolutionary doctrines were in the air. Without any idea of stirring up the commonalty against the gentry, John Wiclif was playing a part not without its analogy to that of the French Encyclopædists before the French Revolution, four centuries later. As a theologian he propounded the view that "Dominion is of Grace"; whereof the practical interpretation is that power is given by God for the furtherance of His glory, and those who use their power for other ends have no right to it; from which it again follows that power misused may lawfully be resisted and even forcibly taken away. As a Christian reformer of morals Wiclif preached self-denial and taught of human brotherhood. Such doctrines are easily translated into either Socialism or Anarchism.

Nor may it be forgotten that the villeins as a class had a real though not a new grievance in the rankling sense that they were not free men; that they were treated as servile and inferior to free men; that the process by which they had been gradually passing into the ranks of free men and escaping degrading conditions of tenure had met with an ominous check; that even those who were now technically free were in danger of falling back into a servile condition. Then to crown their grievances came the second poll-tax, which appeared as an intolerable and unjust burden upon the poor while it was comparatively unfelt by the rich.

According to tradition an accidental spark fired the flame. A collector

of the unpopular tax insulted the daughter of a peasant, Wat Tyler, who struck him down. Other peasants gathered to support their comrade, and on a sudden all Kent was up in arms, the counties north-east of London following suit. From Kent on the south, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Hertfordshire on the north, the gathering bands of insurgents marched on the capital.

In many localities actual incidents of villeinage, legal rights of a lord—the “lord” being often a monastery—legal wrongs of villeins, were the motive



John Ball haranguing.
[From Froissart.]

of the outbreak ; there was much clamouring against the name of serf, and the most general demand was that for the right to occupy land at what the peasants regarded as a reasonable rent. The prominence of these facts has obscured another ; namely, that the rural population of Kent were not villeins at all but free men not holding by servile tenure ; while the eastern counties with their large Danish element were notoriously those in which there was the largest proportion of free tenants. Although the insurrection spread sporadically to other districts, those in which villeinage was most universal were the least conspicuously disturbed. Contemporary annalists declare that the Kentish leader who also bore the name of Wat

Tyler was meditating a political and social programme of an exceedingly advanced type, aimed not at the destruction of the monarchy but at a very democratic control of the government ; in which there was no room for baronage, gentry, lawyers, and prelates. One of its most fervent prophets was the fanatical and entirely honest priest, John Ball, who to-day would undoubtedly have called himself a Christian Socialist. It is therefore a tenable proposition that the revolt was organised and engineered by real democratic revolutionaries, with whom the mere grievances of villeins as such were a secondary consideration, utilised as means to a more important end.

The Londoners opened their gates to the Kentish insurgents ; more than half of those who were afterwards listed as ringleaders were Londoners ; facts which again suggest that the grievances of villeins as such were not at the root of the matter.

Masses of the Essex insurgents were already encamped outside the city on the northern side. The young king and some of the Council were at the Tower ; but both they and the city authorities appear to have been paralysed, and although nearly a fortnight had elapsed since the first outbreak, no defensive measure had been taken. Both the great bodies of



JOHN BALL HARANGUING A CROWD OF REBELS

From a fifteenth century MS. of Froissart's "Chronicles of England." In the front of the crowd, at the left, Wat Tyler is seen.

insurgents pillaged the houses of particularly obnoxious persons and killed a few obnoxious individuals ; but their leaders had other objects than immediate pillage, and on the whole kept their men in hand. When Tyler and his following entered London, they wrecked John of Gaunt's palace of the Savoy and the houses of others who were especially unpopular, besides breaking open and burning the Fleet Prison and Newgate ; but they refrained from looting.

Richard from the Tower gave out that he would meet the insurgent leaders at a conference at Mile-end. He fulfilled his promise, and in effect conceded all the demands which the insurgent leaders formulated. Villeinage and feudal services were to be abolished, and there was to be a general amnesty, though the king would not pledge himself to punish those whom the insurgents stigmatised as traitors. But while the conference was going on there was an outbreak of violence on the part of those who had remained in the city, in the course of which Archbishop Sudbury and Hales the Treasurer were both murdered. It is noteworthy that much of the popular resentment was directed against the aliens, represented by the colony of Flemings.

On the same day the king issued a number of the promised pardons, and many of the insurgents began to disperse. Many thousands, however, still remained with the leaders, who were by no means satisfied with the concessions already made. During the night and the next morning there were further scenes of violence, and the king announced that he would again meet the leaders at Smithfield. The boy of fourteen was no coward, and probably enjoyed the theatrical character if not the actual danger of the proceedings. With an escort of two hundred men in civil array he rode to Smithfield, where the masses of the insurgents were drawn up. Tyler rode out to meet him—insolently enough, it may be presumed. He had a new list of grievances which must be remedied. The accounts vary as to the details of what then occurred ; but it must be remembered that every one of them was written from a point of view vehemently hostile to Tyler. It is agreed, however, that Tyler, for whatever cause, laid hand on his dagger, and the movement was interpreted as a threat to the king's person. Walworth, the Mayor of London, who was riding by the king, drew upon Tyler and cut him down. The cry rang down the ranks of the peasants, " Treason ! they have slain our captain ! " Bows were bent ; it seemed certain that the whole of the king's company would be overwhelmed and slaughtered by the enraged insurgents. But the boy's courage and presence of mind saved the situation. Setting spurs to his horse, before any one could stop him he dashed forward alone across the open space towards the rebel ranks. " Will you shoot your king ? " he called. " I will be your captain and leader. Follow me. " His horse paced slowly towards the open fields to the north. Bows were unbent. Astonished and fascinated, the great array followed, the king's retinue hurrying to join them. But the mayor slipped back to the city and called every loyal citizen to arms. The promptitude

with which the appeal was answered seems to prove that the orderly element had only been waiting for a leader to assert itself. So quickly was a powerful force collected that when it arrived on the scene the king was still holding the insurgents in parley.

With the troop now at his back the king's person was safe ; the insurgents recognised that the fighting odds were no longer in their favour. Richard proclaimed that they all had leave to depart and disperse to their homes ; and they took him at his word. The boy king, and he alone, had

won a purely personal triumph, from which men were warranted in auguring great things for the Black Prince's son.

But the promises Richard had made he probably never intended to fulfil ; nor was it in his power to carry them out save by assent of the Estates. The insurgents had scarcely dispersed, the writing on the promised pardons and charters was scarcely dry, when the king repudiated his promises in most unmistakable terms. Apart, however, from people killed in actual riots, or in conflicts between armed bands of insurgents and loyalists, or as a consequence of such conflicts, it does not seem that many more than a hundred persons were actually put to death. Parliament met in the winter, and emphatically en-



Richard II.

[From the contemporary painting belonging to the Earl of Pembroke.]

dorsed Richard's repudiation of his promises. Those promises, they said, were invalid and illegal until confirmed by parliament, and parliament absolutely refused to confirm them. No concessions whatever were made in favour of the peasants.

It has often been maintained that, although the revolt was crushed, the peasant rising actually brought victory to the peasants' cause. As a matter of historical fact this does not seem to have been the case. Down to the time of the Black Death a natural movement had been in progress, tending towards the gradual disappearance of serfdom through the substitution of rent and wages for forced services ; a process which under normal conditions was proving advantageous to lords and to villeins alike. The natural process was checked by a cataclysm ; the Black Death made the conditions

abnormal ; and of those abnormal conditions the revolt was the last startling phase. It accomplished nothing whatever ; but after it was all over and there was no recurrence of the pestilence, the economic conditions reverted practically to what they had been before the Black Death ; and as they again became normal, the old causes again operated and the old natural process of liberation naturally revived. Prices fell ; the wage labourer was consequently content with a lower money wage ; and again the employer found that a money rent and voluntary paid labour paid him better than forced labour and tenure by service. Hence in the course of the next half century villeinage did practically disappear, forced service became a merely local survival, and the villein became a tenant paying a small fixed rent with security of tenure. The security of tenure had always been his, since the lord had no power to eject the villein from his holding so long as he rendered the recognised services ; and the recognised services were now commuted for a recognised rent, which left the tenant the same security.

As a democratic movement the revolt led to nothing ; and the parliaments remained, as before, representative of the landed and commercial interests.

VI

THE REIGN OF RICHARD II

In the Peasant Revolt the young Richard had displayed the qualities of courage, self-reliance, and readiness in emergency in a very high degree. But he was still only a half-grown boy, the direction of affairs was virtually in the hands of his Council, and the effective head of the government was his eldest uncle, the Duke of Lancaster, who, fortunately for himself, was absent in Scotland at the time of the revolt. But Lancaster's administration through these first years of the new reign continued to be inefficient ; he was extremely unpopular, and the high-spirited boy resented his control. By way, perhaps, of counterbalancing him, his brothers were now made Dukes of York and Gloucester, but the young king did not place himself in their hands, giving his confidence instead to a young favourite, the Earl of Oxford, and more wisely, to an experienced official, Michael de la Pole, who was made Earl of Suffolk—the first instance of a mercantile family being raised to the baronage.

An invasion of Scotland of the usual type, in 1385, on which Lancaster was accompanied by the young king, did nothing to improve the duke's position ; and immediately after it he retired from England, in the hope of enforcing his own claim to the crown of Castile through his wife, a daughter of Pedro the Cruel, who had ultimately been ejected by Henry of Trastamare. But Lancaster's departure did not improve matters for the king, since it gave Gloucester an opening to place himself at the head of the

opposition to De la Pole, whom the baronage regarded as an upstart. Moreover, the king made himself unpopular by the honours and the wealth which he lavished on his favourite, the Earl of Oxford, whom he made Duke of Ireland, whereas Gloucester made it his business to court that popularity which had never been sought by his brother of Lancaster. An alarm of a French invasion roused popular anger against the administration which had rendered such a thing possible ; and it was easy enough to make the king's favourite counsellors the objects of public indignation, though Suffolk was perhaps the last person who deserved it. The baronage, headed by Gloucester and supported by the Commons, refused supplies unless the obnoxious "favourites" were removed from their offices ; and ominous references were made to the deposition of Edward II.

The king ostensibly surrendered, and according to precedent a Council was nominated to control the administration. But Richard's apparent surrender was merely a temporising expedient. In the following year he called an irregular assembly at Nottingham, attended by the judges, which pronounced that the proceedings of the late parliament were unconstitutional and invalid. Gloucester and his allies at once took up arms "to deliver the king from evil counsellors," according to the familiar formula. Five of them proceeded to "appeal" five of the said evil counsellors of treason, and hence became known as the Lords Appellant. The king and his friends could make no corresponding display of force. The Duke of Ireland succeeded in making his escape from the country ; so in course of time did Suffolk. The king himself became practically a prisoner, and the Lords Appellant were complete masters of the situation.

However, they continued their professions of loyalty to the king himself, and summoned what is sometimes called the Wonderful and sometimes the Merciless Parliament. The five "evil counsellors" who had been appealed were impeached ; so were the judges who at the Council of Nottingham had pronounced the proceedings of the previous parliament invalid. Other victims were added, although one at least of the Lords Appellant, Henry Earl of Derby, the son of the still absent Duke of Lancaster, endeavoured to check the vindictiveness of Gloucester.

And yet, in spite of the completeness of his defeat, the king in the following year again effected a revolution. In 1388, the year of the Wonderful Parliament, he was not yet of full age. But in 1389 he reminded the Council that he was now twenty-one, and being no longer a minor was entitled to follow his own counsel ; he would dispense with their further services. Strangely enough, they acquiesced in the dismissal. Probably the Appellants knew that the use they had made of their power had lost them the popular favour which had at first made them irresistible. At the same time the king was wise enough to avoid their blunder, and to abstain from retaliatory measures, which would have made Gloucester and the rest turn to bay. But he recalled his uncle of Lancaster, on whose loyalty at least he knew he could depend, whatever his faults might be. Lancaster had at

last learnt the futility of his enterprise in Castile, and his presence would effectively muzzle the Duke of Gloucester.

The French war had worn itself out, and the desultory raids and counter-raids on the Scottish border were brought to an end. Richard, after all, made no violent changes in the personnel of his ministers and his Council, and for some years the government was continued on orderly and constitutional lines. To these years belong the amendments to the Anti-clerical statutes of Provisors, Mortmain, and Præmunire which made them more stringent; while the new form taken by the last statute ultimately made it a most effective instrument in the final contest with Rome. These measures were significant of the constant growth of the Anti-ecclesiastical sentiment and of the multiplication of the disciples of Wiclif, who were now known as Lollards. On the theological side this movement was beginning to develop



Ladies hawking.

the advocacy of novel doctrines, which were very shortly to be pronounced heretical; but it is safe to say that most of what passed for Lollardry at this time had but little to do with theology, and was directed almost entirely against the clerical wealth and clerical worldliness which scandalised a laity by no means unprosperous or eager on its own part to renounce the world and the flesh.

Unhappily, Richard's self-restraint and moderation were only assumed, cloaking a self-willed and vindictive spirit. He was biding his time, and in 1397 he thought that his time had come. Gloucester's conduct laid him open to suspicions of treasonable intrigues. Suddenly the king struck. Gloucester was arrested and sent off to Calais under the charge of Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, one of the Lords Appellant who, like Henry of Bolingbroke or Derby, had acted as a restraining influence on the other three. At the same time with Gloucester, the other two Lords Appellant, Warwick and Arundel, were arrested. In effect no new charges were brought against any of the three; the real ground of the attack was their conduct at the time of the Merciless Parliament. Arundel was tried and executed;

his brother the Archbishop was impeached and sentenced to confiscation and banishment. Warwick confessed his old guilt and was banished. But Gloucester did not appear to answer the charges; Mowbray announced that he had fallen ill and died at Calais. Public rumour of course affirmed that Mowbray had put him to death by the king's orders; and the circumstances were at least suspicious enough, though the truth of the report was never proved. Perhaps the strongest argument against the belief is to be found in the fact that, if it was impolitic to run the risk of openly putting Gloucester to death as a traitor after fair trial, it was still more impolitic to risk the suspicion of a secret assassination.

Nottingham and Derby, whose conduct from the very beginning had distinguished them favourably among the Lords Appellant, were treated with conspicuous favour, and were made Dukes of Norfolk and Hereford respectively; still, both of them must have suspected that danger lurked behind the king's show of friendliness. A parliament, however, was sum-



Ladies shooting rabbits.

moned in 1397 at Shrewsbury, and Richard found that it represented a marked reaction of sentiment in his favour. The country may well have imagined that the elaborate machinery for the curtailment of the royal power had been warranted when the king was a boy but was superfluous now that he was a man experienced in affairs, who certainly possessed kingly qualities, and, since his coming of age, appeared to have learnt self-mastery and moderation. Even his recent proceedings could hardly be called vindictive. So the Shrewsbury Parliament showed itself ready to re-establish the royal power free from the trammels which had been imposed during Richard's reign. The proceedings of the Wonderful Parliament were formally condemned, while the pronouncements of the Nottingham Council were confirmed. It was even resolved by this assembly that no restraint set upon the king could be legal, and that any one hereafter attempting to reverse its own proceedings would be guilty of treason. Finally it took the fatal step of surrendering its own powers to a committee of eighteen, which would thenceforth be able to act in the place of parliament; the committee being virtually Richard's own nominees.

But Richard was still unsatisfied; the field was not yet clear so long as

Norfolk and Hereford were in the country. The two dukes played into his hands. Norfolk confided to Hereford his own suspicion of Richard's sinister intentions ; Hereford communicated this confidence to the king, who invited him to charge Norfolk publicly with what he had said. Norfolk gave Hereford the lie, and the question was referred to ordeal by battle. Thousands of spectators assembled to witness the fight ; the lists were prepared and the combatants ready ; when Richard suddenly stopped the proceedings and pronounced his own award that both should be banished, Norfolk for life and Hereford for ten years, though without prejudice to his own estates or to his rights of succession when his father, John of Gaunt, should die. And now it seemed that nothing stood between Richard and such an absolutism as no King of England had ever enjoyed.

But his finishing stroke had been an act so arbitrary, so utterly impossible to reconcile with equity, so manifestly and essentially tyrannical, that any pretence of constitutionalism on Richard's part was rendered absurd. For the brief remainder of his reign Richard acted as an unqualified despot. To procure money he raised forced loans and imposed heavy fines upon individuals and upon districts which had been in any way implicated in any of the so-called treasons of the Lords Appellant. With the funds thus procured he raised and maintained a great bodyguard of archers, who in effect formed a not inconsiderable standing army at his own immediate disposal. The old Duke of Lancaster died and the king seized the inheritance. And then he betook himself out of England to quell an insurrection in Ireland.

The last step was fatal. Henry of Hereford, robbed of his duchy of Lancaster, returned to England, landing at Ravenspur in Yorkshire and bringing with him the exiled Archbishop Arundel. He at once proclaimed that he had come to demand only his lawful inheritance of Lancaster. He was promptly joined by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland. The Duke of York, acting for the absent Richard, gathered a large force. But public sympathy was entirely on the side of the duke, unjustly banished and unjustly robbed ; York's musters refused to march against Lancaster. York hurried to the west, while Henry marched in the same direction, gathering fresh adherents, still proclaiming that for himself he sought only his inheritance, though to this demand was now added that of the removal of Richard's evil counsellors. York parleyed ; York was convinced ; York went over to Lancaster. The few leading adherents of the king in the west were captured and executed.

From Ireland the Earl of Salisbury hurried back to raise forces for the king in Wales ; but when Richard himself arrived a fortnight later, it was only to find that Salisbury's levies had dispersed again. Then came the Earl of Northumberland on Henry's behalf with a proffer of terms—the trial of Henry's prominent supporters before parliament, and the appointment of Henry himself as Grand Justiciar. The proposals were obviously impossible ; but Northumberland effected his real object, which

was to draw Richard into an ambush of his own followers. The unlucky king was carried off to Flint Castle, thence to Chester, and thence to the Tower. A parliament was summoned, and the king was forced to sign an Act of Abdication.

An Act of parliament was passed setting forth the reasons for the deposition. Henry then advanced and claimed the throne for himself on the somewhat amazing plea of his descent, not from Edward III. through his father, but through his mother from Edmund Crouchback of Lancaster,



Richard II., having landed at Milford Haven, goes to his friends at Conway Castle.

[From a 14th century MS. life of Richard.]

the brother of Edward I.; the pretence being that Edmund was the elder brother, but had been set aside on account of deformity. Obviously the legitimate heir of Edward III., if Richard were set aside, was the child Edmund Mortimer, the great-grandson and representative of Edward's second son, Lionel of Clarence; for it could hardly be pretended that English law or custom rejected descent through the female line. Hence this curious attempt to create a technical claim going back to Henry III. Parliament proceeded to pronounce Henry to be the rightful King of England; but it was the patent fact that technicalities had been set aside, and that Henry was king because parliament for whatever reasons chose that he should be king—not because he stood next to the Crown in blood. Edmund

Mortimer was quietly ignored, although his father Roger, recently slain in Ireland, had been recognised before his death as heir-presumptive by Richard himself.

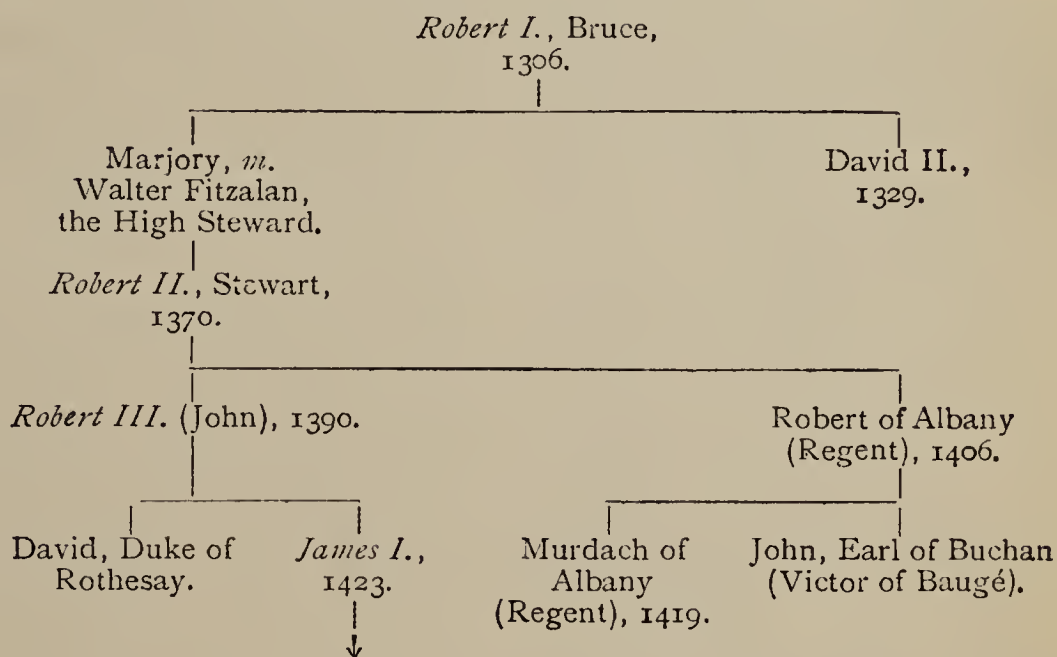
VII

SCOTLAND

The period of David Bruce's minority in Scotland was mainly occupied with Edward Balliol's attempt to supplant the Bruce dynasty by the help of the King of England, and on terms of subjection to the sovereignty of England. The great King Robert had effected the task of liberation, and the people of Scotland were resolved that,

whatever it cost them, they would not submit to a foreign yoke. After Randolph's death no statesman and no soldier appeared capable of organising the government or of repeating the military triumphs of Bruce and his captains. When Scottish and English armies met in the field, the Scots

THE BRUCES AND STEWARTS



leaders invariably failed to apply the lessons of Bannockburn; and the Scots people would not learn the use of the bow. The victory was always won by the English archers. But if they were beaten in the field, the Scots still carried on the stubborn guerilla warfare at which they had become adepts; and the moment that active English aid was withdrawn from Balliol he was again driven out of the country.

Five years after his return to Scotland, David Bruce as the ally of France invaded the north of England, whereupon his army was routed and he himself was taken prisoner, at the battle of Neville's Cross. For eleven years he remained a captive in England. During that time the government of Scotland was in the hands of his nephew, Robert Fitzalan the Steward, the son of his elder sister Marjory Bruce, and heir to the throne if David should predecease him without leaving offspring. Robert was not a strong ruler, and was powerless to check the dangers of that development of feudalism in Scotland which defied all efforts to establish a strong central government. The nobles were individually too powerful and too jealous of each other to devote themselves to national interests; there were always some among them ready to enter into a "band" against any government

in which they were not themselves predominant ; ready even to intrigue with England for their own ends. There were always others who were ready to reconcile private enmities in the face of an English attack—but for no other reason. But below the ranks of the nobility, the Scottish people, the most independent in the world, were absolutely resolved to fight to the last gasp against English dominion. And it was to this fact that Scotland owed the preservation of her independence.

While the truce lasted between England and France there was truce

also between England and Scotland. In 1354 terms were also arrived at for the liberation of King David. But in the next year the French war broke out again, the Scots attacked Berwick, and in 1356 the King of England took his revenge in the Burnt Candlemas. This was at last followed by a treaty which set David free but bound Scotland to pay a ransom of a hundred thousand marks. Tremendous as was the taxation involved for a country so poor as Scotland, David nevertheless made matters worse by indulging himself in the most extravagant expenditure. The king even went so far as to propose the purchase of the remission of the ransom by recognising as his heir Lionel of Clarence, the second son of the King of England, in place of Robert the Steward or Stewart ; but the proposal was received by the Estates with a flat refusal which demonstrated once for all the intensity of the national feeling on the subject.



Edward III. and David of Scotland.

[From the Articles of the Peace of 1357.]

The pressure of taxation, and the king's need of money, gave to the Scottish Estates new powers of control, as with the English parliament. The Scots parliament, however, was not organised like that of England, and tended to delegate its powers to committees which for practical purposes replaced the assemblies of the Estates ; and thus the political functions of parliament came gradually to be exercised by a standing committee known as the Lords of the Articles.

In 1371 David died without legitimate offspring, and was succeeded by Robert II., the first of the Stewart line. Robert's father was Walter Fitzalan, the husband of the great King Robert's daughter Marjory, and hereditary High Steward of the kingdom ; of Norman lineage, connected with the English house of Arundel. For twelve years there was nominally truce with England ; but both at sea and on the borders almost perpetual warfare prevailed in practice, which was officially condemned but was allowed to take its course by both governments. It was with a view

to terminating this unsatisfactory state of things that John of Gaunt had gone to Scotland when the Peasant Revolt broke out in England. Robert himself was anxious to preserve peace, but was unable to restrain the nobles. Raids and counter raids in 1384 and 1385 were followed by Richard's invasion in company with Lancaster; when the Scots lords left the English to follow their own devices, but themselves carried out a very effective counter raid in Cumberland and Westmorland. In the following year the Scots were the aggressors, and the campaign culminated in the famous moonlight fight of Otterburn, celebrated without much regard to strict historical accuracy in the ballads of Otterburn and Chevy Chace. The victory lay with the Scots, who carried off among their prisoners Harry Hotspur, the son of the Earl of Northumberland, though their own leader, James Douglas, was slain on the field. Soon after this there was a new treaty of peace, which was not preserved immaculately but terminated open hostilities on a large scale.

In 1390 the old king died, and was succeeded by his eldest son John, who took the name of Robert III. to avert the ill-luck associated with the names of the three kings who bore the name of John in England, France, and Scotland. To his melancholy reign belong the events celebrated in Sir Walter Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth*, the battle on the North Inch between the clans Chattan and Kay, and the death of the king's eldest son, David Duke of Rothesay, who was popularly believed to have been starved to death by his uncle, the king's brother, Robert Duke of Albany. This event took place in 1402, shortly after the accession of Henry IV. in England, and made the king's second son, the child James, heir to the throne of Scotland.

CHAPTER VII

LANCASTER AND YORK

I

HENRY IV

HENRY Duke of Lancaster was in plain terms a usurper who seized the Crown by violence and secured it, so far as it was secured, by a parliamentary title. The lawful king was deposed and the nearest lawful heir was passed over. No one believed the fiction concerning Edmund Crouchback; a name which in fact merely meant that that prince had worn the Cross of the Crusaders on his back, not that he was deformed. Nobody denied that in England the succession to the Crown had followed the female line. The first Plantagenet had succeeded because his mother was a daughter of the King of England. The last Plantagenet but one had claimed the French Crown because his mother was the daughter of a King of France. If, therefore, Henry's title was valid at all, it was on the ancient principle that the Great Council of the realm was entitled to fix the succession, though precisely two hundred years had passed since it had exercised that power by preferring John to his elder brother's son. The power of deposition was also implied in the circumstances. Since, then, Henry occupied the throne by favour of parliament, it was imperative that he should retain the favour of parliament. The Lancastrian kings did not wish to strengthen parliament as against the royal powers; but they could not escape from the necessity of keeping parliament on their own side.

“Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown”—the more so when the Crown has been usurped. Henry owed his victory very largely to the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, a Percy and a Neville, with the Arundels and the Staffords; the last family representing the house of Thomas of Gloucester. For the moment all these were loyal to the king they had set up. But within a few weeks Richard's closest supporters were conspiring for his restoration—the Hollands, stepsons of the Black Prince, who held the earldoms of Kent and of Huntingdon, Salisbury and others. The plot was betrayed by their half-hearted confederate, Edward Earl of Rutland, son of the Duke of York. The conspirators were captured and beheaded. But in the meantime Richard himself was dead; there is no real doubt that he had in fact been murdered; and his body was now exposed to public view in order to demonstrate his decease. The fact did not prevent a fictitious

Richard from appearing later as a pretender ; since a report was put about that the corpse exposed had been that of a chaplain of the former king, to whom he had borne an extraordinary personal resemblance.

Next came a rising of the Welsh, with whom Richard had been popular. They were led by Owen Glendower, a gentleman of the house of Llewelyn, who proclaimed himself Prince of North Wales and the loyal vassal of King Richard, whose death he denied. His sway was recognised over the greater part of the principality, and Henry never succeeded in putting him down thoroughly. France and Scotland were astir again, the French court having for excuse the fact that Richard, shortly before his fall, had married a French princess. The Scots gathered a great force, led by Murdach of Albany, King Robert's nephew. At Homildon Hill they were utterly routed in much the same fashion as at Halidon Hill some seventy years before ; Murdach of Albany, Douglas, and two other earls were taken prisoner by the Percies. Henry was badly in want of money, and desperately anxious to avoid irritating parliament by asking for it. The Percies were presuming on the help they had given him, and their achievement at Homildon Hill was by no means to the king's liking. He required them to hand over their Scottish prisoners, and claimed the ransoms for himself.

The Percies took the act as a warning or a challenge, released Douglas unransomed, and entered upon a bond with him and Glendower to overturn Henry, and make young Edmund Mortimer king, if Richard was really dead. Hotspur's wife was herself a Mortimer. Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, joined with his kinsmen of Northumberland. Hotspur and Douglas marched to join forces with Glendower ; but Henry caught the northern force at Shrewsbury before the junction could be effected ; and an extremely sanguinary battle ended with a decisive victory for the king. Hotspur was slain on the field, Douglas was for the second time made captive, and Worcester also was taken and executed. Young Prince Henry of Wales, a boy of fifteen, here saw his first stricken field. Shakespeare treated the episode as a dramatist, not as a historian. Hotspur did not fall in single combat with Prince Hal ; a stray arrow killed him.

The Earl of Northumberland had not marched with Hotspur ; he succeeded in making his peace with the king by payment of a heavy fine. But he was still meditating revenge, and in 1405, two years after Shrewsbury, he worked up a fresh rebellion with the aid of the Earl of Nottingham, the son of Henry's old colleague and opponent Thomas Mowbray of Norfolk, and the Archbishop of York, whose cousin, the Earl of Wiltshire, Henry had executed as one of Richard's "evil counsellors." By fair words and promises, however, the rebels were persuaded to disband their forces ; whereupon they were arrested and executed. Northumberland himself effected his escape, but only to fall two years later at Bramham Moor in a third attempt at insurrection.

The danger which had threatened from France soon came to an end, since that country fell into a miserable state of anarchy and internal discord

under the nominal rule of a king who was generally quite insane and at his best was an imbecile. The Orleanist and Burgundian branches of the royal family intrigued and fought for supremacy with every circumstance of treachery and violence. Scotland was paralysed for action by an accident. The old king sent off the Crown Prince James to be educated in France, fearing, perhaps, that he would meet with the same fate as Rothesay at the hands of his ambitious uncle of Albany. The boy did not reach France, as the ship in which he sailed was captured by the English ; and young James was detained, and held for eighteen years as a hostage for Scotland's good behaviour. The unexpected blow killed old King Robert ; Albany as a matter of course became regent, and Albany did not in the least wish to see his nephew at liberty. After the crushing of two rebellions there was no great danger that a third would be successful ; and after Bramham Moor the persistent defiance of Glendower in Wales remained the only constant source whence danger might suddenly spring. There were no more active insurrections. Edmund Mortimer was in the king's hands, so that a revolt in the boy's favour was out of the question.

Throughout the first year of his reign it was of vital importance to Henry to secure both clerical and popular support. We have remarked on the increase of anti-clericalism and the spread of Lollardry during Richard's reign ; and it might at first sight appear that clerical and popular favour could hardly be associated. But the popular Lollardry did not concern itself with theology. The followers of Wiclif might be attacked for their heresies without offending popular feeling, and with the entire approval of the clergy. Hence the second year of Henry's reign saw the passing of the Act *De Heretico Comburendo*, by which for the first time death at the stake was introduced as the punishment for heresy. Even while the Act was being passed its first victim, William Sawtre, was martyred. Archbishop Arundel, the prime mover, was constant in urging that in fact Lollardry was an offence not merely against the Church but against society, that it was not merely heresy but anarchism. It was only twenty years since the Peasant Revolt, and the propertied classes felt the force of the appeal. The persecution of heresy did not as yet become systematic ; it aroused no antagonism ; it satisfied the clergy that Henry was a loyal son of the Church ; but it did not mean that the clergy had become popular. The orthodox Commons, who were quite ready to burn their neighbours for unorthodox views on abstract questions, did not in consequence relax the austerity of their opinions as to clerical worldliness, or their conviction that the Church was disproportionately endowed with this world's goods. Twice during the reign proposals were brought forward by the Commons for wholesale confiscations of ecclesiastical property, though their petitions were rejected.

The Commons, in fact, took very good care to make the king feel his dependence upon them. They grumbled over every appeal for financial aid, while the interminable operations against Glendower in Wales were a

perpetual drain upon the Treasury. Henry was obliged at their instance to submit to the appointment of a Council, which at least seriously curtailed his freedom of action. They insisted successfully on their right to examine the account of the expenditure of their grants. They insisted, too, on their exclusive right to originate money grants, when the king had ventured to name the amount of the tax which he thought advisable. The Commons, in fact, during the reign of Henry IV. claimed and exercised an unprecedented amount of control, which the weakness of the king's title compelled him to concede.

In the latter years of the reign, the Prince of Wales took an exceedingly active part in politics ; and it was certainly due to his personal energy that the irrepressible Glendower was held in check, and reduced from the position of an almost independent prince to that of a troublesome outlaw. The legends of the doings of the wild Prince Hal immortalised by Shakespeare are not to be simply set on one side. Contemporary chroniclers are quite definite in declaring that his character changed when he came to the throne, that his accession was viewed with some anxiety, and that he was given to a wildness which contrasted with the personal austerity of his later life. The legend of his behaviour to Judge Gascoigne is almost certainly a fiction, based upon an actual incident in the life of Edward II. But such legends, however inaccurate in detail, can only be accounted for because they were appropriate to the character popularly attributed to the Prince ; and such popular estimates are apt to be fundamentally sound. Still it is absolutely clear that the Prince indulged himself only in the intervals of strenuous and responsible work ; that he was not a wildly irresponsible boy who merely showed himself capable of better things on an occasional emergency. Henry V. had many of the qualities of a Puritan fanatic, which are by no means inconsistent with a degree of youthful dissipation ; and to Henry, as to many a Puritan, came a moment which marked a decisive change in the manner of his life ; the moment when his father died worn out by disease, and he himself became King of England at the age of five and twenty.



An abbot travelling.

II

HENRY V

Richard II., Henry V., and Richard III. will remain for all time in popular imagination the kings conceived by Shakespeare. We may explain, we may criticise, we may demonstrate anything we like as logically as we

please, but Shakespeare will remain convincing. Shakespeare elected to draw Henry V. on traditional lines, and there is no character, certainly no male character, in all the plays in whom the great dramatist took a more unqualified delight. He is Shakespeare's "Happy Warrior," though we may find some difficulty in exactly appropriating Wordsworth's lines to him. Shakespeare's play is a panegyric of the hero king.

Nevertheless the historian is apt to resent such panegyrics, to suggest that the ambition of Henry V., like the wrath of Achilles, was the cause of woes unnumbered, and quite needlessly despatched to Hades many valiant souls of heroes. Some historians go further and denounce in Henry a type of false ideals, honoured only by reason of the deceptive glamour which attends the achievement of brilliant feats of arms; finding in him nothing better than a re-incarnation of Edward III. But in fact it is possible to admit that Shakespeare idealised his hero, and at the same time to realise that essentially much of the criticism is beside the mark.

Of Henry's reign there are two prominent features, the persecution of Lollardry, and the French war. Concerning the former Shakespeare has nothing to say; but if we have read Henry correctly, both were the outcome of the same conviction, crystallised in Henry's mind when he became actually King of England, that he was an instrument in the hands of the Almighty. Reigning in virtue of his father's usurpation of the throne, conscious that the throne had been won in defiance of legality, mere legality counted for very little in his eyes. The Almighty had set him on the throne of England because He had chosen him to accomplish His work. The work to be accomplished was for a mind of Henry's type promptly identified with the work which ambition suggested. France had fallen upon evil days and the iniquities of her rulers cried to Heaven. Henry was the instrument whereby those iniquities were to be punished; France was to be brought under a righteous rule, and then probably France and England, led by one Christian king, were to turn their arms against the Turk, drive him from Europe, and recover the Holy Land for Christendom. As for legality, any colour of it would suffice for his purposes; though for form's sake some pretence of legal right had to be asserted. Here was the work of God's appointed champion, and the methods by which it must be carried out were those of statecraft and soldiership. Given the point of view there is little difficulty in understanding that from first to last Henry was perfectly satisfied as to the righteousness both of his ends and of his methods. His persecution of Lollardry was an incidental necessity. It was the stern duty of God's champion to stamp out heresy; the persecution was not as with his father a mere political expedient for conciliating the Church. In carrying out his task the hand of Justice should be ruthless—but it should be the hand of Justice.

Critics have seen in Henry's French war mere wanton aggression inspired by the weakness of the neighbouring country; and a total lack of statesmanship, since the union of France and England as a single dominion,

was wholly impracticable. It was in fact impracticable because it ran counter to the idea of nationalism, an insuperable natural dividing force ; or a force which at the present day seems to be insuperable, because we live at a time when nationalism dominates European politics. But nationalism had not dominated European politics at the beginning of the fifteenth century. England, Scotland, and France had indeed developed the spirit of nationality, but the idea that nationalities, however diverse, could not be effectively combined in a single dominion, would have appealed to no medieval statesman ; and it is somewhat absurd to deny statesmanship to a medieval monarch because he had not grasped the truth which half the chancellories of Europe were still unable to recognise four hundred years afterwards. Only a hundred years before, Edward I. had made with regard to Scotland the same mistake which Henry made with regard to France ; and English historians at least are not in the habit of denying the name of statesman to Edward I.

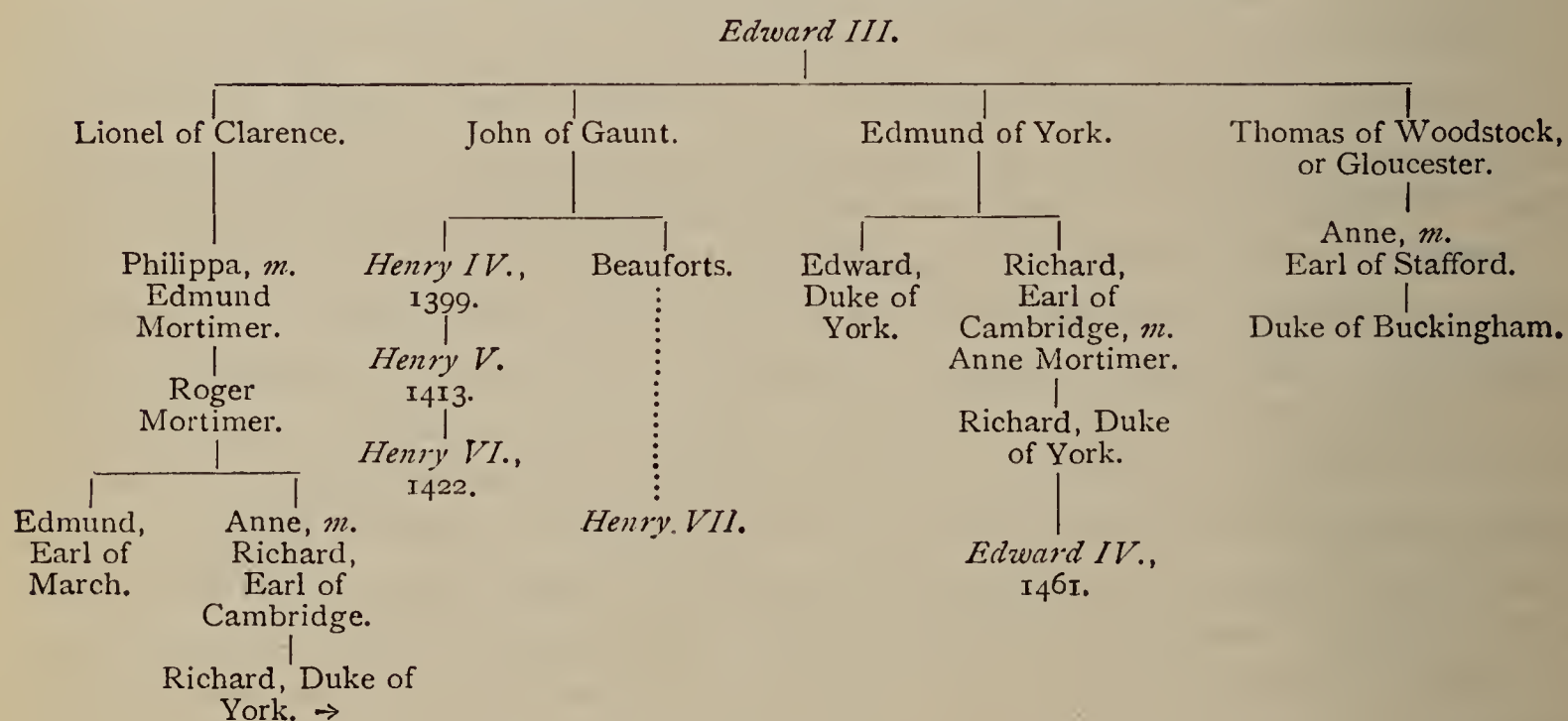
Henry's attack on Lollardry is apt to escape attention chiefly because it was systematic, brief, and effective. His father had merely allowed the churchmen to strike down a few insignificant persons. Lollardry in high places was winked at. The new king struck at once at Lord Cobham, the one peer who had identified himself with the new doctrines. Cobham was tried, condemned, and thrown into prison. He broke prison and escaped into hiding. His escape was immediately followed by a wild plot on the part of the Lollards, who planned an insurrection. The young king got wind of the plot and effected a night surprise of the mustering rebels, of whom thirty-seven were promptly hanged. It was immediately realised that the law against heresy would be enforced with vigour, and the voices of the Lollards were practically silenced, although it was not till some time later that Cobham himself was captured for the second time, and died a martyr.

But the Crown of France was the great prize which Henry had set himself to win. That country was rent by the two factions of the Orleanists and Burgundians. Each during the last reign had sought the help of the King of England by promising the restitution of provinces in France. Some inadequate help had been given first to one and then to the other. But Henry V. had no idea of being satisfied with what one party or the other would surrender as the price of his support. Before he had been a year on the throne he put forward the old claim of the King of England to the Crown of France ; though this was made ridiculous by the fact that the law of succession on which that claim was based would have placed on the French throne, not Henry, but his cousin the Earl of March. However, he professed himself willing to withdraw that claim if France ceded to him something more than all the territories ever held in France by any Plantagenet, together with the hand of the French princess Catherine. In return the French government made very extensive proffers ; but they could not have baulked Henry by anything short of taking him at his word, and con-

ceding the whole of his alternative demand—which was obviously out of the question. He had made it simply because he knew that to concede it was out of the question. He rejected the French terms, and announced solemnly that the responsibility for what was to follow lay with France.

Meanwhile parliament had endorsed the king's designs by making a very substantial grant. There was no difficulty in raising forces, for the war was popular. Nothing was to be feared from Scotland, since Albany and his supporters were afraid of having King James returned on their hands if they offended the King of England, while their enemies were afraid that the captive monarch would be made to pay the penalty if they attacked England. In Wales, though Glendower was still alive, he had now ceased to be dangerous ; so Henry had a clear field for his French operations. He could even

THE HOUSES OF YORK AND LANCASTER



count on the loyalty of the young Earl of March ; and so long as that was the case conspiracies against the Lancastrian dynasty could not constitute a serious danger.

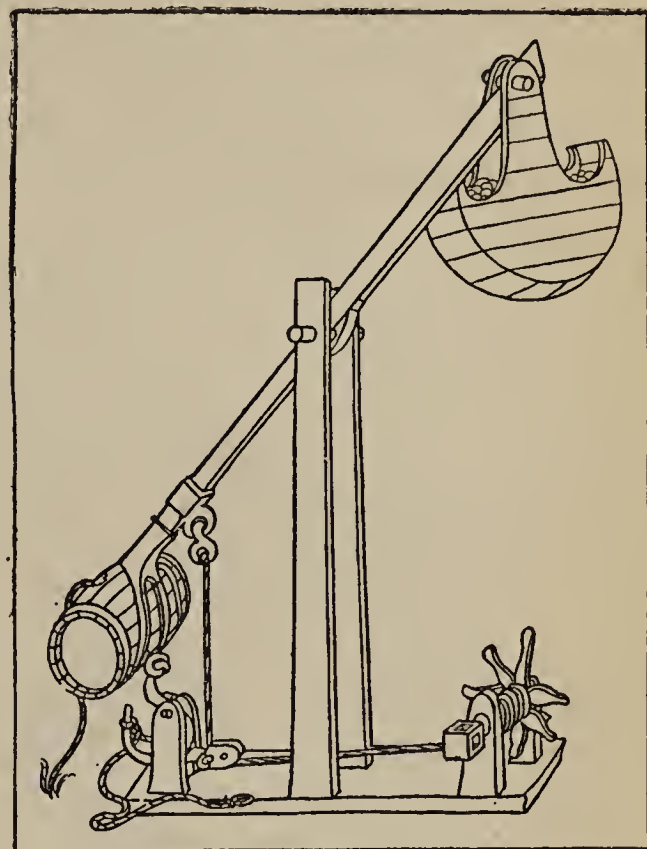
Such a conspiracy was, however, actually formed by Richard, Earl of Cambridge, brother of the Duke of York of whom mention was made in the last reign when he was Earl of Rutland—the son of the old Duke Edmund of York, the uncle of Richard II. Richard of Cambridge had married Anne Mortimer, sister of the Earl of March, so that as it happened the Mortimer claim to the Crown ultimately passed to his own offspring. March, however, on being invited to join the plot, which without his approval was bound to come to nothing, refused, and carried the matter to the king ; and the conspirators were seized, tried by their peers, and executed.

A week later Henry's army of invasion set sail from Southampton, and immediately sat down to besiege Harfleur.

Henry had no idea of miscellaneous raiding. With a military instinct far superior to that of his predecessors, he aimed at a systematic war of

conquest ; of bringing the land into his obedience piecemeal. He anticipated a war of sieges ; but he did not anticipate stout resistance, because Burgundy was half disposed in his favour and would certainly lend no appreciable help to the Orleanists with whom the Dauphin Louis had thrown in his lot. After a three weeks' siege Harfleur surrendered.

Henry's army, however, had suffered very severely, not from fighting, but from disease. Though no attempt had been made to relieve Harfleur, the Dauphin and Orleans had collected a considerable force, and it was clear that Henry, after garrisoning Harfleur, would have an army quite inadequate to carrying out his original programme. The obvious course in the circumstances was to make Harfleur secure and withdraw the rest of the army to England ; but Henry resolved that instead of simply embarking his troops he would march through Normandy to Calais. The motive is not clear. Probably he reckoned on winning prestige for himself and bringing discredit on the French government by making the march unmolested. He may have had with him, at the highest estimate, eight thousand men, five-sixths of the force being archers, and many of these must have been suffering from sickness.



A medieval siege engine.

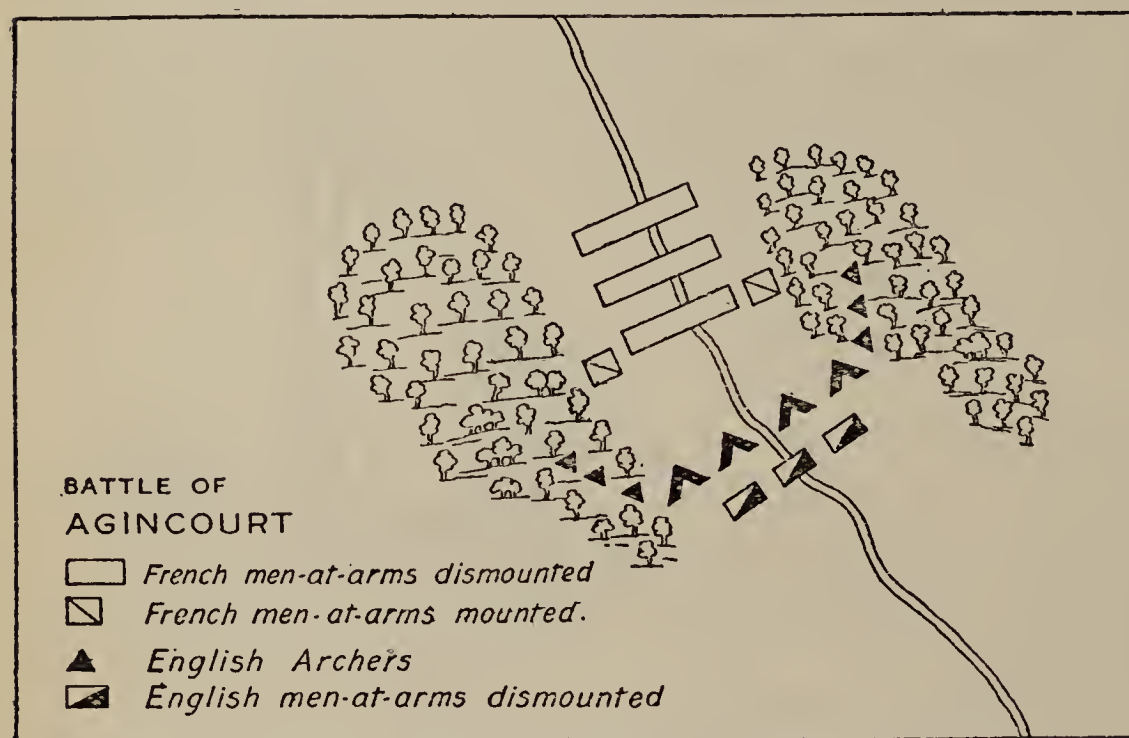


A battering-ram and its use.

Something very like the Crécy record was repeated. The French army, though very much larger, did not attempt to force a battle, but endeavoured to prevent the passage of the Somme. But when this was effected at an unguarded spot, Orleans felt that he must strike. The march had given time for large French reinforcements to come up, and on the night of October 24th the English found their advance blocked by the French masses.

On the day of battle the English were formed very much as at Crécy ; the French also were dismounted, and in three masses, one behind the other, since the ground did not permit of an extended front or of a flank movement. On their front, however, were two squadrons of horse, who

were intended to charge upon the archers. Between the two armies lay heavy plough land. Neither at first would advance to the attack, but Henry knew that he must force a battle or perish. The English line began to move forward. But the French would no longer be restrained. The cavalry attempted to charge, the French van rolling on behind them. But the archers were prepared with an improvised palisade of pointed stakes. They halted, thrust these into the soft ground, and from behind them began to pour forth their arrows on the advancing masses. The cavalry



Disposition of English and French forces at Agincourt.

were rolled over; the heavy armed infantry pressing forward were flung into confusion. The English archers and men-at-arms fell upon them, hewed them down, and hurled themselves upon the second line, which in turn broke and scattered after a brief resistance. The third line was seized with panic. A report that the French force had fallen upon the English baggage and was threatening the rear caused the order to be given that every man was to slay his prisoners; an order which it is possible to condone, seeing that the prisoners were at least as numerous as the captors. But the result was a tremendous slaughter. The French slain outnumbered the entire English force, and among them were fifteen hundred nobles or knights. It seems practically certain that of the English not more than six score were killed all told: York and Suffolk were the only noblemen. Henry continued his march to Calais, and was received in London with a wild burst of enthusiasm.

Almost two years had passed before Henry was ready for his second invasion. The first had taught him the magnitude of his task; and the fame he had won at Agincourt made anything more in the shape of fool-hardy feats of arms entirely superfluous. This time conquest was to be systematic and thorough. Meanwhile two French Dauphins had died, and a third brother, Charles, now heir to the French throne, was as completely in the hands of the Armagnacs, as the Orleanists were now termed, as his predecessors. Orleans himself was one of the comparatively few prisoners whose lives had been preserved at Agincourt. Burgundy's neutrality at least could be relied on, and he was in fact at open war with the Armagnac government. When Henry landed again in Normandy,

there was no present prospect that the army of France would interfere with him. What he had to do was to subdue Normandy. He set about the conquest city by city. He kept his troops under a discipline almost without parallel in medieval warfare, and punished anything in the shape of outrages on the civil population with a heavy hand. In a couple of months half the towns of Normandy had surrendered, and the French queen had joined Burgundy, claiming the regency for herself in priority to the Dauphin, whom she detested. The conquest of Normandy continued, and while Henry garrisoned town after town he made no infringement on their accustomed liberties or rights.

In the summer he began the siege of Rouen, the capital of the duchy. Summer waned, the autumn advanced, and passed into winter; the warring factions of France both endeavoured to negotiate, and while they negotiated Rouen was drawing nearer to the starvation point. The only attempt at relief was a raid easily beaten off. The inhabitants of Rouen drove some thousands of non-combatants out of their gates. Henry refused to let them through his lines, and the merciless business of starvation went on, relieved only when the English king provided the miserable people with a Christmas dinner. In



The siege of Rouen by Henry V.

January Rouen surrendered, and after that the rest of Normandy gave little serious trouble, though there remained fortresses which still held out for some months.

Burgundy renewed negotiations, but the more that he and the queen seemed inclined to concede, the higher grew the terms demanded by Henry. At last Burgundy resolved to have done with it and to make his peace with the Armagnacs. There was an apparent reconciliation between Burgundy and Charles; but immediately afterwards the Duke was foully murdered by the treachery of the Dauphin at Montereau. In his young successor Philip, and indeed among all the Burgundians, the desire for

revenge mastered every other sentiment. They immediately concluded for their own part a truce with the King of England so far as all Burgundian territories were affected. The queen was on their side, the crazy king and the princess Catherine were both in their hands. In the spring of next year, 1420, they concluded with Henry the treaty of Troyes, under which he received Catherine as his bride, the guardianship of the kingdom during the life of the reigning King Charles VI., and the promise of the succession for himself and his heirs after the king's death, to the displacement of the Dauphin. France was to retain her own laws, customs, and government; there was merely to be an ultimate union of crowns like that which took place between England and Scotland, not in 1707, but in 1603.

A few months later Henry withdrew to England, leaving in charge his next brother, Thomas, Duke of Clarence. His long absence was being felt at home. Nevertheless he was back in six months again; for Clarence by a rash movement brought upon himself an overwhelming defeat and lost his own life at the battle of Baugé, a victory mainly won by a large contingent of Scots who had taken service with the French. New life was given to the party of the Dauphin; through the latter part of the year and the first half of the following year, 1422, Henry was engaged in pushing forward his conquest. In the meantime Catherine had borne him a son. He himself was a young man not yet five and thirty, and it is impossible to guess what he might have effected if he had lived another twenty years in full vigour. But the hand of death was upon him. He contracted a fatal disease, of which he died in August of the same year, leaving instructions that his next brother, John, Duke of Bedford, should act as a regent of France, and his younger brother, Humphrey of Gloucester, as regent of England.

III

THE LOSS OF FRANCE

Whether Henry V., if he had lived to the age of Edward I., could have succeeded in the policy of uniting England and France on the lines of the treaty of Troyes, is sufficiently doubtful; when he died at the age of thirty-four, the possibility of success disappeared. A king with a character and genius equal to Henry's was needed to carry out his work effectively. The man who was actually left to carry it out was hardly the inferior of Henry himself, whether in character or in military or political ability. But he would seem to have lacked the magnetic personality of Henry the Conqueror, and he was not a king. John, Duke of Bedford, though he was trusted and admired on all hands, yet lacked the royal authority; and lacking it, the task for him became impossible. And yet it was not till his death, thirteen years after that of Henry, that the sheer impossibility of it became manifest.

It is clear enough that the conquest of a united France by England could only have been accomplished by a miracle. Henry himself would hardly have achieved what he did if the murder at Montereau had not turned the new Duke of Burgundy into his active ally. If the Dauphin Charles had been an able and vigorous prince, if he had striven for a real reconciliation between Burgundians and Armagnacs, instead of lending himself to the monstrous treachery which almost justified Burgundy in siding with a foreign conqueror, Henry's conquest might have been restricted to Normandy. But even before and still more after Montereau, the France with which the English had to deal was disunited ; and while Burgundy was definitely on the side of England, it was always possible that the Plantagenet might overthrow the Valois claimant of the French throne.

But the Burgundian alliance was immediately weakened by the action of Humphrey of Gloucester. The Duke of Brabant was a kinsman and ally of Philip of Burgundy. He had got possession of Hainault by marrying its heiress Jacqueline, who not without reason sought a divorce from him. Gloucester wished to marry her and get Hainault for himself. Philip espoused the cause of the Duke of Brabant. Jacqueline got her divorce, but only from the ex-pope who had been deposed by the Council of Constance. Nevertheless Gloucester married her, and tried to recover Hainault from the Duke of Brabant. It was all that Bedford's diplomacy could effect to prevent an open rupture between England and Burgundy.

Nevertheless for some time the slow process of conquest went on. The unhappy King Charles VI. died just after Henry V. ; and the north of France recognised the infant Henry VI. as king, and Bedford as regent. The south recognised Charles VII. Bedford won brilliant victories at Crévant and Verneuil ; and in 1428 the siege of Orleans began. Through the winter the siege went on, but it was not destined to be successful. France was redeemed by the heroism of a girl whom the English burnt as a sorceress, since otherwise they must have acknowledged her for God's angel sent for the deliverance of France. Modern wisdom escapes the dilemma by classing her as an unexplained psychological phenomenon ; but the Middle Ages explained such phenomena by referring them to the direct intervention of God or the Devil. But however we may elect to interpret Joan of Arc, we may at least be perfectly certain that her interpretation by the English and by Shakespeare was hideously and fearfully wrong.

To the court of Charles VII. at Chinon came a country maid, Jeanne Darc, from Domrémy, in Picardy. To her, she said, had come voices and visions, bidding her arise and save France. For herself she asked nothing but to be suffered to obey the Divine command. Common sense scoffed, but common sense was somehow silenced. She got her way, and sallied from Chinon at the head of an armed force. She reached Orleans and entered it without difficulty, for the investment was incomplete. The garrison became inspired, and upon the English fell a terror of they knew not

what; art magic they called it. The Maid could not be resisted. The English force had never been strong enough to effect a complete blockade; now it could not even hold its own against the onslaughts of the garrison. The siege was broken up. At Pataye, Joan met the English in the open field and routed them. Then through a hostile country she accompanied Charles to Rheims to crown him King of France. Her work as she understood it was now done, but Charles could not dispense with so valuable an asset. He would not suffer her to depart as she herself desired. For a year she continued to lead French forces to victory in repeated skirmishes and sieges; but at last she fell into the hands of the Burgundians, through the treachery, it was said, of jealous Frenchmen. By a French ecclesiastical court she was tried and condemned on charges of heresy and witchcraft. Then she was handed over to the English for the execution of the sentence, and was burnt at the stake to the eternal shame of every one concerned; of the judges who condemned her, of the English who slew her in a fever of superstitious terror, of the contemptible king who left her to her doom without stirring a finger to save her. The death of the Maid of Orleans is the one blot on the fair fame of the Duke of Bedford.

The cause for which the Maid died was still very far from being won. But she had wrought a vital change. She had revived the spirit of patriotism in the French, and destroyed the self-confidence of the English. Success departed from them. They fought on obstinately, but no longer with the old assurance of victory. Burgundy was less than half-hearted, and began to be anxious to put an end to the war. At last, in 1435, there was a conference at Arras, at which it was proposed on the part of the French that England should retain the Calais Pale, Normandy, and Guienne, but should resign the claim to the French throne. Yet English obstinacy rejected the terms. Burgundy in disgust threw up the alliance, and France was at last united in resistance to England, which by the death of Bedford in 1436 lost the one man who might have saved it from the woes to come.

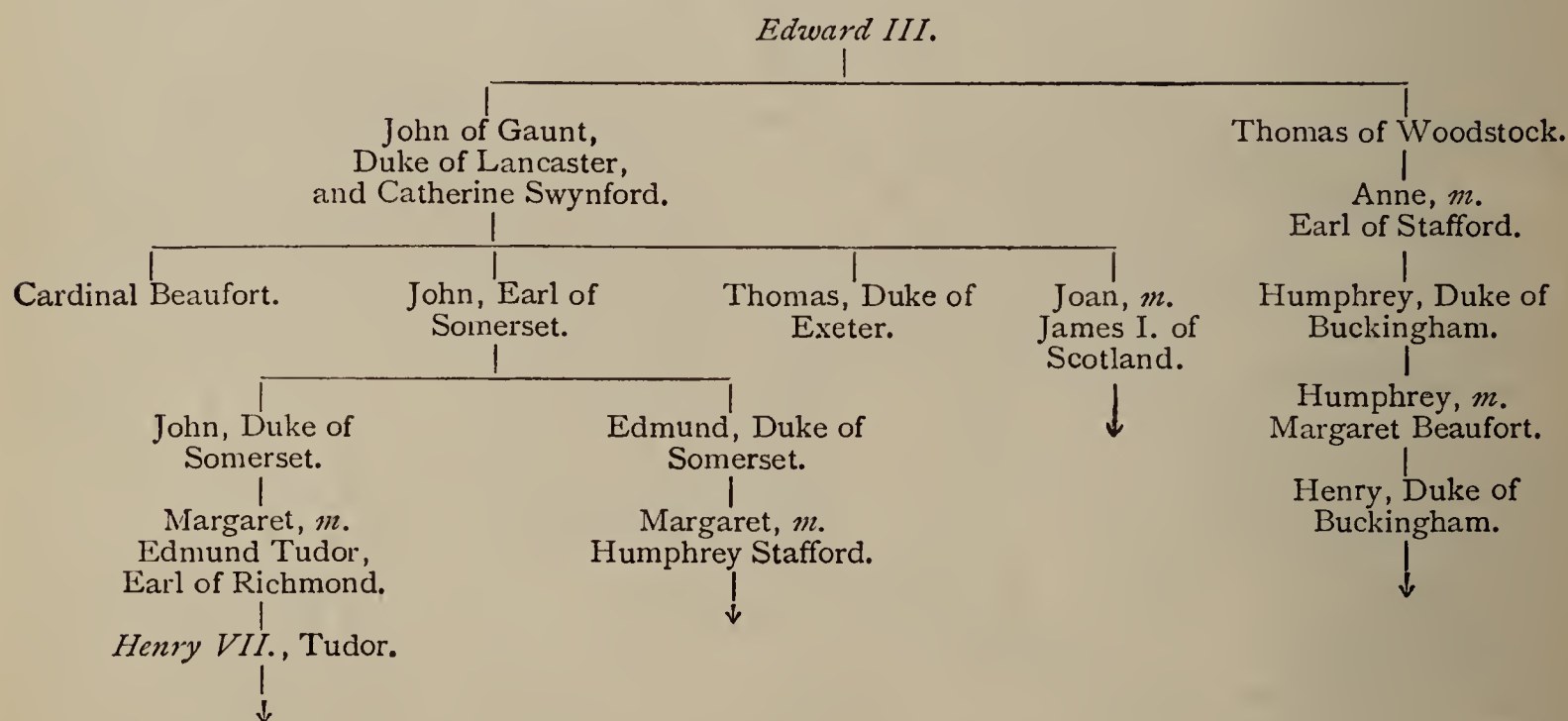
The war dragged on, but it was now one not for the conquest of new territory by the English, but for the recovery of conquered territory by the French. The French offer was renewed in 1439, but England still refused to resign Henry's claim to call himself King of France. The French began to attack Guienne, which had been for a long time in peaceful occupation, free from attack because the French forces had been too thoroughly engaged elsewhere. Guienne, it must be remembered, was not a conquered territory, but had always been technically subject to the King of England as its Duke. But before proceeding further with the story of the loss of France, we must turn back to affairs in England.

Of the three brothers of Henry V., the eldest, Thomas of Clarence, was killed at Baugé. The dying king had desired that the active work of establishing the English crown in France should be entrusted to his next brother, John of Bedford, while the third, Humphrey of Gloucester, was to be regent



Besieging a French town at the end of the Hundred Years' War.
[From Froissart's picture of the siege of Dieppe by Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, 1442-3.]

THE BEAUFORTS AND STAFFORDS

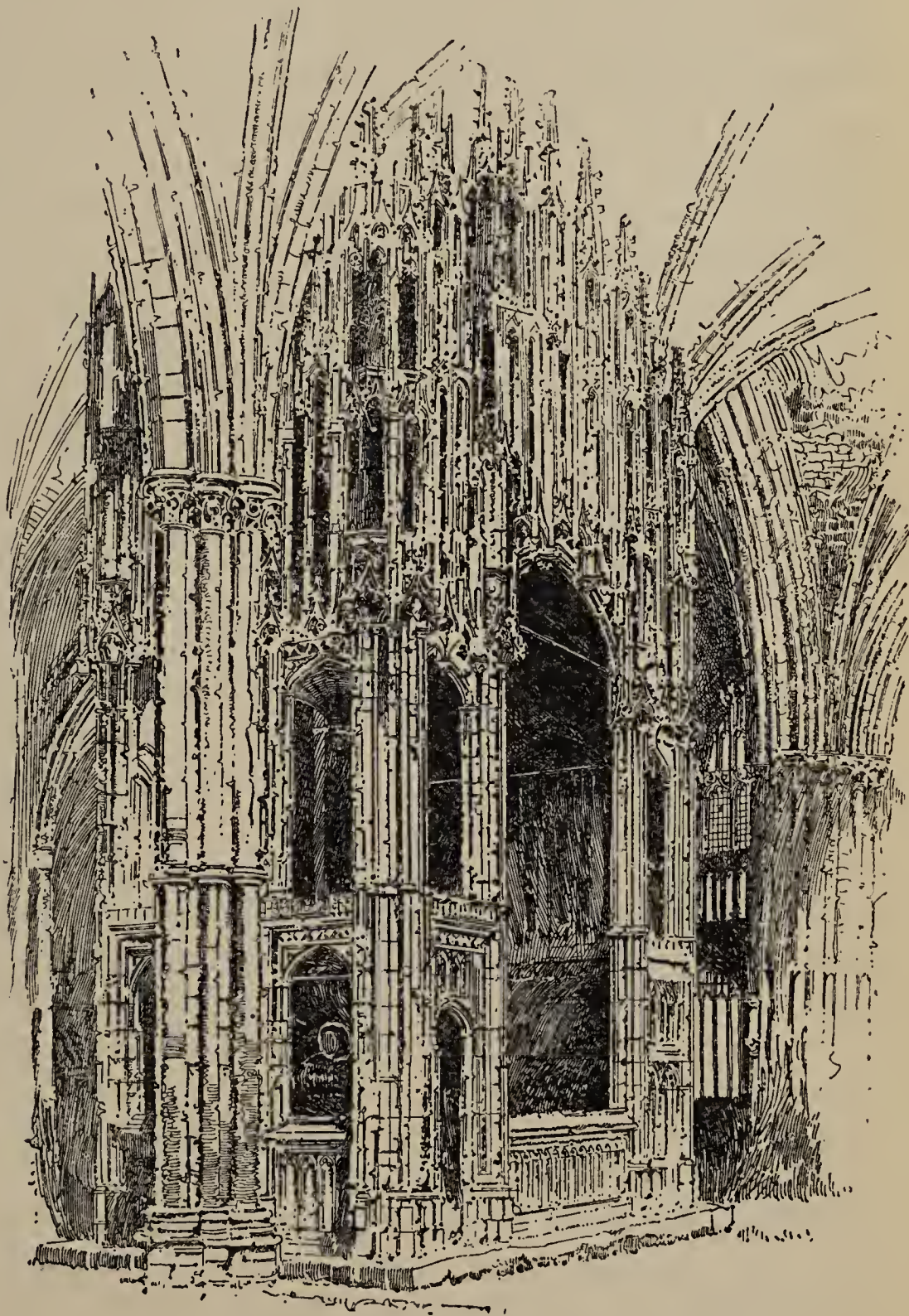


The wishes of Henry V. had of course no legal force. The parliament had every confidence in Bedford, and conferred upon him the powers

desired by the dying king. It declined, however, to make Humphrey of Gloucester regent in England—Bedford's supremacy was to be recognised whenever he was in the country—though it made him president of the Council to which the regency was committed. This was the continuation of that standing Council which had been nominated in the reign of Henry IV. that it might act as a constitutional check on the powers of the Crown, though it was destined to become instead the king's privy council of his own nominees. For the present, however, it provided in effect the government of England.

There was no thought of challenging the succession. The Earl of March was above suspicion of any disloyalty. Still, at the instance of Gloucester, he was sent off to take up the government of Ireland, where he died shortly afterwards. The Mortimer heritage and claim to the Crown passed to his nephew, Richard Plantagenet, the son of his sister, Anne Mortimer, and of Richard, Earl of Cambridge. The child had already become Duke of York by the death of his uncle Edward at Agincourt, he being one of the two English noblemen who fell in that wonderful battle. Richard of York was eleven years old when the king died.

Domestic politics produced no events of importance. On the whole Gloucester dominated the government, while there was no love lost between him and the Beauforts. When Bedford died, the young Duke of York was sent to take his place in France, and acquitted himself with very



Cardinal Beaufort's chantry in Winchester Cathedral.

considerable credit. But by this time, if not before, Cardinal Beaufort had become anxious to bring the war to an honourable conclusion, having realised the futility of its continuation; whereas Gloucester courted popularity by heading the extreme war party who were responsible for the rejections of the French overtures which we have noted. He was, however, practically driven out of public life for a time by the conduct of his wife, Eleanor Cobham, for whom he had deserted Jacqueline of Hainault. The lady had apparently "practised against" the life of the young king by necromantic arts, which, however silly, had obviously a treasonable intent, Gloucester himself being the heir-presumptive to the throne. The actual necromancers were put to death, and the Duchess had to parade London robed in the white sheet of repentance. Duke Humphrey was not actually an accomplice, but the affair drove him into retirement for some while. Although the obstinacy of public sentiment persisted in continuing the war, its management and the control of public affairs passed to the Beauforts.

The conduct of war by a ministry who were more anxious for peace than for victory was scarcely promising. The fighting was ineffective, and efforts were made to negotiate peace, even at the cost of resigning the titular claim to the French crown. With a view to peace, a marriage was negotiated between the young king Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou, the niece of the French king. The mismanagement of the English envoy, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, an ally of the Beauforts, resulted in a betrothal and a truce, but nothing more. The tables were turned now, and every English proffer of terms was met by a raising of the terms on the part of the French. The royal marriage was celebrated in 1446, and in the next year both Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort died. There is very little doubt that Gloucester was in fact murdered by Somerset and Suffolk—a foolish as well as a criminal performance, in which the Cardinal at least, being practically in retirement, could have had no hand. So long as Henry VI. should be childless, Richard of York was now manifestly the next prince of the blood.

While the truce lasted, shuffling negotiations went on with France, and there was intense disgust when it became known that Suffolk had promised to evacuate the province of Maine. Still greater was the wrath when in 1449 the French renewed the war by invading Normandy in force, and overrunning it almost unresisted. Somerset was sent to take command, but in the spring of next year his forces were overwhelmed at the battle of Formigny. Before the autumn of 1450 nothing remained in France to the English except Guienne and the Calais Pale.

Long before the disaster of Formigny, even before Somerset's expedition sailed, popular indignation had risen to rioting point. Somerset had hardly landed in France when an angry attack was made by the House of Commons on the administration in general and Suffolk in particular. All sorts of charges were hurled against him, some serious

and some absurd, some demonstrably false. Instead of facing trial, Suffolk threw himself on the king's mercy. The amiable imbecile on the throne—he was the grandson of Charles VI. of France if he was also the son of Henry V. of England—thought merely of protecting Suffolk, and attempted to do so by banishing him from the kingdom for five years. Again a storm of popular indignation broke out. Suffolk fled for his life in disguise, but was caught and murdered while trying to cross the Channel. The news of Formigny had just arrived, and the murder was merely a symptom of popular rage.

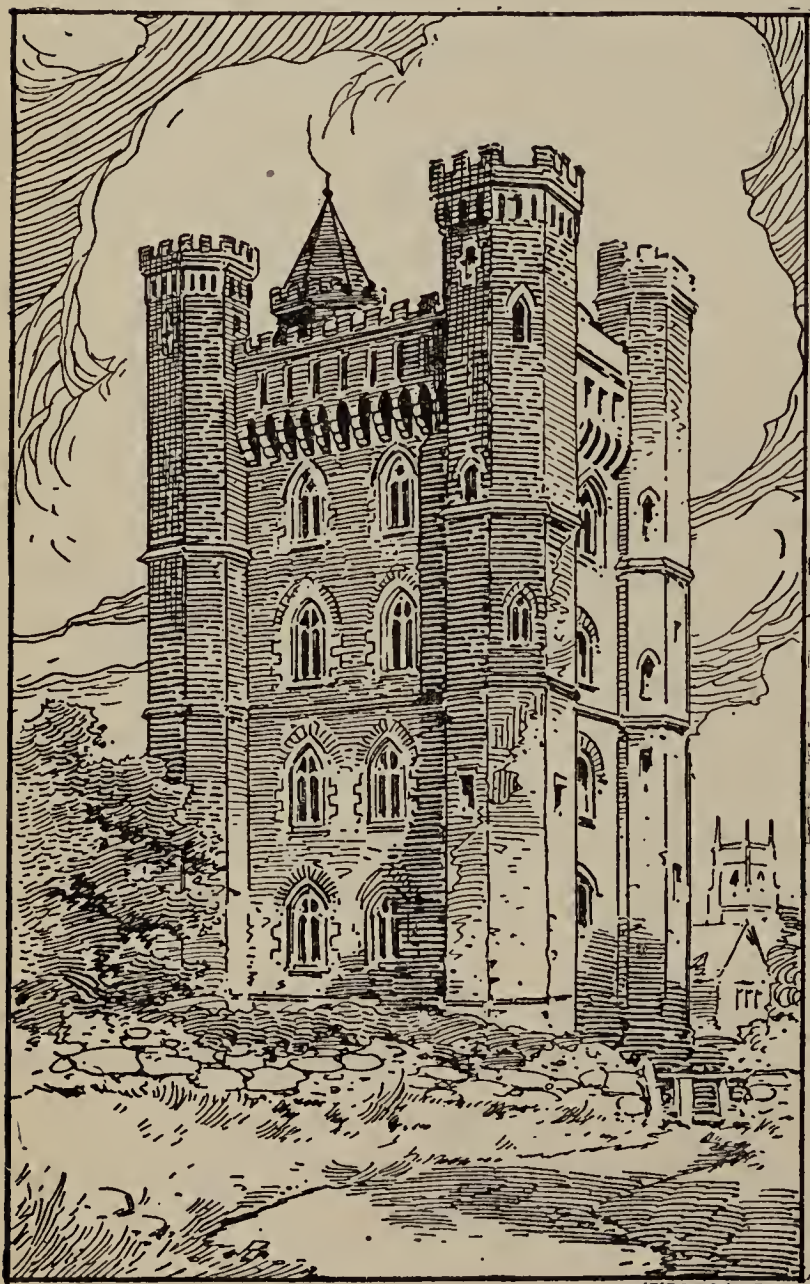
A month later it took shape in the insurrection known as Jack Cade's Rebellion, which the tradition followed by Shakespeare has hopelessly mixed up with the Peasant Revolt seventy years earlier. In 1450 the complaints formulated by the rebels were all directed against the sins of the Suffolk-Somerset administration. A casual demand for the repeal of the Statute of Labourers was the only reference to social questions, and was merely intended to attract the mob. The moving spirit, Jack Cade, whatever his real name may have been, was undoubtedly an adventurer possessed of considerable education and some military experience. But the insurrection was one of the common folk, and therein lay its one difference at the outset from the risings of the baronage in arms which were the traditional method of dealing with constitutional crises. When the king's forces were called out to disperse the insurgents, they were promptly disbanded again for fear of mutiny. But in other respects the precedents of Tyler's Rebellion were followed. Jack Cade kept his men in hand until they got into London. Then there came a riot which turned the friends of order into the enemies of insurrection; Jack Cade disbanded his forces on promise of pardon, and the pardon was then repudiated. Cade fled, but was caught and killed.

The victory of the government brought over Richard of York from Ireland, whither he had been sent as lieutenant, for some time past, to keep him out of the way. Jack Cade had made use of his name, a fact which aroused some suspicions that he himself had set the insurrection on foot to test public opinion. He was now determined both to dissociate himself from the rebellion, and as next prince of the blood to take the lead in demanding the removal of "the king's evil counsellors." His arrival on the scene meant that the rival parties must now measure their strength together; on the one side Somerset and the queen, carrying with them the king, and on the other side the heir-presumptive and all who were hostile to a government which had proved itself hopelessly incompetent.

IV

THE RED AND WHITE ROSES

Before York arrived, Somerset was back from Normandy, discredited and unpopular, but still in the confidence of the king and queen. The meeting of a full parliament showed that the Commons were entirely on the



Tattershall, a 15th century castle.

[Built between 1433-1455.]

side of York; but it would have been difficult to say whether among the peers the greater strength was on the side of York or of Somerset. At this time there was no question of disputing the succession; York himself did not assert his own title as against that of Henry VI. until ten years afterwards. He was satisfied with his position as heir-presumptive, which could only be challenged if Somerset ventured to claim that the legitimization of the Beauforts gave him a prior right as being descended in the direct male line from John of Gaunt. York and his supporters demanded only that the heir-presumptive should be properly recognised in the Royal Council.

The great strength of York, apart from the extent of his own dukedom and earldoms, lay in the support of the great Neville family, of whom the most powerful were the Earl of Salisbury and his son Richard of Warwick, at this time a young man of two and twenty. But the Neville con-

nection of itself included nearly one-fourth of the lay members of the House of Peers, who at this time scarcely numbered more than fifty all told. York's own wife was Salisbury's sister. The baronage during the past hundred and fifty years had acquired a new character, partly perhaps because, with the systematisation of parliament, the barons with a hereditary right to be summoned individually had become a definite group, who had been permitted to accumulate earldoms and baronies in a few hands. Moreover, there had been another change in practice which counteracted the anti-feudal legislation of Edward I. It had become the practice of many of the gentry,

men of small estate but of gentle blood, to pledge themselves personally to the service of great nobles: a process distinct from the old feudal commendation as practised in England, and in effect assimilating the English system to the feudalism of the Continent.

It was the intention then of York and his supporters to maintain a strictly constitutional attitude, not to stir up civil war; and with the parties thus balanced, Somerset, retaining his personal influence with the king, still retained the ascendancy. York was at last irritated to the point of appearing in arms to demand the dismissal of Somerset; but he disbanded his forces on receiving what he took to be satisfactory assurances, only to find that he had thus placed himself in the power of his enemies. A sort of reconciliation was however effected, because the French were now overrunning Guienne, a province which still itself preferred the English to the French allegiance. It was felt that a united effort must be made to save it. At the end of 1452 an expedition was despatched under the veteran warrior, Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. But in the next summer Talbot's force was annihilated and he himself was slain in a desperate attempt to force an impregnable position at Castillon. The disaster was irretrievable, and although several towns and fortresses held out stubbornly for some months, all Guienne was lost before the end of the year. The Calais Pale alone remained to England. The Hundred Years' War was at an end.

At this moment Henry VI. sank from his normal condition of feeble incapacity into one of unqualified imbecility; and immediately afterwards the question of the succession was complicated by the birth of a son who now stood between York and the throne. The practical effect was that York's followers were strong enough to secure his appointment as Protector of the realm, the confinement of Somerset in the Tower, and the appointment of sundry Yorkists to high offices of state. York used his power with moderation, and made no attempt to take vengeance on his enemies.

But at the end of 1454 Henry recovered. York surrendered the Protectorship, and Henry at once made haste to reinstate Somerset and his party. The proceedings of Somerset and the queen made it evident that they had no intention of following York's example of moderation, and were preparing to carry out a vindictive policy. York and Salisbury, who had retired to the north, took up arms and marched towards London, declaring their loyalty to the Crown but demanding the arrest and trial of Somerset; and the first engagement of the War of the Roses took place at St. Albans, where Somerset was slain, and the king himself fell into the hands of the Yorkists. It is to be noted, however, that those killed in the battle numbered only five or six score.

Again York used his victory with moderation. A parliament was summoned which was certainly Yorkist, but was not like later parliaments composed exclusively of the adherents of the party which had for the moment prevailed. Another of the king's lapses into imbecility again made York Protector, but only for a few months; and presently the queen felt

strong enough to induce Henry once more to dismiss the Yorkist ministry. Still there was a formal public reconciliation and a hollow truce between the parties for the next three years. Each side was anxious to force the blame of actual aggression on the other.

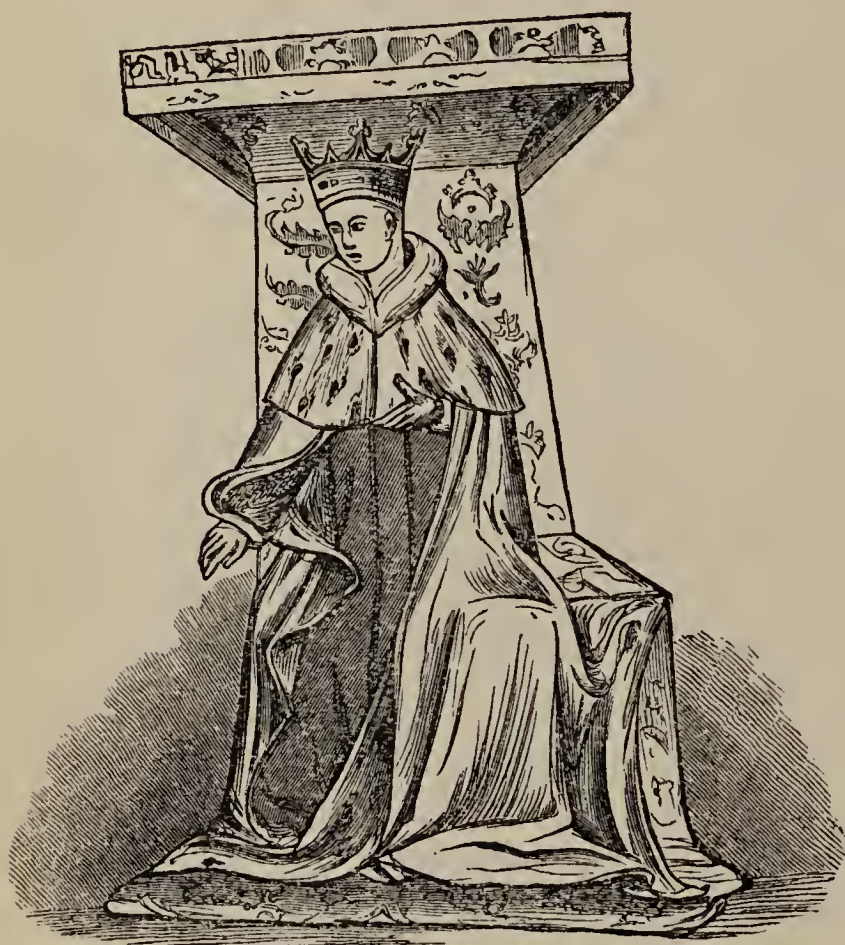
In 1459, however, Margaret was so palpably preparing for a *coup de main*, that the Yorkists took up arms, and hostilities were renewed. But although Salisbury won a small victory at Blore Heath, Margaret had succeeded in making it appear that York was the aggressor, whereby much of the

support on which he had counted failed him. When the Royalists advanced against him on an autumn campaign, the Yorkist army melted to pieces and the leaders had to take flight; York himself to Ireland, where he had made himself extremely popular during his lieutenancy, and his eldest son Edward, the young Earl of March, with Salisbury and Warwick, to Calais, of which Warwick was captain. In that capacity the future "king-maker" had latterly achieved a high reputation by his successful operations in the defence of the Channel.

A parliament was called, of what was now to become the usual character. It was simply an assembly of the Royalist nominees;

and it opened that sweeping campaign of attainders with which both parties henceforth supplemented their military operations. Instead of bringing persons accused of treason to trial, an Act of parliament was passed by the same process as any other Act of parliament, declaring that a long list of persons were guilty of treason, though the king reserved the right of pardon or mitigation of sentence; a right which on this occasion was freely exercised by the pacific Henry.

But before twelve months had passed, Warwick, who had been concerting his plans with Richard in Ireland, landed suddenly on the coast of Kent, where the Yorkist cause was strongly supported. The Royalists had been lulled into a false security; the Yorkists gathered in force, and London admitted him. Thence he marched to Northampton, where the Royalists were hastily gathering, and put them completely to rout, capturing the person of the unlucky king. At this battle the regular Yorkists' rule was adopted of sparing the commonalty, but giving no quarter to nobles or knights. The battle made Warwick master of the south of England. The



The youthful Henry VI.

[From Lydgate's "Life of St. Edmund."]

north unwisely was left alone. Richard of York returned from Ireland, came to London where parliament was summoned, and startled and alarmed his supporters by at once asserting his own immediate claim to the throne as the legitimate successor of Richard II. Warwick and the bulk of Richard's supporters were, however, strongly opposed to this reversal of York's policy. Richard was forced to accept the proposal, to which the captive king gave his consent, that Henry should retain the crown for the rest of his life, but should be succeeded by York, not by the Prince of Wales. The arrangement was ratified by parliament.

Margaret, however, was by no means prepared to accept the exclusion of her son from the succession. She was still at large in Wales, and forthwith set about mustering the Lancastrians, as we may now call them, in the north. York at once despatched his son Edward, a lad of eighteen, who had distinguished himself at the battle of Northampton, to the Welsh Marches to keep Wales in check; and leaving Warwick in the south, hurried north himself along with Salisbury. But on the 30th December his small force was overwhelmed at the battle of Wakefield. The Lancastrians gave no quarter. Richard himself, his second son Rutland, and Salisbury, were taken and put to death; several of his principal adherents were slain on the field. The war had degenerated into a vindictive slaughter of rival partisans.

The victors marching southwards encountered and defeated Warwick in the second battle of St. Albans, some seven weeks after Wakefield, recovered the person of the captive Henry, and advanced to bargain with the Londoners for admission to the capital. But in the meantime the Earl of March had routed a Royalist force at Mortimer's Cross, and was hurrying to join Warwick. The Yorkist leaders now also hastened to London, but, unlike the Lancastrians, were immediately admitted. The slaughter at Wakefield had removed Warwick's scruples, and, with the acclamations of the Londoners and the troops, Edward IV. was proclaimed king on the ground that the parliament of 1399 had had no power to transfer the succession from the legitimate line of the Mortimers.

The foiled Lancastrians retreated to the north; Edward and Warwick were soon in pursuit. A great battle, fought at Towton, was decisive. After a desperate struggle the Lancastrians were utterly routed with tremendous slaughter, and Wakefield was avenged by the death of all prisoners of any position who were taken. King Henry, who had been delivered from the custody of Warwick at the battle of St. Albans, escaped to Scotland with his queen.

Warwick was left to keep the north quiet while Edward returned to London, and was crowned in state. In November the king called his first parliament, of course a purely Yorkist assembly. It passed an Act of Attainder in which there were more than a hundred and thirty names of the living and the dead; the point of these sweeping measures was obviously the confiscation of the estates of the attainted, and their distribution among

the adherents of the victorious side. Incidentally, the parliament pronounced that the three Henrys had been usurpers, though the benignant Edward was pleased to confirm the charters which the usurpers had granted, and the honours and privileges bestowed by them, except in the case of persons now attainted. The young king then gave himself up to public displays and private dissipations; content apparently to leave politics and government to the cousin who had made him king. Next year,



The Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Warwick in battle.

however, the energetic Margaret of Anjou was again at work, and kept Warwick busy until the summer of 1463, when her followers were dispersed, and she herself only escaped capture by throwing herself, according to a tradition of good authority, upon the generosity of a robber whom she met in her flight, who conveyed her into safety. A final desperate effort of the Lancastrians was crushed

in the following year by Warwick's brother, Montague, at Hedgely Moor and Hexham.

But a rupture was approaching between the king and his too powerful cousin, to explain which we must briefly refer to French affairs since the expulsion of the English. Louis XI. was now on the French throne, and was engaged in consolidating the supremacy of the Crown over the feudal nobility, mainly by the methods of intrigue. Philip, Duke of Burgundy, however, having by marriage acquired great possessions in the Low Countries, had virtually made himself an independent monarch, being in effect lord of the Netherlands as well as of the duchy of Burgundy in France, and of the county of Burgundy or Franche Comté, which fell within the German Empire. Hence though Burgundy was the name generally given inclusively to the whole dominion, Burgundy itself was the less important part of it, the more important, at least from the English point of view, being the Netherlands. Neither Louis nor Philip was willing to see the strength of the other increased.

Louis, somewhat hastily, had committed himself to the support of Margaret of Anjou and the Lancastrian faction; Philip was naturally inclined in consequence to favour the Yorkists. Warwick was unwilling

to break with Burgundy, but was still more anxious to bring Louis over to the Yorkist side. Louis, realising that, in the language of a modern statesman, he had been "backing the wrong horse," was willing enough to buy the friendship of the *de facto* king of England. Warwick proposed to marry King Edward to the French queen's sister, since Louis had neither a sister nor a daughter of his own to offer. To the Earl's intense disgust Edward ruined the whole negotiation by announcing that he had already married Lady Elizabeth Grey, widow of the Lancastrian John Grey, Lord Ferrars, and daughter of the Lancastrian Richard Woodville, Lord Rivers.

Warwick was angry enough at the trick that had been played upon him, since it showed how slight was his real ascendancy over the king. Still, there was no immediate breach. But Edward proceeded to marry his wife's kinsfolk right and left to heirs and heiresses, thus forming a new family group wherewith to counterbalance the Neville connection; and Warwick's sus-



A bedroom and its appointments in the middle of the 15th century.

picion and distrust deepened though Edward still treated him as his first counsellor and minister. In spite of the marriage fiasco, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to France and Burgundy. The relations between Louis and Charles the Rash, the heir of Burgundy, were exceedingly strained, and Louis proved as anxious to conciliate Warwick as Charles was careless. The seeds were sown of an alliance between the French king and the earl. Meanwhile, by a stroke of good fortune, the unfortunate Henry VI. had been caught wandering about aimlessly in the north, and was lodged in the Tower. The relations between Warwick and Edward were further strained when the latter refused to sanction the marriage of his next brother George, Duke of Clarence, with Warwick's daughter. And now Charles the Bold entered upon a negotiation behind Warwick's back for his own marriage with the English king's sister Margaret. Warwick was again sent off ostensibly to negotiate a treaty with Louis, and returned accompanied by a French embassy to discover that the marriage treaty with Charles was already settled.

Edward remained indolently blind to the danger that was brewing. Warwick in alliance with Clarence was preparing to play the old part of the Lords Ordainers and the Lords Appellants. When nearly two years had passed, half the north suddenly rose under a leader who called himself "Robin of Redesdale," with the usual complaint against "the king's evil counsellors," and the usual demand for their removal. Edward hurried to the north; Warwick at Calais promptly married his daughter to Clarence, crossed to England, raised the south, and marched upon London. Three weeks after Clarence's marriage Edward was a prisoner. To all appearance Warwick's victory was complete, and he was not afraid to release the king after executing Rivers and one or two others of the Woodville group. But a futile Lancastrian rising in Lincolnshire gave Edward his opportunity. He collected a considerable force to suppress the rising, and having demolished the rebels at the battle called Lose-Coat Field, he announced that Warwick and Clarence were implicated in the treason. Since he already had an army in the field, the earl and the duke could only take a hasty flight to France.

Then the craft of Louis XI. came into play and brought about nothing less amazing than a reconciliation between Warwick and Margaret of Anjou, to be confirmed by the marriage of Warwick's younger daughter Anne to Margaret's son Edward, the titular Prince of Wales. Clarence was apparently satisfied by being recognised as the next prince of the blood. Edward had underrated the strength of the Nevilles. Warwick repeated his previous device; Edward was enticed to the north to suppress an insurrection organised there, while the earl himself again landed unopposed in the south and proclaimed Henry VI. Half Edward's troops belonged to the faction not of York but of Neville, and deserted him. Edward in turn was obliged to fly from the country in hot haste to take refuge with Charles of Burgundy. Again Warwick's victory seemed complete, and Henry was brought out from the Tower to be posed once more as king.

But Clarence—"false fleeting perjured Clarence"—was already in communication with the exile. In the spring Edward made a sudden dash from Flanders, and landed in Yorkshire, where he began by announcing that he had returned to claim not the Crown but the Duchy of York. The Yorkists of the north hastened to his standard. By consummate generalship he prevented the Lancastrian levies from effecting a junction, was joined by Clarence, and, having completely misled Warwick as to his designs, suddenly directed his march from the west upon London with the earl in hot pursuit. He reached his goal first, was admitted into the city, shut Henry up again in the Tower, and marched out to fight the earl.

The hostile forces met in a thick fog at Barnet. In the mist Warwick's left and centre attacked each other, each at first thinking that the other was the enemy, and then that they were traitors. The blunder decided the day, which otherwise seems to have been going in favour of the Lancastrians. Warwick was slain on the field, and his forces were completely put to rout.

On the same day Margaret landed in the west. There she rallied her adherents, and was on the march to join another band of her partisans on the Welsh border, when Edward by desperate marching succeeded in intercepting her and forcing a battle at Tewkesbury. There he won the decisive victory which made him indisputably King of England. Margaret herself was taken ; the young Prince of Wales was killed, probably in the battle, not, as a later tradition asserted, in cold blood by Edward's youngest brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester. No one of the line of Henry VI. except Henry VI. himself remained alive ; and of the Beaufort blood only the young son of Margaret Tudor, Henry, Earl of Richmond, and the young Duke of Buckingham, the son of the other Margaret Beaufort. It was the least of Henry VI.'s misfortunes that he died in the Tower a few days after Tewkesbury, almost certainly by the hand of the Duke of Gloucester, though of course it was announced that his death was a natural one.

V

EDWARD IV

After the victory of Tewkesbury, Edward reigned unchallenged for some twelve years. In the hour of his triumph he was only in his thirtieth year. He had proved that when he chose to exert himself he was not only a first-rate fighting man, but a consummate general, and—always with the same proviso—a master of diplomatic craft and persuasiveness. Incidentally also, he was completely and perfectly unscrupulous. Nevertheless he was fundamentally indolent, a lover of pleasure, unambitious. Since he had chosen to play for a crown, he made a point of winning it ; having won it, he intended only to enjoy it at his ease. He did not play the tyrant in general, because doing so would not have conduced to his comfort ; but if his comfort demanded an act of tyranny, however monstrous, he committed it without a qualm. He reigned as an absolute monarch without protest on the part of people or barons ; because he did not attempt to tax the people, while only a remnant of the old baronage existed, and the new men were his own creatures. Edward's demands for money were so rare that we are at first inclined to wonder how it was that he alone managed to do what the grumblers always declared the king ought to do, and "live of his own." But in the first place his treasury was conveniently filled by the enormous confiscations, the spoils of the final victory over the Lancastrians, and in the second place he made up for any casual deficiencies by the ingenious device of Benevolences. That is, he asked not for loans, but for presents ; and the individual who refused his request learnt that if his goodwill to the king was so small his loyalty to the throne fell under suspicion. It was cheaper to pay with a good grace than to resist ; and at the same time it was not easy to build up a constitutional opposition on the basis

of Benevolences, since technically no compulsion was brought to bear. From these sources then Edward obtained sufficient supplies for a personal expenditure which was lavish but not particularly extravagant—he had the business instinct—while his public expenditure was even parsimonious. Moreover he was released from the eternal drain of the French wars as well as from the spasmodic expenditure on the defence of his throne against a rival dynasty.

Thus it was but rarely that Edward found it necessary to summon a parliament; and parliaments, when he did summon them, were de-



Edward IV., his son, Edward V., and the court.

generate. In the chaos of recent years free elections had dropped out of fashion. Borough elections had fallen into the hands of the corporations, and the corporations themselves tended to become close bodies. The franchise of the shire courts, which elected the knights of the shire, had become restricted practically to freeholders; and in point of fact election was frequently superseded by the mere nomination of the sheriffs, or else was

effectively controlled by local magnates, so that the House of Commons was now very largely a packed assembly. On the other hand, of the old baronial families, the alternate victories of Lancaster and York had left few surviving members in either faction, and their places were to a great extent taken by a mushroom peerage of Edward's own creation. If Edward had chosen to emphasise his position as an absolute monarch, it is likely enough that he would have been able to convert the English monarchy into an almost unqualified despotism. He did not do so, because he had no ambitions which made it worth while to risk trying to do so. The twelve years of Edward IV.'s reign as an absolute monarch are distinguished chiefly by an event which was not political at all, the setting up of Caxton's printing press under the royal patronage. For Edward was a patron of art and literature; intellectually the most cultured monarch who had occupied the English throne, at least for many centuries.

Two other events, however, have to be recorded. The ambitions and the arrogance of George, Duke of Clarence, excited Edward's wrath. The

duke was arraigned before parliament by the king in person, was condemned, and died in prison when his execution was imminent. There was no adequate reason for murdering him in the circumstances, and the later tradition that he was drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine was probably a pure fiction. Premature deaths were always attributed to violence. Clarence left a son and daughter, Edward, Earl of Warwick, and Margaret, Countess of Salisbury—they were the grandchildren of Warwick the king-maker—both of whom ultimately perished by the axe of the executioner.

The other event was Edward's French expedition of 1475. Edward proposed to make war upon Louis in conjunction with Charles of Burgundy, a prince as erratic as he was ambitious. It was a long time before the English people ceased to hanker for a revival of the glories of Henry V.; and for that purpose parliament did not grudge the king ample financial support. Burgundy—in either sense—was by tradition and by interest a desirable ally. Edward was no mean strategist and had never been defeated in a stricken field. He certainly could not have conquered France, but if he had meant war in earnest he would probably have conducted some brilliant campaigns. But he did not mean war in earnest. He got his money, and carried his army to Calais; but there was no fighting. Louis was prepared to buy him off, and he himself wanted nothing better than to be bought off. Edward cheerfully deserted his ally Burgundy with the excuse that Charles had disabled himself for co-operating in an effective campaign. Fifteen thousand pounds down and a pension of ten thousand a year which Edward described as a "tribute," was the price paid to him at the treaty of Pecquigny; a very substantial addition to his income, which was duly paid.

In the spring of 1483 Edward was seized with a mortal illness, which carried him off in a few days. The chroniclers are unanimous in attributing his premature death when he was only forty to a constitution ruined by luxury and dissipation. He left behind him two young sons, Edward V. and Richard, Duke of York, and several daughters. Of his brothers the only survivor was Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who had been unfailingly loyal to him, and had won a high reputation both as a soldier and as an administrator.

VI

RICHARD III

The need for a regency was obvious. The young king was at Ludlow in the hands of the queen-mother's brother and son, Rivers and Grey; the young Duke of York was with the queen herself in London, so that the advantages lay with the queen's family for securing the regency to her. But they were unpopular, and Gloucester, who was in the north, knew that he could count upon strong support in securing the regency for him-

self. In company with the Duke of Buckingham he overtook Edward and his escort on their way to London, and forthwith arrested Rivers and Grey. The queen-mother took sanctuary at Westminster along with the rest of her children, and the council immediately acknowledged Gloucester as Protector.

But the sudden death of his brother had suggested to Richard ambitions which went far beyond a mere protectorate. His scheme was to declare the children of Edward IV. illegitimate, and to claim the crown for himself. He privately secured the support of some of the great lords who were purchasable, and six weeks after receiving the protectorate he arrested at the Council Board Lord Hastings, a trusted friend of the late king, Bishop Morton, and others from whom he expected opposition. Hastings was beheaded there and then without trial. Then he cajoled or frightened the queen into handing over to him the young Duke of York, who was placed in the Tower along with his brother the king; not of course, nominally, as a prisoner. Next his design was revealed when a certain Dr. Shaw preached a sermon at Paul's Cross, in which he affirmed that the late king's marriage with Elizabeth Woodville had been null and void because he was precontracted to another lady. The congregation received the sermon in amazed silence, but London was practically overawed by the presence of a large number of Gloucester's and Buckingham's retainers; and an assembly which passed for a parliament was induced to petition Gloucester to take upon himself the royal office as the legitimate head of the House of York, in priority to the late king's "bastard" children, and to those of Clarence who were debarred by their father's attainder. After a show of reluctance Gloucester assented, and a few days later was crowned king. The prisoners Rivers and Grey had already been executed. Nearly all the magnates of the realm formally assented by being present at the coronation. Nowhere was there any sign of resistance to the *coup d'état*.

Richard started on a progress through the Midlands. During his absence the two young princes were murdered in the Tower; that is, they disappeared, though their bones were not discovered till nearly two hundred years afterwards. That the boys were murdered no one at the time seems to have doubted at all, though the mystery attending their death was made use of for political purposes in the next reign.

But the supporters of Richard in his usurpation had not anticipated that it would be sealed by a crime at which all men shuddered. For the most part they were terrorised into silence; one at least was frightened into conspiracy. Buckingham, the representative of the line of the youngest son of King Edward III., while his mother was a Beaufort, entered upon a plot which aimed at uniting the Yorkist and Lancastrian interests by the marriage of the young Earl of Richmond, the head of the Beaufort connection, with Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV. But Buckingham's insurrection in the autumn was abortive. Premature risings broke it up, and Buckingham himself was caught and beheaded.

Richmond, who had found safety in Brittany since his early boyhood, should have joined the insurrection, and the delay caused by communicating with him was partly responsible for the false start which ensured failure. It was not his fault that when he attempted to cross the Channel he was beaten off by tempests, so that when he managed to reach England it was only to find that he was too late and must hasten back to Brittany. The elements indeed fought against Buckingham; had the cause of Richard been a righteous one, the Duke's overthrow would probably have been attributed to Divine intervention, for his movements had been completely paralysed by terrific rains and floods.

Richard possessed the ability which, under happier circumstances, might have made him a powerful king, held in honour if not in affection by posterity; for like his brilliant brother he had great military and diplomatic ability, and unlike him was an untiring worker, and his administrative skill was well tested. But Edward's numerous progeny barred him from all chance of becoming king except by sheer usurpation; the chance of usurpation presented itself only because the king died suddenly before any of his offspring were of age. Ten years later, Gloucester would have had no chance at all. The temptation to seize the crown presented itself; he yielded to it. The violence of the methods by which he had paralysed opposition, and the weakness of the plea by which he had procured the setting aside of his nephew, drove him to the murder of the young princes as the only means of securing the crown of which he had robbed them. He had committed himself hopelessly to the career of the typical tyrant, upon whom ruthless violence is forced as the only alternative to that ruin which the violence itself not seldom precipitates. The murder of the princes drove Buckingham to revolt; the revolt of Buckingham carried home to Richard that there was not one of his supporters upon whose fidelity he could now count; while among those supporters no man knew when the king's distrust might display itself—whether the caress was merely the prelude to a dagger thrust.

Yet after Buckingham's fall there was a pause. Richard hoped to strengthen himself by combining severity with conciliation. In January he called the only full parliament of his reign. As a matter of course it passed a sweeping Bill of Attainder, not so much in order to penalise enemies as to provide out of the confiscated estates means for purchasing support. The Commons were conciliated by the king's abstention from calling for taxation, by a statutory declaration that benevolences were illegal, and by a measure directed against the corruption and intimidation of juries. The parliament further confirmed the succession of Richard's son, Edward, who had already been made Prince of Wales.

Then this Prince Edward died. There was no prospect of another child being born to the king, who was forced to recognise as his heir-presumptive John de la Pole, whom we shall presently meet as the Earl of Lincoln. If the claim of Clarence's children had been recognised, it would have taken

precedence of Richard's own ; they were set aside, on the plea of Clarence's attainder. John was the son of the eldest sister of Edward IV. and Richard III., who had been married to the Duke of Suffolk.

Richard strove successfully to secure his own recognition from most of the continental potentates ; but France gave shelter to Richmond and to the fugitives from England who were gathering to his support. Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, was recognised as their head by the Lancastrians, as being the male representative of the house of Beaufort, through his mother, Margaret Beaufort, who had married Edmund Tudor. Edmund's father, Owen Tudor, was a Welsh knight who had married Catherine of France, the widow of Henry V. This had brought the Tudors into some prominence, but did not, of course, affect the succession to the Crown.

Whatever Richard may have gained through his parliament in the way of popular favour was lost in the following year, when he again resorted to illegal and arbitrary methods of obtaining money. Public opinion, too, was further shocked by the rumour that Richard was contemplating a marriage with his own niece, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. There is some warrant for the belief, in the fact that Richard had abstained, and continued to abstain, from the obvious course of marrying the girl to some nonentity ; and when Richard's queen died, it was commonly supposed that he had made away with her in order to facilitate the scandalous design. Richard found himself obliged to declare publicly his innocence of the purpose attributed to him.

Through the summer, Henry was preparing for an invasion. In August he succeeded in landing at Milford Haven, being secure of Welsh support in virtue of his own Welsh descent. Richard gathered an army, but many of the lords held aloof altogether, and many of those who assembled with professions of loyalty to him were suspected, with good reason, of treacherous intent. The armies met at Bosworth Field. Lord Stanley was approaching, professedly to support Richard, but actually pledged to Henry. Richard's left wing, led by Northumberland, refused to join battle. Richard, in the centre, made a furious attack—so furious that for a moment there seemed a chance of victory. But only for a moment. Stanley's forces fell upon his flank. The battle was lost, but Richard refused to fly, and fell upon the field, fighting desperately. The crown he had been wearing on his helmet was picked up and set on Richmond's head by Lord Stanley ; and on the field of battle the victor was hailed as King Henry VII.

VII

THE PROGRESS OF ENGLAND

The constitutional history of the century preceding the battle of Bosworth shows us first an attempt to limit the powers of the crown, taking as pre-

cedents the Provisions of Oxford and the Lords Ordainers ; then Richard II.'s attempt to free the crown from all restraints and render it despotic ; then the premature subjection of the Crown to the Commons, whose new authority collapsed in the face of civil war. The civil war not only paralysed the Commons, but also shattered the baronage, thereby making it possible for a dynasty of able rulers to recover for the Crown a degree of practical autocracy. But it did not destroy the tradition of parliamentary control.

Neither foreign wars nor civil broils arrested the normal course of economic development. The foreign wars were fought on foreign soil ; the conquest of France and the expulsion from France both involved devastation of France, but not of England. The insurrections under Richard II. and Henry IV. and the War of the Roses were largely in the nature of faction fights ; and though much blood was shed, they were not, comparatively speaking, destructive of property. It is not, indeed, to be supposed that agricultural life or town life and commerce were unaffected ; but only in rare instances was there sacking of towns, and confiscations were directed not against wealthy burgesses but against the owners of wide lands. Hence England, on the whole, was rather prosperous than otherwise ; although we must decline to accept the view of those historians who have persuaded themselves that the fifteenth century was the golden age of the agriculturist and the craftsman.

The return to normal conditions, after the Peasant Revolt, ended the reaction which had checked the passage from tenure by service to paid service and tenure by rent. The villein, as a rule, became either a "copyholder" with a right to his tenement in perpetuity, subject to the payment of a rent which could not be raised, or a free labourer ; not because those rights were extorted from reluctant landowners, but because the landowners found the arrangement profitable. The idea of servitude passed away, and nothing was heard about "bondage" in Jack Cade's insurrection. The copyholder ceased to sympathise with the labourer, when he was himself freed from the fear of enforced services and possibly wished to hire labour. The labourer, on the other hand, could command adequate wages, because as yet the supply of labour did not exceed the demand except in the off seasons. But it cannot be assumed that employment was regular throughout the year, or that the recorded rates of wages represent the average wage received throughout the year by the individual labourer.

There was another outcome of the depopulation and disorganisation consequent upon the Black Death. A great deal of the land was thrown out of cultivation altogether, and much of it was not brought back into cultivation because at the first it was not necessary to grow so much food as before, apart from the fact that there was not sufficient labour available. Whole families of the villeins, nay, in some cases entire villages, had been swept away by the pestilence ; and many villein holdings, reverting to the lords of the manor, were absorbed into demesne lands. The lords then, as a mere matter of convenience, turned over what had formally been tilled

land to pasture, growing sheep on it instead of attempting to restore it as arable. Nobody was the worse, and the sheep did not demand the same amount of labour as tillage; which, in view of the shortage of labour, was advantageous. On the other hand, with the ever-increasing demand for wool, the landlords began to wake up to the fact that wool-growing was a profitable occupation, more profitable than corn-growing when low prices ruled. Out of these things trouble arose presently, but it was not actively felt until some while after Henry VII. was seated on the throne.



An alderman of London, 1474.

[From a brass.]

The policy of Edward III. gave an impetus to commercial life which was actively felt in the towns, and developed the mercantile class and commercial enterprise. With the growth of the cloth-working industry, the "staples" in which the merchants of the staple dealt ceased to be the only goods for which the English merchant sought to find a market abroad. But the individual merchant found innumerable barriers to interfere with his trade in foreign cities. The German towns of the Hanseatic League had been admitted to trade privileges in England on the hypothesis that they would grant corresponding privileges to English traders; but the individual trader was not strong enough to get his rights recognised. Hence the great mercantile company of the Merchant Adventurers received a charter in the reign of Henry IV. granting it a monopoly of foreign trade in other than staple goods, since a company could fight its own battles very much better than isolated traders. There was a jealousy, indeed, between the Merchant Adventurers and the Merchants of the Staple, because the main trade of the former was in cloth, the manufactured article, and of the latter in wool, the raw material; and

the cloth workers sought to check the export of wool in order to cheapen it at home, so that the interests of the two associations conflicted. The fifteenth century, however, saw the Merchant Adventurers steadily and successfully forcing their way into foreign markets.

With the expansion of trade and the increase of manufactures, even in a very limited field, capitalism came into being. That is to say, men found that when they accumulated wealth they could carry on operations on a larger scale; and also that the surplus wealth not required for extending their own operations could be profitably applied by others. In the chartered towns, every one was under the strict supervision and regulations of the craft guilds, but beyond the jurisdiction of the borough men could follow their own devices. Thus it was to a great extent in new unchartered

towns that the cloth-working industry grew up and flourished; and to this, in part at least, may be attributed that decay of some of the older boroughs from which a falling off in the general prosperity has sometimes been inferred. Trade was drawn away from them to the new centres.

The fact that there was a great deal of private wealth is demonstrated by the great expenditure in this century upon building—a form of outlay in which none but rich men could indulge. But it would seem rather that a few men were acquiring great wealth than that the normal standard was greatly raised as a result of the new methods.

The craftsman was tending to become the client of the big trader rather than an independent trader on his own account. The journeyman's chance of setting up for himself diminished, as it became necessary to start business with a substantial stock-in-trade. The old days had departed when the craftsman had required little more than the tools with which he executed the orders that came to him, working upon materials which were provided for him. The man who wanted custom must have wares



A merchant.

[From Caxton's "Book of Chess," 1475.]

to exhibit instead of merely waiting for orders, and wares to exhibit meant capital locked up. So the average journeyman no longer regarded himself as being on the way to become a master craftsman, but expected to remain a journeyman all his days. Thus the fifteenth century saw the beginnings of the opposition between capital and labour, between employers and employed.

With regard to foreign commerce, it must be remarked that England had scarcely as yet developed a carrying trade. In this department she could not compete with the cities of Italy and the Low Countries. It was to encourage English shipping more from a military than from a commercial point of view that the first Navigation Act was passed in the reign of Richard II., requiring that goods should be brought for import either in English bottoms or in the ships of the exporting country. The regulation was, in fact, so impracticable that it very soon became a dead letter. English sailors generally held their own in the narrow seas; but the great development of English shipping for all purposes was the work of the Tudor period.

VIII

SCOTLAND

Scottish history, while the houses of Lancaster and York were occupying the throne of England, is a somewhat dreary record. When Robert III. died, in 1406, his successor on the throne, James I., was a boy of eleven, and was, moreover, a captive in the hands of the English king. From that time until more than two hundred years afterwards, when Charles I. succeeded to the crown of Scotland and of England, every Scottish sovereign was a child when he or she succeeded to the crown, and only one was over twelve years of age. Of the whole series, not one attained to the age of five-and-forty except the last, James VI. of Scotland and I. of England. During the eighty years now under review there were three kings of Scotland. James I. spent the first eighteen years of his nominal reign in captivity; thirteen years after his return to Scotland he was murdered. James II. was then six years old; he was killed by the bursting of a cannon before he was thirty. James III. was eight years old, and was killed in a baronial revolt at the age of thirty-six, three years after the accession of the first Tudor. Each of the three reigns involved a long regency, and a regency commonly meant a prolonged struggle for ascendancy between baronial factions. Under such conditions no country could prosper, and history to a great extent degenerates into a record of deeds of violence.

When King Robert died, his brother, Robert, Duke of Albany—it will be remembered that the king's real name was John—became regent. He was already an old man, almost seventy years of age. Although he has been much vilified, the fourteen years of his rule as regent seem to show him as, on the whole, a praiseworthy administrator. The head and front of his offending was his failure to procure the liberation of his nephew and king; and it is not unreasonable to find for this some excuse in the fact that he failed also for ten years to procure the release of his own son, Murdach, who had been taken prisoner at Homildon Hill. Albany, in fact, managed to keep the peace among the barons, refused to tax the commons, and accomplished nothing serious to the detriment of England. The most notable event of his rule was the great battle of Harlaw, at which Donald, Lord of the Isles, met with a great defeat. The Isles, it must be remembered, were populated by Celts and Celticised Scandinavians; they had not definitely recognised the sovereignty of the King of Scots until the reign of Alexander III., and although the Lord of the Isles in Bruce's day had lent King Robert valuable assistance at Bannockburn, his descendants, and half Celtic Scotland, scarcely looked upon themselves as subjects of the Scots king, and only recognised a hazy sovereignty. If disunited

amongst themselves by tribal rivalries and divisions, still tradition, customs, race, and language set a wider gulf between them collectively and the Normanised "Saxons" of the south and east. The occasion of Donald's rising was a claim to the earldom of Ross ; but it has been very commonly looked upon as a bid for Celtic supremacy. Donald raised a great Highland host, and was marching upon Aberdeen when he was met by Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar. At the "Red Harlaw" there was a terrific slaughter ; both sides claimed the victory ; but the practical effect was that Donald retired, and the Highlands and Lowlands were never again pitted against each other until the days when the Highlanders were themselves the champions of the house of Stuart.

At the close of his long life, when Henry V. was bringing all northern France beneath his rule, Albany sent succours to the ancient ally of Scotland which played a creditable and valorous part in the French struggle. It was a Scottish force which inflicted the first great defeat upon the English at the battle of Baugé in 1420 ; it was Scottish troops that bore the brunt of the fighting when Bedford won his victories at Crévant and Verneuil ; there were Scots with Joan of Arc at Pataye ; and a Scottish historian has remarked, with justifiable pride, that the Scots alone were loyal to the Maid of Orleans to the last.

But all these doings came after the old Duke of Albany was dead. From 1420 to 1424 his incompetent son, Murdach, took his place as regent. Then James I. returned to his country to find it in a ghastly state of misrule and disorder, which he attributed, somewhat unjustly, to the iniquities of his uncle and cousin. His eighteen years in England had taught him a good deal ; he resolved at all costs to restore order in his own land ; and the first condition of doing so was to establish the royal authority over the turbulent nobility. The house of Albany was popular with the commons, and the king gained no general favour by striking at it. But the policy he adopted was to strike, and strike hard, at the most powerful and the most turbulent. Albany himself, and others of his kin with sundry of the leading nobles, were brought to the block. The king's arbitrary rule stirred up fierce personal animosities against him ; but his hand was strong, and his aims were just, whatever may be thought of his methods. He was a vigorous legislator, and his primary objects were those of Henry I. in England—the establishment of a definite law, the diminution of the power of the baronage, some increase in the power of the commons to counterbalance the barons, and the strengthening of the crown. But he did not make himself popular, and he did incur bitter hostility. The result was a plot for his assassination, which was carried out at Perth. The band of murderers broke into the house where he was lying. The king was sitting with the queen and her ladies. He was unarmed, and at the noise of the assassins' approach was hastily concealed in a cellar under the floor. The murderers broke in, searched for him in vain, and retired ; the king came out of his hiding-place. When they were heard returning, Catherine

Douglas—"Catherine Bar-lass"—thrust her arm through the staples of the door and held it while the king got back into the cellar ; but that slender bolt did not prevent the door from being burst open. Again the room was searched, and the entry to the cellar was discovered. The armed assassins leapt down upon him ; the king with his bare hands almost succeeded in slaying one of them, but was himself despatched by their daggers. There is a tragic fitness in the dramatic end of the king who sang his own love-romance in verse which has given him an assured place among the poets.

Among the Scottish nobility no house was so powerful, none held such wide domains, none possessed so high a reputation for knightly valour as that of Douglas. From the good Lord James, the "Black Douglas," the most picturesque of all the Bruce's comrades-in-arms, to the hero of Otterburn and the luckless warrior of Homildon Hill and Shrewsbury fight, the Douglasses were ever "bonny fighters." But in the reign of James II. the house of the Black Douglas waxed so powerful as to be a positive danger to the crown, and even, according to its enemies, to Scottish nationality ; since the strife between the Stewart dynasty and its mighty vassal drove the latter into relations with England which at the best were compromising. During the greater part of the young king's minority, indeed, the Douglasses did not take the opportunity to strike for power. The struggle was rather between two high officials, Livingstone and Crichton, who only united for the purpose of striking down one of the Douglasses who threatened to obtain a personal ascendancy over the boy-king's mind. But when William Douglas succeeded to the earldom in 1443, the Douglas activities became ominous. William extended his own dominions by marriage so that half the Lowlands were under his sway ; he procured an earldom also for his brother, and he made a "bond" with Crawford, the greatest of the northern earls. An outbreak of English border warfare in 1448 gave the Douglasses renewed opportunity for gaining prestige as soldiers. Over the Douglas domains the royal authority was practically ignored. In 1452, young James, being then just twenty, met his great feudatory with the apparent intention of effecting a reconciliation ; but instead of doing so, he lost his temper and stabbed the earl with his own hand. From that moment the feud between the crown and the Douglasses became open. For the next three years something not unlike the English War of the Roses was going on in Scotland ; but the conclusion was the overthrow of the great house of Douglas in 1455. By its downfall, another branch of the family, the "Red" Douglasses of Angus, who had supported the crown against the "Black" Douglasses, rose to the front rank.

During the next five years James ruled with vigour, and utilised the dissensions of York and Lancaster for operations against the English, at least whenever the Yorkists were dominant. It was while besieging Roxburgh, a fortress still held by the English, that James was killed in his thirtieth year by the explosion of a cannon. In spite of his wild deed when, at the age of twenty, James murdered William Douglas in a fit of

passion as Robert Bruce had slain the Red Comyn, he gave promise in the few years that remained of proving an exceedingly capable ruler ; but his premature death again plunged Scotland into the woes of a long regency.

Yet, for five years the country was governed with no little skill and statesmanship by Bishop Kennedy ; even after his death, matters went not altogether ill. Perhaps the most interesting event of these years was the marriage of the young king to Margaret of Denmark. Under the marriage treaty, Denmark handed over to Scotland the Orkneys and Shetlands, which had hitherto remained part of the Scandinavian dominions, in pledge of the payment of a considerable sum of money as the bride's dowry. The money was never paid, and thus the islands became part of the Scottish kingdom.

In fact, the whole period of the regency was not in itself disastrous ; but it did not have the same effect as the continuation of rule by a strong king such as James II. promised to be. Unhappily, James III. was not the man to carry out a strong policy. From the time when he came of age he fell into the hands of low-born favourites, despised as upstarts by the whole of the nobility. James himself was born out of due time, a lover of the arts and devoid of those qualities essential to a king who had to rule over a turbulent and warlike nobility and people. In the general dissatisfaction, the king's brother, the Duke of Albany, developed ambitious designs of taking James's place on the throne. He was driven from the country, and intrigued with Edward IV. for a restoration which was to give him the crown as a vassal of England. Instead of carrying out that plan, however, he effected a temporary reconciliation with his brother ; but the obvious hollowness of this drove him to renew his negotiations with Edward, and in 1483 he was in effect again expelled from Scotland. His death in France by an accident at a tournament relieved Scotland of this particular danger. The final disasters of James's reign befell only after Henry VII. had secured the English crown.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MIDDLE AGES

I

POLITICAL ASPECTS

THE landmark which British historians select as setting the boundary between the medieval and the modern is the accession of the house of Tudor. There was, in fact, no sudden and violent change at that particular moment. But in the hundred years or so of which 1485 is approximately the central point, events occurred and movements culminated which differentiate the medieval from the modern world. The political structure of Western Christendom was changed ; the boundaries of the known world were expanded ; the fetters by which intellectual progress had been bound were broken ; and we may pause to inquire what were the characteristic features of what we call the Middle Ages which distinguish them from what we call modern times.

The first and most obvious fact is that Western Christendom was practically acquainted with only quarter of the Eastern Hemisphere, one-eighth of the world known to us to-day, namely, the western quarter lying north of the Equator. All that lay beyond was either a sheer blank or a region of travellers' tales and nothing more. To the inhabited world as known to the Romans was added during the Middle Ages so much of Europe as lies between the Baltic Sea and the Danube, together with Norway and Sweden. In short, the entire civilised world as known to Christendom meant Europe west of what is now Russia, Asia west of the Euphrates, and the Mediterranean coast of Africa.

These were the physical limitations whose disappearance differentiates the medieval from the modern. Next to it we must place a distinction of another kind. Medieval Europe was dominated by the Roman conception of the Empire as a universal political dominion, and by the Christian conception of the Church as a universal theocratic dominion ; both involving the idea of the fundamental unity of Christendom in opposition to the common enemy, whether regarded as the barbarian from the political point of view or the infidel from the ecclesiastical. All Christendom, however, setting aside always the Greek Empire and the Greek Church, recognised vaguely one temporal head in the Emperor and one spiritual head in the Pope.

Closely associated with this, perhaps merely another aspect of it, is the fact that medievalism was the outcome of the collision between the elaborate civilisation of the Christianised Roman Empire and the tribal civilisation of the Teutonic barbarians. For the mixture of these two civilisations, resulting from the Teutonic conquest, produced Feudalism. A political organisation based on the Empire, a religious organisation based on the



An English knight in full caparison, 1345.

[Sir Geoffrey Luttrell and his wife, from the Luttrell Psalter.]

Papacy, and a social structure resting on Feudalism, were the fundamental bases of medievalism.

Next, if we seek to discover what was the fundamental medieval conception of the function of government, we shall find it in the compulsory subordination of the interests of individual persons or communities to the interests of the community in general, as conceived by those in whom the power was vested—a qualification of no small importance. In the medieval idea, there is practically no limit to the right of intervention by fully constituted authority. It is by universal assent warranted in carrying the interference and regulation down to the minutest details. It may regulate a man's clothes, the prices at which he sells or buys labour or goods, his

employment, his very thoughts. There is no question in the medieval mind that authority possesses this right ; though the power to enforce it may be wanting. The modern problems as to the limits of State interference had not suggested themselves. The question which did arise was a different one—whether the authority which claimed the right was precisely the authority which possessed it ; to which the answer could often be ascertained only by an appeal to force. In the language of modern political science, the question where the sovereignty resided was in constant dispute, because the relative amounts of physical force under the control of the different claimants to authority were open to doubt. The one indisputable fact was that the superior control of physical force did not lie with the masses of the population, and therefore the sovereignty did not reside in them. The conflict as to sovereignty still continues in modern times, but on somewhat different lines.

Most notable in the Middle Ages was the political conflict between the ecclesiastical and the temporal claims. The Spiritual endeavoured to dominate the Secular authority ; the Church claimed to control the State. For two hundred years, from Hildebrand to Boniface VIII., the Popes very nearly made good their claim. For another two hundred years they did not surrender it. But the Reformation and the counter-Reformation taken together left the Papacy wholly without control over temporal affairs outside the States of the Church in Italy. As between the secular and the spiritual powers, the question was no longer whether the State should submit to being treated as in bondage to the Church, but whether the Church should be treated as in bondage to the State.

Thus in the medieval world the primary conflict of authorities was that between the spiritual and the secular, the Church and the State, which in modern times, at least in the leading States of Europe, fell completely into the background. But in the field of religion itself there was no such conflict. The modern spirit seeks to distinguish between matters which are and matters which are not proper objects for the compelling intervention of authority ; and in the modern view authority has nothing to say to the private opinions of the individual. What he believes or disbelieves concerns no one but himself, so long, at least, as he does not force his views upon his neighbours. Moreover, what a man believes is that which satisfies his reason ; you cannot make him believe or disbelieve to order ; you can only control his professions. He himself even cannot force himself to believe what he would like to believe. But in the medieval view, false opinions were a proof of moral obliquity. As concerned religion at least, authority pronounced upon the truth absolutely, and no one could be permitted to question its pronouncement. Nor was there any doubt where the authority lay. Rome was the final Court of Appeal. The Reformation was in one of its aspects the repudiation of Rome as the ultimate authority, whether the reformers substituted for it the authority of the Scriptures, or of the Church Universal, or recognised no appeal except to human reason. In

the field of religion the change from medievalism was one from the acceptance of an established ultimate authority to a conflict of authorities or to the repudiation of all authority.

The second conflict was that between the crown and the great nobles, between the centralising and the centrifugal forces; the crown always seeking to extend the single authority over a wide area, the baronage commonly seeking to preserve a congeries of practically independent units with a single supreme untrammelled authority in each. This is crossed by a separate contest on the part of the cities to set up a distinct authority of their own. This battle was not fully fought out during the Middle Ages, and in Britain it followed a course markedly different from that which it took on the Continent. But in the main it stands true that the fundamental political struggle was that between the centralising pressure of



A Royal carriage and its escort about 1480.

the crown and the disintegrating pressure of feudalism; in which centralisation carried the day, but usually, outside of Britain, left monarchy and aristocracy in close alliance and mutual dependence. Thence arose the modern conflict between the monarchy joined with the aristocracy on the one hand, and on the other the commons of the middle class, and ultimately the proletariat, tending to transfer the seat of authority from the former to the latter.

The foregoing generalisations with regard to the Middle Ages must be qualified when we turn our attention to particular countries, and especially in the case of our own country. Geographical conditions kept the British Isles apart from the rest of Western Christendom as they had kept them apart from the Roman Empire. Britain was never completely Romanised, and the Teutonic invader did not in effect find himself in contact with Roman civilisation. Roman influences hardly touched him, and his isolation prevented him from being materially affected by the changes in the Teutonic civilisation of the Continent. The English

stood outside the new Holy Roman or German Empire more completely than the Britons had remained outside the old Roman Empire. To a greater degree they were brought within the ecclesiastical dominion of the Holy See, but still in a very much less degree than their continental neighbours. A Saxon king of England could appropriate to himself the imperial title of "Basileus," implying a claim to equality with the Emperor, and a Pope could designate the Archbishop of Canterbury, "*papa alterius orbis*," implying at least what in a secular dominion would be called vice-regal authority. To the English, as to every one else, the Pope and the Emperor were the two heads of Christendom by courtesy; but the Pope exercised hardly any direct authority, and the Emperor none at all. Thus the people of these islands were able to follow out their development in comparative isolation on national lines, modified but not absorbed by the political organisation of the Empire, the ecclesiastical organisation of the Papacy, and the social structure of continental Feudalism.

Accident united the North English to the Celtic kingdom of the Scots, and drew a dividing line between Scotland and England, from Solway to Tweed mouth; so that Scotland and England developed their nationality separately, while both stood outside the general current which was moulding Europe. Neither the Norman Conquest nor the Angevin Succession bridged the English Channel or effectively destroyed the isolation which enabled them to consolidate their nationality apart. To some extent the Scandinavian kingdoms also remained apart; that is, as States they remained outside the borders of the Empire, though they planted their colonies not only in England, Scotland, and Ireland, but in France, in Sicily, and in Southern Italy. The aggression of the Scandinavians, however, ceased after the eleventh century.

But the national idea was not confined to the British Isles and Scandinavia, the two great divisions which never came within the boundaries of the Empire. During the Middle Ages, France too became an individual nation and the Spanish Peninsula was also nationalised. Both France and Northern Spain were included in the Empire of Charlemagne; and it was only when the Carolingian dynasty which ruled over the western portion of the Frankish dominion gave place to the dynasty of the Capets that France was definitely and permanently separated from the Empire. And France was then already completely in the grip of the feudal system. Hence the consolidation both of England and of Scotland long preceded the consolidation of France. It was not till after the final expulsion of the English that the process was completed. Almost at the same time the similar process was completed in the Spanish Peninsula. The union of the crowns of Aragon and Castile, and the overthrow of the Moorish kingdom of Granada, shaped the Peninsula into the two greater and smaller nations of Spain and Portugal, somewhat as the island of Great Britain had been shaped into the greater and smaller nations of England and Scotland. Thus there were at the last three great national States on the west of Europe,

besides Scotland and Portugal. But a like process of consolidation had not taken place in Central Europe. Germany was still only a collection of Teutonic States professing allegiance and a very limited obedience to one Emperor; while Italy was a collection of small Latin States, individually far in advance of the rest of the world in culture, but without any effective sense of common nationality. The republic of Venice had built up a great maritime power, and her fleets were still one of the bulwarks of Europe against the Ottoman Turks, who, in 1453, finally overthrew the Byzantine Empire when they captured Constantinople; but though she might fairly be called an imperial city, Venice did not constitute a nation.

At the very close of our period, Charles the Rash of Burgundy endeavoured to build up what we should call another first-class Power. With the Netherlands and the Burgundies already under his dominion, it was his ambition to construct a heterogeneous kingdom which should extend from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. That design was frustrated, and Provence, as well as the Duchy of Burgundy, was absorbed into France. But what happened instead in the course of the next fifty years was that the Austrian House of Hapsburg built up for its members through a series of marriages a huge dominion which comprised the Austrian duchies of South Germany, the Magyar and Slavonic kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the whole Burgundian inheritance, the Spanish kingdom, and some slices of Italy, besides permanently appropriating the succession to the imperial crown. Although this vast dominion with its numerous nationalities was parted between two branches of the house of Hapsburg, it not only expanded the Spanish dominion, but made the Austrian Hapsburgs a first-class Power exercising a dominant influence over the States of Germany. Consequently, international politics assumed a phase unknown in the medieval period; so that the keynote of European diplomacy came to be found in the phrase, "the Balance of Power."



A complete suit of Gothic armour, about 1470.

[From the Wallace Collection.]

That is to say, while each State sought a preponderance for itself, it sought also to keep the other States equally balanced. Hitherto England had been concerned only in her private contests with France or with Scotland ; now she became concerned to prevent either France or the Hapsburgs from dominating Europe.

Since England was so far the first to consolidate her own nationality, it naturally resulted that she progressed in constitutional development at a very much greater speed than the European States. The conflict of authority between the Papacy and the Crown was less acute because England was out of reach of the Papacy itself, and the ecclesiastical organisation in England was at once less under Papal control and less able to challenge the supremacy of the secular power. In England, never completely surrendered to feudalism, the Crown was able at an earlier stage to concentrate power in its own hands. The baronage in their resistance to absolutism became the champions of popular rights as well as of the privileges of their own order. The Crown followed suit, and in its resistance to baronial encroachments extended the popular rights. And thus at the close of the Middle Ages, England was the one State in which the next constitutional battle was to be fought with the sovereignty of the Commons as the stake ; because it was the one State in which the Commons had already accumulated a solid and tangible authority.

II

SOCIAL ASPECTS

When we turn to the social aspect of the Middle Ages, we find ourselves contemplating an era of violent contrasts ; of supreme picturesqueness and of extreme discomfort ; of gorgeous display and of sordid squalor ; of consummate courtesy and of utter pitilessness ; of high saintliness and of bestial grossness ; of the faith that knows no fear but that of God, and of the superstition in which fear of the Devil is ever dominant. Side by side we see Joan of Arc in her sublime purity and the degraded terrors of her murderers ; beside Anselm, William Rufus ; the Black Prince serving at his royal prisoner's table and massacring the inhabitants of Limoges.

The contrasts of the Middle Ages are more vivid than those of the present day, not because they were more real, but because they stood in closer proximity. In modern times we compare the conditions of class and class, the luxurious ease of the wealthy with the destitution of the slums. The Middle Ages knew no such wealth, no such luxury, and no such destitution, at least in England. The contrasts of medieval life are of a different order ; they are those between its public and its private aspects ; between the gorgeousness and what would be to our eyes the meanness of its different phases. The mail-clad knight rode abroad in glittering armour,

but he did not habitually sleep in a bed. He carved the casques of the foe-man with flashing steel, but he ate his dinner with his fingers. The castle or the manor-house owned a spacious hall, but no other apartment which deserved to be called much more than a closet; and few indeed were they who enjoyed the privacy of a separate chamber. Hunting and hawking were joyous pastimes when woods and fields were green and the days were long; but when the sluggard sun rose late and set early, and the hall was lighted with torches, the time was apt to hang heavily in spite of the occasional diversion supplied by some wandering jongleur. A time came when commerce expanded and burghesses waxed wealthy, but they would seem for the most part to have had little idea of spending their wealth except on an ostentatious display in costly apparel and rich decorations intended for the public eye, and to have taken very little thought for the amenities or even what we should call the decencies of personal comfort.

Of the whole population only a small proportion dwelt in cities, and even of these a substantial part were occupied in tilling the borough lands. The great bulk of the population was engaged upon agriculture, and how they fared we have little means of knowing with any certainty. The land under ordinary conditions was self-sufficing; that is to say, in normal seasons it produced a sufficiency of grain to feed the entire population. The small peasant-holdings and the common waste lands enabled the smallest peasants to keep their poultry, their pigs, and their cow; and in normal seasons there was little destitution. But a modern labourer in decently steady employment would certainly be better housed, and would regard as practical necessities luxuries which his medieval ancestor never heard of. The most notable change between the medieval and the modern conditions of working-class life is that which set in with the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution only a century and a half ago, a change which created a vast city population; but the one point in respect of which the modern working-man is infinitely and indisputably better off than his medieval predecessors is in the disappearance of those pestilences like the Black Death, whose recurrence in Europe sanitary science seems now to have rendered practically impossible.



An English knight of 1400.

It remains to touch upon the two features of the Middle Ages which appeal most vividly and picturesquely to the imagination. The Middle Ages were the days of the monks and of the armoured knights. During the sixteenth century the knights armed in full panoply disappeared ; monasteries and nunneries were suppressed wholesale, or, as in England, vanished altogether ; the clergy, regular and secular, ceased to be a prominently picturesque element.

But throughout the ages which preceded the Reformation the monas-



A MS. representation of a house.

[From a 14th century romance.]

teries were not merely picturesque ; they performed functions which were of vital importance. When authority failed to enforce law and order, when violence defied control, the monastery and the convent gave shelter and protection against lawless tyranny. When war and the chase provided almost the only living interests for men of gentle blood, art and learning could still find shelter and encouragement in abodes dedicated to religion and to peace ; though the scope of both was rigidly limited, if not actually to the service of religion at least to fields which religion regarded as

serviceable. It was the clerks who kept alive the study of law, of philosophy, and of science, though these latter especially were strictly subordinated to theology. To the clerks in the main we are indebted for historical records. And, finally, the Church was the one institution in which, theoretically at least, class distinctions disappeared, and even in practice humble birth was not a bar to high achievement ; the one institution also which, whether wisely or unwisely, provided relief for the destitute and needy.

The glory of the mail-clad knight belonged to the days when victories were won in the shock of hand-to-hand fighting and sheer weight was irresistible. He was already doomed when it was found that neither he nor his horse could be protected against the clothyard shafts of the English archer. Defensive armour became so appallingly heavy that it produced immobility, and at last gave the light-armed man the advantage even in hand-to-hand fighting, as was illustrated at the battle of Agincourt. But even more fatal to him, and fatal too in the long run to the archer, was the progressive use of gunpowder. Down to the close of the fifteenth century gunpowder was practically useless in the field, although at Crécy the English had some primitive cannon which they fired off—to the alarm of the Frenchmen's horses, but otherwise apparently without doing any damage. But in siege operations gunpowder was

already playing an important part in the wars of Henry V., and hand-guns are heard of in the War of the Roses. Henceforth, Hotspur's "villainous saltpetre" had to be reckoned with to a rapidly increasing extent, and long before the end of the Tudor period the art and practice of gunnery had become a decisive factor in fighting by land and by sea.

III

INTELLECTUAL ASPECTS

The Middle Ages are, not quite without warrant, condemned as an era of intellectual stagnation, a period with no art, no literature, no science, and no philosophy. The best literature of the ancient world was lost, its temples and its statues were buried in ruins; its pagan philosophies had been ruled out by ecclesiastical dogmas which imposed rigid limitations upon all inquiring spirits, and stamped as impious all investigation of phenomena for which the Church found a supernatural origin, or such as threatened to throw doubt upon her authoritative pronouncements. Knowledge and discovery are necessarily bounded by the limitations of the human intellect; but to these were added the artificial limitations of theological dogmas.



A puppet-show.

Intellectual stagnation, however, is after all an incorrect description of the result. Stagnation is the antithesis of activity, and there was no absence of intellectual activity. Sterility rather than stagnation is the correct word, because the activities were directed into unproductive channels. Nevertheless, revolt had begun long before the fifteenth century; and the British Isles can claim to have been the birthplace of men who gave a great stimulus to intellectual emancipation. Such were Duns Scotus in the latter half of the thirteenth century, as to whom it is uncertain whether his birthplace was in Ireland or in Scotland or the north of England; William Occam, an Englishman who was possibly a pupil of Duns Scotus; and John Wiclif, the pioneer of the Reformation. Even more remarkable than any of these was Roger Bacon, the Franciscan friar, the pupil and friend of the great Bishop Grossetete, the greatest among the pioneers of scientific inquiry, who indeed deserves to be called the father of modern science; the prophet of the great doctrine that religious truth cannot suffer from the increase of scientific knowledge. But in the Middle Ages no man could be more than a pioneer. Emancipation did not arrive until the sixteenth century. Until then, the too independent thinker was assured of condemnation

as a heretic, and the scientific experimentalist of condemnation as a necromancer.

Art, too, was almost restricted to the service of religion, and in that service one branch of it flourished. Architecture found scope in the building of churches and cathedrals; upon them piety lavished wealth, labour, and imagination. The monk, too, in his cloister could glorify God by producing masterpieces of decorative penmanship and wonders of illumination. The art of the painter revived in Italy, but it was still confined to the service of the Church and to subjects which tended to edification. Beyond Italy it hardly spread, and in England was practically unknown.

A people may do without art, but literature of some kind it must have, if only in the shape of folk-tales, folk-songs, and war-songs. But a national literature implies a national language, and that which is preserved by oral tradition alone can only be exceedingly limited. An English literature had not come into existence before the Norman Conquest, except in the form of the songs of the countryside and the ballads, of which only fragments survived in writing; such as the song of the primitive hero Beowulf, the poem of the monastic servitor Cædmon who sang of the beginning of things, the battle lays of Brunanburh and Maldon preserved in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The men who wrote, wrote in Latin almost exclusively. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is the only prose monument of pre-Conquest English, and that is a mere compilation.

After the Conquest there was not for a very long time a national language; that is to say, the tongue of the ruling classes was Norman-French, and English was the language only of the common folk. The learned wrote neither English nor Norman-French, but Latin. Geoffrey of Monmouth and Walter Map collected and embroidered, or invented, legends concerning King Arthur and others, lively romances to which they were pleased to give the name of history, but their Latin tales did not constitute English literature. Something which deserves to be called the beginning of English literature appeared when the monk Layamon reproduced in an English poem, *Brut*, certain of the same legends. Brut was the mythical Trojan hero who gave his name to the islands of Britain. Layamon's poem was written in the reign of King John. Then for another century and a half the only literature which could be called popular consisted of French romances, prototypes of those which some centuries later perturbed the brain of Don Quixote. England, indeed, produced a real literary figure in the person of one of the best of medieval historians, Matthew Paris; but he, like other men of learning, wrote not in the vernacular but in Latin.

When the fourteenth century arrived, England was ceasing to be bilingual. If Norman-French was the language of the court, English modified by Norman-French had nevertheless become the common language of the gentry and of the common people. Moreover, the intellectual revival of Italy had just blossomed into sudden glory with Dante, and Dante was succeeded by Petrarch and Boccaccio. A wave of culture flowed over



The Hierarchy of the Sciences as conceived by Medieval Thought.

[From the Berri Bible.]

Europe, and the last half of the fourteenth century saw the creation of a true English Literature by William Langland, John Wiclif, and Geoffrey Chaucer in England, and Bishop Barbour in Scotland—for English is the only name which can properly be applied to the literary language of Scotland as well as of England. Wiclif's rendering of the New Testament was the foundation of all subsequent English versions of the Scriptures. In William Langland the people of England first found a spokesman, though in the *Vision of Piers Plowman* his moral scourge spared the peasant no



Geoffrey Chaucer.

[From a contemporary MS. in the British Museum.]

more than the upper ranks of society. Bishop Barbour was no great poet, yet there is often a fine spirit in the verse wherein he recorded the story of the liberation of Scotland, and the high deeds of his hero the Bruce. But in the literary hierarchy, none is on the same plane with Geoffrey Chaucer, the first master "maker" in the English tongue, who for nearly two hundred years remained without a peer.

Langland, Wiclif, and Barbour all wrote in dialect; Chaucer set the standard of English as a literary language. For generations to come he was the master, and all men who attempted to write poetry were his disciples, however far behind him they might lag. But Chaucer is not merely a craftsman in words, a magician in language; not merely a

consummate story-teller; not merely a poet "as fresh as is the month of May," like his own "squyer," clean and sweet, overflowing with joyous vitality, with broad human sympathy, tender and humorous. Chaucer has painted for us the men and women of his day, the typical gathering which assembled for the Canterbury Pilgrimage, in such wise that they are as living and real as if we had met them, touched them, seen them with our own eyes, heard them talk with our own ears. They are alive now every one of them; somewhat differently clothed of course, modified by somewhat different conventions and by differences in the material circumstances of life. The eternal human types belong to the twentieth century no less than to the fourteenth. But when the types are presented to us in medieval array, as they lived and moved five hundred years ago, the Middle Ages become as living and real as the twentieth century. Those familiar faces and figures make their surroundings real and actual. We are no longer guessing what sort of person a knight might have been or was likely

to be ; what manner of a man was a parish priest, a rural squire, a merchant ; what a prioress was like or a bourgeoisie dame of independent means. We know them all, and knowing them we see also that, after all, it is merely the superficial accidents of life that have changed, not its fundamental conditions.

There is another author of the fourteenth century who should not be passed by, the ingenious traveller, Sir John Mandeville, who indeed really led the way in the writing of English prose. For although he originally wrote the story of his travels, of what he had seen, and of what other travellers told him of what they had seen, in Latin, yet he employed the leisure of his later years in translating his work first into French and then into English. The work is not without its value, as a record of Sir John's personal experiences, but still more so as a demonstration of the unbounded credulity of the age. Marvels which would have awakened the genial scepticism of

G O t heright noble/right excellent & vertuous prince
George duc of Clarence Erle of warwopk. and of
sals/Burpe/ grete chamberlajn of Englonde & leutenane
of Irelonde oldest broder of kynge Edward by the grace
of god kynge of Englonde and of france /

A specimen of Caxton's printing.

[From the introduction to the "Book of Chess," 1475.]

Herodotus were cheerfully accepted without question by the English traveller.

English literature burst into full blossom with Chaucer, but after Chaucer there came in England for a century and a half none but the most pedestrian of poets. Worthier successors than Lydgate and Gower were born in the northern kingdom, and chief among them the royal poet James I. His claim to the authorship of the *Kingis Quair* has been challenged, but is not to be surrendered without more conclusive proofs than have yet been produced. King James learnt in the school of Chaucer ; it is enough to say that he was a pupil of whom Chaucer himself would have been proud. The name of Robert Henryson also stands high above that of any contemporary English poet.

But although poetry languished, and although the *Morte Arthur* of Sir Thomas Mallory is the one great English prose work of the fifteenth century, the impulse to literary expression was at work. Men began to say in English what a century before they would assuredly have written in Latin if at all. The dispersion of Greek scholarship with the fall of Constantinople in 1453 had something of the effect of an intellectual revelation. And yet, after all, the enormous impulse to the literary production of the centuries which followed was hardly so much the intellectual as the

mechanical one. About the year 1440, Guthenberg in Germany invented the printing-press with movable types, which made possible the multiplication of books, and by its development created a supply of which was begotten an ever-increasing demand. Books were brought within the reach of the many instead of being procurable only by the very few. The last quarter of the fifteenth century saw the introduction of the great invention into England, when, under the patronage of Edward IV., William Caxton set up his printing-press in Westminster Abbey.

BOOK III

THE AGE OF TRANSITION

CHAPTER IX

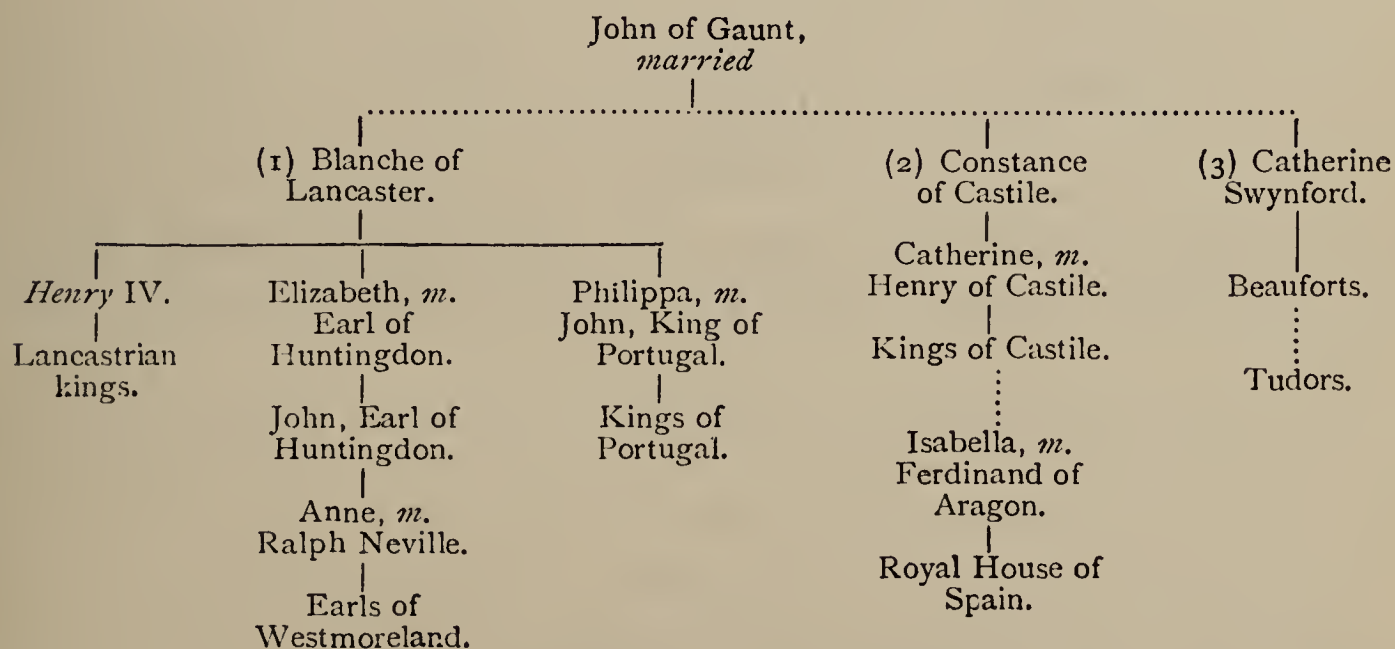
HENRY VII

I

PROBLEMS OF THE DYNASTY

ON the field of Bosworth, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, was hailed as King Henry VII. Every king of England for three hundred years had been a Plantagenet; had been, that is to say, a direct descendant in the male line from Henry II. This was true even of the Yorkist kings, since the father of Richard, Duke of York, was the son of Edmund of York, who

DESCENDANTS OF JOHN OF GAUNT

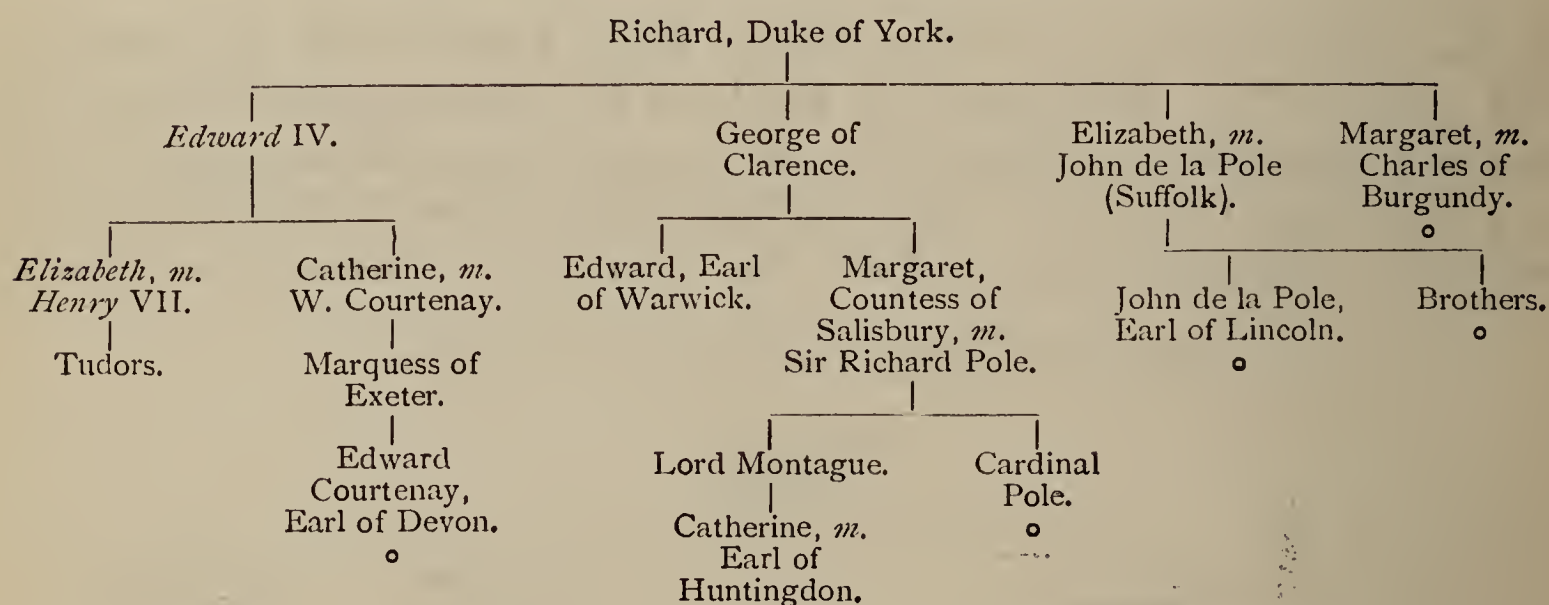


was the younger brother of John of Gaunt. Now there was a new dynasty; and the fundamental fact of Henry VII.'s reign was the king's need for securing that dynasty.

Now, if succession through females was barred, Henry could have no claim; for it was through his mother, Margaret Beaufort, that he was descended from John of Gaunt. The heir to the throne in that case was the Earl of Warwick, the son of George of Clarence, the only living Plantagenet prince. If the succession of a female but not the claim through a female was barred, as was argued when Edward III claimed the Crown

of France, the house of York still had the priority over the house of Lancaster because it descended in the female line from Lionel of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt. On that hypothesis the De la Poles, the sons of Suffolk and of Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV., stood next to Warwick, or before him if he was excluded by the attainder of his father. If a woman in person could succeed to the Crown, the first claim lay with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., and after her with her numerous sisters in order. Further, as a matter of fact, if the descent through females was not barred, there were other descendants of John of Gaunt senior to the Beauforts, apart from the doubt whether the legitimization of that family in the reign of Richard II. covered the claim to succession in any case. Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, was descended through his mother from the full sister of Henry IV. The royal houses of Castile and of

DESCENDANTS OF RICHARD OF YORK



Portugal might be barred as aliens, but both descended from daughters of John of Gaunt, and this claim was actually to be asserted a hundred years later.

In all these circumstances, it is obvious that Henry could not claim the throne unless by right of conquest or by parliamentary title, like Henry IV. himself. But if he married Elizabeth of York, then the only living person who could challenge the title of their offspring would be the young Earl of Warwick. Therefore, in the first place, Henry made haste to secure a parliamentary title for himself. The first point was that he himself should be personally and authoritatively recognised as *de jure* king of England against all other claimants. For this reason he delayed his marriage with Elizabeth of York until 1486, lest it should be pretended that he reigned only as her consort; and he deferred her coronation for another year. But that marriage appeared to ensure complete security to his offspring, except possibly as against Warwick. And Warwick himself was held a secure prisoner in the Tower.

Nevertheless, Henry's succession was obviously a triumph for the Lancastrian faction, and it was quite certain that there would be attempts

on the part of the Yorkist faction to overthrow him. And it is to be remarked in this connection, that Henry himself had given colour to the doctrine that a woman was personally barred from the succession by taking the crown for himself and not for his own mother. Yorkist plots were certain to be fomented and fostered in the court of Edward IV.'s sister, Margaret of Burgundy, the widow of Charles the Rash and step-mother (not mother) of his heirs, who was prepared to go to any lengths to overthrow the usurper. Margaret did not, however, herself control Burgundian policy, though as dowager she held her own court and enjoyed her own estates.

In a position so open to challenge, it was not enough for Henry that he should reign by grace of parliament, which might withdraw its favour. It was indeed of first-rate importance that he should retain its favour, but the necessity remained for concentrating effective power in his own hands. Such a concentration of power was comparatively a simple matter for Edward IV. in his later years, when he reigned by a quite indisputable title. It was by no means so easy for a king whose title was so uncertain as Henry's. Henry therefore was faced with a constitutional problem which the house of Lancaster had failed to solve successfully.

Moreover, Henry had before him in a new field problems which had to be faced by all statesmen after his time, but had not presented themselves to his predecessors. Spain, by the union of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon, had created a new power. Maximilian, king of the Romans, the son and heir of the Hapsburg German Emperor, had married Mary, the daughter of Charles of Burgundy. She was now dead; but the Burgundian inheritance passed to Philip, the child of this marriage; and Philip would also be the heir of Maximilian. The consolidation of France had been almost completed by Louis XI. Thus there had come into being a group of great powers with diverse and conflicting interests. An international diplomacy was called for which was without precedent; a new European system was coming into being; and England had to take up her place in that system.

II

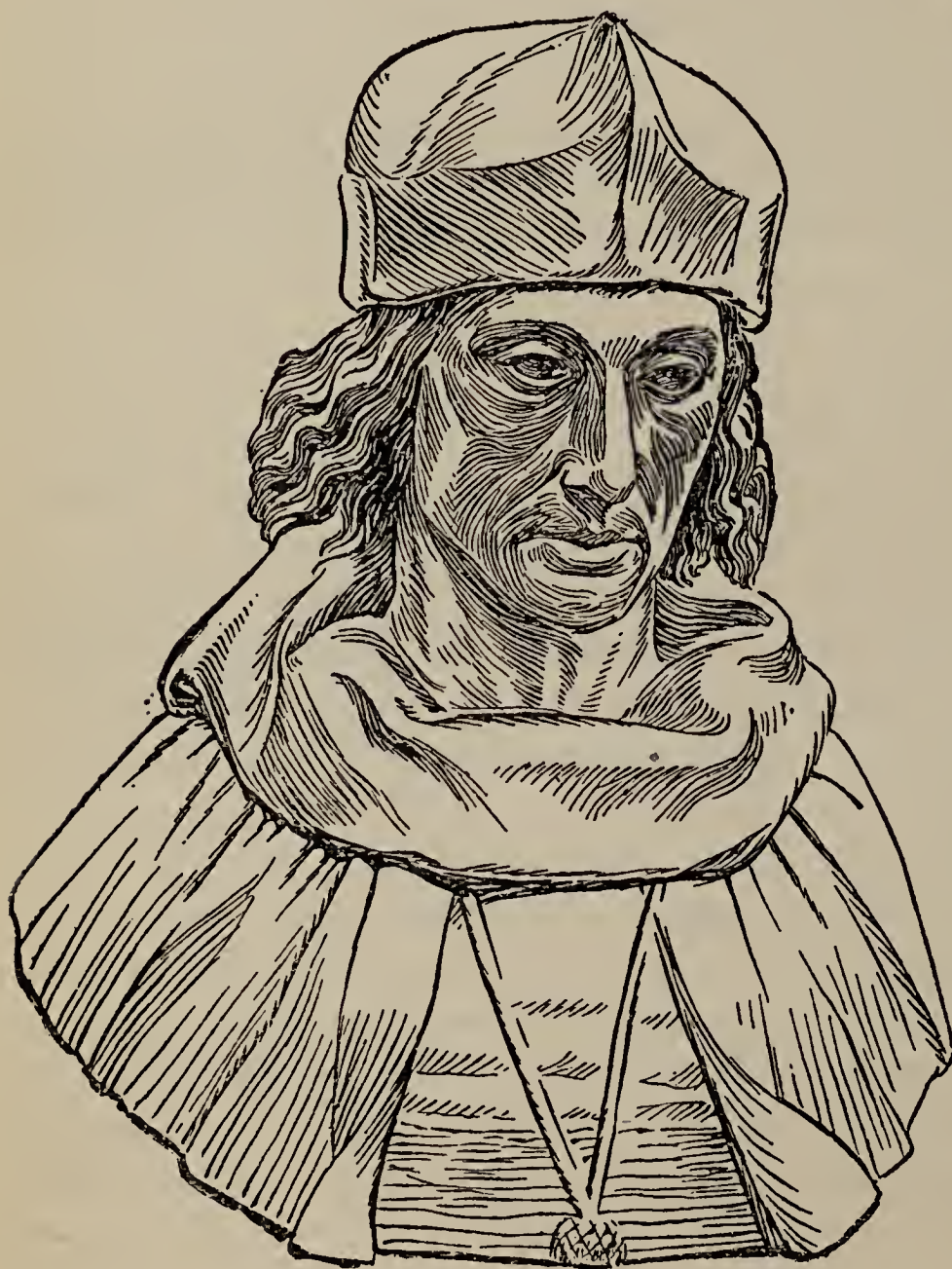
THE REIGN OF HENRY VII.

Henry had not been long on the throne before there was an insurrection headed by Lord Lovel, who had been a partisan of Richard III. It was suppressed without difficulty. The birth of a son, Arthur, at the end of 1486, served as an incentive to the Yorkists. A youth named Lambert Simnel appeared in Ireland, claiming to be the Earl of Warwick. Ireland was chosen because the house of York had always been popular in that country, where several of its members had been Lieutenants; and the support of the most powerful of the nobility there could be relied upon.

Margaret of Burgundy and John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, espoused the cause of the pretender; although Henry paraded the real Earl of Warwick through the streets of London to show that he was not in Ireland at all. Lincoln joined Simnel, and with a following consisting mainly of Irishmen and German mercenaries landed in England. The rebellion was crushed at the battle of Stoke, where Lincoln was killed and Simnel was taken prisoner. Henry, however, adopted the craftily lenient policy

upon which he habitually acted. He avoided bloodshed; opposition was smoothed away by his apparent benignity; but fines and forfeitures at once filled Henry's own treasury and crippled his enemies for further activity. Lambert Simnel, a youth of humble birth, was relegated to appropriate service in the royal kitchens. The neutrality, if not always the active support, of the greatest of the Irish nobles, Kildare, was ensured when he found his own complicity in the rebellion ignored, and himself permitted to retain the office of Deputy, that is, of acting-Lieutenant, in Ireland.

Another insurrection on behalf of the captive Warwick or of the De la Pole brothers was improbable. The years immediately following the Simnel fiasco



Henry VII.

[From a contemporary bust by an Italian artist.]

were mainly occupied with international politics. Henry was extremely anxious to strengthen his own position by an alliance with the Spanish sovereigns, because he expected Spain to become the leading European power, while it was also one whose interests were not likely to conflict with his own. But to Spain, England was useful mainly if not entirely as a check upon France, and her value depended largely on the stability of the new dynasty, which was exceedingly dubious. Ferdinand of Aragon and Henry of England were men of the same type; very crafty, very unscrupulous, very proud of overreaching a neighbour in a bargain, but with a shrewd perception of exactly how far it was safe to go in trickery;

while each could gauge pretty accurately the precise extent to which the other was dependent on his aid. Neither could afford to quarrel with the other, but each wanted to get out of the other as much as he possibly could, and to give as little as he possibly could in return. During the first half of Henry's reign he was more in need of Ferdinand than Ferdinand was in need of him, and one-sided bargains were struck in favour of Spain. At a later stage, when the Tudor dynasty was thoroughly secured, the bargaining turned in favour of England so far as positive engagements were concerned; but both monarchs evinced a surprising skill and plausibility in evading their respective obligations.

Henry wanted a Spanish princess to be betrothed to his own infant son. Spain's price was the active intervention of Henry to prevent the French Crown from absorbing under its control the duchy of Brittany, which now alone of the great feudatory States was almost independent. Henry, forced into open war with France, on behalf of the young Duchess Anne, made use of his needs to obtain generous supplies from his parliaments while he carefully shirked the expenditure either of money or of blood. The Spaniards, on the other hand, found in their contest with the Moorish kingdom of Granada a sufficient excuse for abstaining from active operations in Brittany. Henry's own military operations were restricted to the occupation and garrisoning of sundry fortresses in Brittany, although he was careful to seek popularity for the war among his subjects by pretending to reassert the claim of his predecessors to the Crown of France. But the affair of Brittany was practically settled by the marriage of the youthful King of France, Charles VIII., to the still more youthful Duchess of Brittany. Henry demanded indemnities and compensation before he would evacuate the Brittany fortresses; he made ostentatious preparations for carrying on the war on a great scale, collecting a substantial war-fund. But Charles VIII., being practically secure of Brittany, was now chiefly anxious to carry out ambitious schemes in Italy; so by the Peace of Étapes he bought Henry off at his own price—which was paid in hard cash. The King of England did not again find it necessary to enter upon a foreign war; and the net results of the whole business were that he had filled his treasury and secured for his sagacity the respect of Spanish rulers, with whom he was henceforth able to bargain upon more equal terms.

But he had not done with Yorkist plots. That faction, having no living candidate whom they could put forward with a reasonable chance of success, endeavoured to resuscitate a dead one. If Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the two princes murdered in the Tower, had not been murdered at all but was actually at large, he was unquestionably the legitimate king of England. Nobody could prove that he had actually been murdered. Richard, Duke of York, "Richard IV." of England, came to life as a matter of course in Ireland. According to the confession subsequently put into his mouth, he was Peter Osbeck, familiarly known as Perkin Warbeck, the son of a boatman of Tournai. He had been care-

fully educated to personate the murdered prince. He succeeded in obtaining recognition not only from Margaret of Burgundy, but for a time from the French Court, and afterwards still more definitely and completely from young King James IV. of Scotland, who married him to a kinswoman of his own, which he would certainly not have done unless he had honestly believed that Perkin's claim was genuine.

Perkin appeared in Ireland in 1491, and of course found favour with the Yorkist nobility of that country. But there was no attempt at an



The Hundred Men's Hall at St. Cross, near Winchester.

[An early 16th century hall.]

immediate insurrection in his favour, and in 1492 he was received at the French Court, at the moment when Henry was threatening a great invasion. Charles, however, had no hesitation in dismissing him in order to secure the Peace of Étaples, and Perkin betook himself to Margaret in Burgundy. There his education for the rôle of Richard of York

was completed. There also the Yorkist plots were concocted—and were duly reported to Henry by his own secret agents. Just when they seemed to be coming to a head, the king struck down the principal conspirators in England, including Sir William Stanley, who at Bosworth had commanded the division which secured the victory to Henry.

This was at the beginning of 1495. In the summer, Warbeck was rash enough to sail from Flanders and attempt a landing in Kent, where he was very thoroughly beaten off. Then he tried Ireland, but found that the unusually capable governor, Sir Edward Poynings, had the country too well in hand; and he went off to James IV. in Scotland. James's favour carried him so far that in 1496 he raided England, but still there was no rising in England on Perkin's behalf. Then the Scots king's zeal cooled, and the adventurer again betook himself to Ireland. But the Scots raid had given Henry an excuse for raising a subsidy for national defence; and the folk of Cornwall had a strong objection to being taxed for the protection of the northern counties against the Scots. The Cornishmen rose and marched up to London to demand the removal of "the king's evil coun-

sellors." When they got to Blackheath they fell an easy prey to the Royalist troops. Large numbers of them fell in the futile battle, but the survivors were pardoned with the exception of three ringleaders.

The Cornishmen were under the unfortunate impression that this leniency was a sign of weakness on the part of the king. It was just at this moment that Perkin left Scotland for Ireland. The Cornishmen invited him to come over. He came; but the country did not rise in his favour; on the contrary, the gentry of Devon took arms for the king.

Perkin deserted his followers and took sanctuary at Beaulieu, where he was soon induced to surrender. On his usual principles, Henry put very few of the rebels to death, but accumulated a useful harvest of fines and confiscations. The pretender himself was forced to read a public confession of his imposture, and was then placed in a by no means rigid confinement. A



The political Game of Cards: a contemporary French satire on the European situation about 1500.

year later he attempted to escape, and this led to his imprisonment in the Tower, where the unlucky Warwick was also shut up. The two young men were allowed or induced to concoct a fresh conspiracy, or what passed for a conspiracy; when it was "detected" Perkin was hanged and Warwick was beheaded. The Yorkists had no one to fall back upon except the De la Poles, of whom the eldest was now Earl of Suffolk, and was unlikely to prove a dangerous pretender. It had become perfectly clear at last that the Tudor was impregnably established on the throne of England.

A series of marriages and deaths now claim our attention. Joanna, the second daughter and ultimately the heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella, was married in 1496 to the Archduke, Philip of Burgundy, the son of Maximilian. This was to have the effect of joining the Burgundian with the Spanish heritage under the sway of the child of the marriage, Charles—who became famous as the Emperor Charles V.—although the Austrian heritage was transferred to his brother, Ferdinand. This marriage made Henry the more urgent in desiring the union of the younger daughter, Katharine of Aragon, to his own heir, Arthur, Prince of Wales. The marriage treaties were a matter of long haggling and dispute. Six months after the marriage was actually completed, in 1501, Arthur died, and the

second son, Henry, became heir to the throne. At once it became a primary object with the king to secure Katharine for the young Henry. Such a marriage was contrary to canon law, and there was no wholly satisfactory precedent for a papal dispensation in a precisely similar case. Nevertheless, a dispensation was actually obtained from Pope Julius II., on the ground that the marriage was never consummated; still, the wedding did not actually take place until after the accession of Henry VIII.

The next marriage which had an important bearing on subsequent history was that which Henry negotiated between his eldest daughter,

Margaret, and James IV. of Scotland. James had made himself troublesome over the affair of Perkin Warbeck, and Henry was anxious to provide by the marriage a permanent basis for friendly relations with the Northern Kingdom; nor did he shrink from recognising the ultimate possibility, realised a hundred years afterwards,



A shilling of Henry VII.

[Called a testoon from the fact of the head being, for the first time, in profile.]

that an actual union of the Crowns might some day result. So James Stuart married Margaret Tudor, and their great-grandson, James VI. of Scotland, became also, in 1603, James I. of England. Henry, however, failed to obtain from James a decisive promise of the dissolution of the long-standing alliance between Scotland and France.

The death of Henry's own wife, Elizabeth of York, removed from him one who seems always to have exercised a beneficial influence on his moral character. Both Henry and Ferdinand of Aragon conspicuously degenerated, morally, after the death of their respective wives. In Archbishop Morton also Henry had lost an admirable minister, whose influence had probably checked the development of the sordid side of his character. The closing years of Henry's life were mean and ugly, and colour unduly the popular impressions of his whole reign. To them belong unsavoury records of extortion and corruption, and records still more unsavoury; as of the king's possible design of himself marrying his widowed daughter-in-law, and his undoubted proposal to marry her sister Joanna when she had become a widow by the death of Philip of Burgundy, although all the world knew that she was insane.

For full fifteen years of his reign Henry's record had been emphatically a clean one, marred only at its close by a single act of gross injustice, the execution of Warwick, for no crime except that he was a possible figure-head for Yorkist plots. Had he died before his wife he would have been remembered as a great, though hardly as a lovable, ruler; since he lived till 1509 we are apt to think of him chiefly as the meanest of English kings.

III

HENRY'S SYSTEM

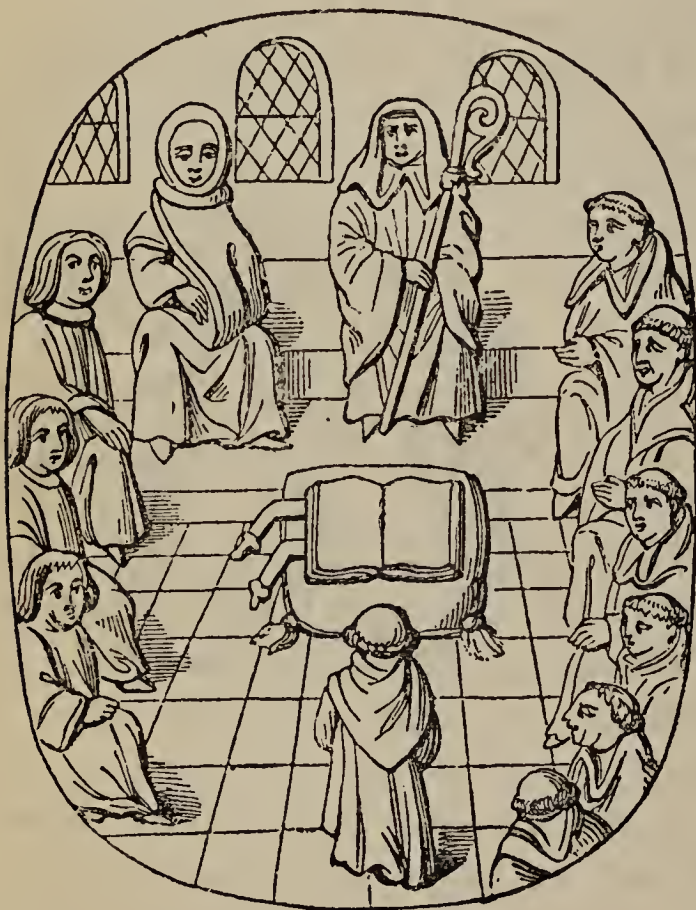
When Henry VII. possessed himself of the Crown of England, the future before him was anything but promising. He was king, but on all sides there were possible claimants who could show a better title by descent than his own. For half a century the country had been ridden by factions, torn by dissensions. Its arms had ceased to inspire fear ; on the Continent, since Bedford's death, it had been held of little account ; even Edward IV. had satisfied Louis XI. that nothing serious was to be feared from England. At home there was hardly a recognised seat of political authority. The Crown was discredited by the imbecility of its wearer even before king-making came into fashion. The parliament had been allowed to assume an authority which it had failed to convert into an efficient control. The old baronage had been wiped out and replaced by a new baronage which lacked both power and prestige. The treasury was empty though the country was not poor. But there were three fundamental principles which provided a basis for political reconstruction, principles which had become thoroughly rooted, which no government could ignore without bringing destruction upon itself. Justice must be administered according to the law ; legislation was invalid without consent of parliament ; taxation could be imposed only with the consent of the people's representatives.

Bedesmen, *temp.* Henry VII.

For the restoration of international prestige Henry adopted the methods not of Edward III. or of Henry V. but of a new diplomacy ; till each of the European Powers was forced to recognise that the goodwill of England could not be neglected. We have now to see how he dealt with the great domestic problem.

It was essential that the nominal authority and the actual power should be concentrated in the same hands ; that both should be wielded by the Crown. Yet the dynasty existed on sufferance. It could not be maintained in the face of popular antagonism or by sheer terrorism ; yet it would survive merely as a pageant, if the Crown were at the mercy of popular caprice. Hence it was imperative that the Crown should at once conciliate popular favour, secure a full treasury, and paralyse antagonistic forces. This complex process demanded exceedingly deft manipulation.

The treasury must be filled, but not by excessive demands on the purses of the commons. The nobility must not be allowed to become dangerous. The Crown must shun all appearance of tyranny. The king then must display himself as above all things a law-abiding man claiming no questionable rights. Henry began his career by being ostentatiously deferential to parliament. Richard had held only one, and Edward for a dozen years had ruled practically without a parliament. Henry during the first half of his reign summoned parliaments repeatedly, took them into his confidence, made them partner of his actions. There were no



Monks and lawyers.

[From a deed of grant to Westminster Abbey by Henry VII.]

arbitrary trials and executions; parliament passed the Acts of attainder. The king's business was only to exercise the royal clemency judiciously. The king did not ask parliament for excessive grants. The national honour demanded war with France, and the nation would do its duty in providing necessary funds. The nation did. A judicious economy made a sufficient show without spending the money. A judicious diplomacy did what the advocates of a scientific tariff seek to do to-day—it made the foreigner pay. By wars and rumours of wars Henry filled his coffers instead of emptying them.

The very uncertainty of the Tudor tenure of the crown was made productive. Every revolt and every plot provided its crop of attainders; but a clement monarch indulged in no vindictive

bloodshed; treason was for the most part sufficiently punished by the confiscation of lands and wealth. The royal revenues expanded, and possible enemies were deprived of the sinews of war. Justice was satisfied and no one could hint at tyranny, while the commons, untouched, had no cause of complaint. Again Henry found another source of revenue. For the good of the State and the repression of turbulence, sundry enactments had forbidden, with very little success, the practices called Maintenance and Livery, by which great magnates supported large numbers of retainers. The statutes were enforced and the breaches of them penalised by heavy fines. Thus was turbulence of every kind turned to account by the royal treasury.

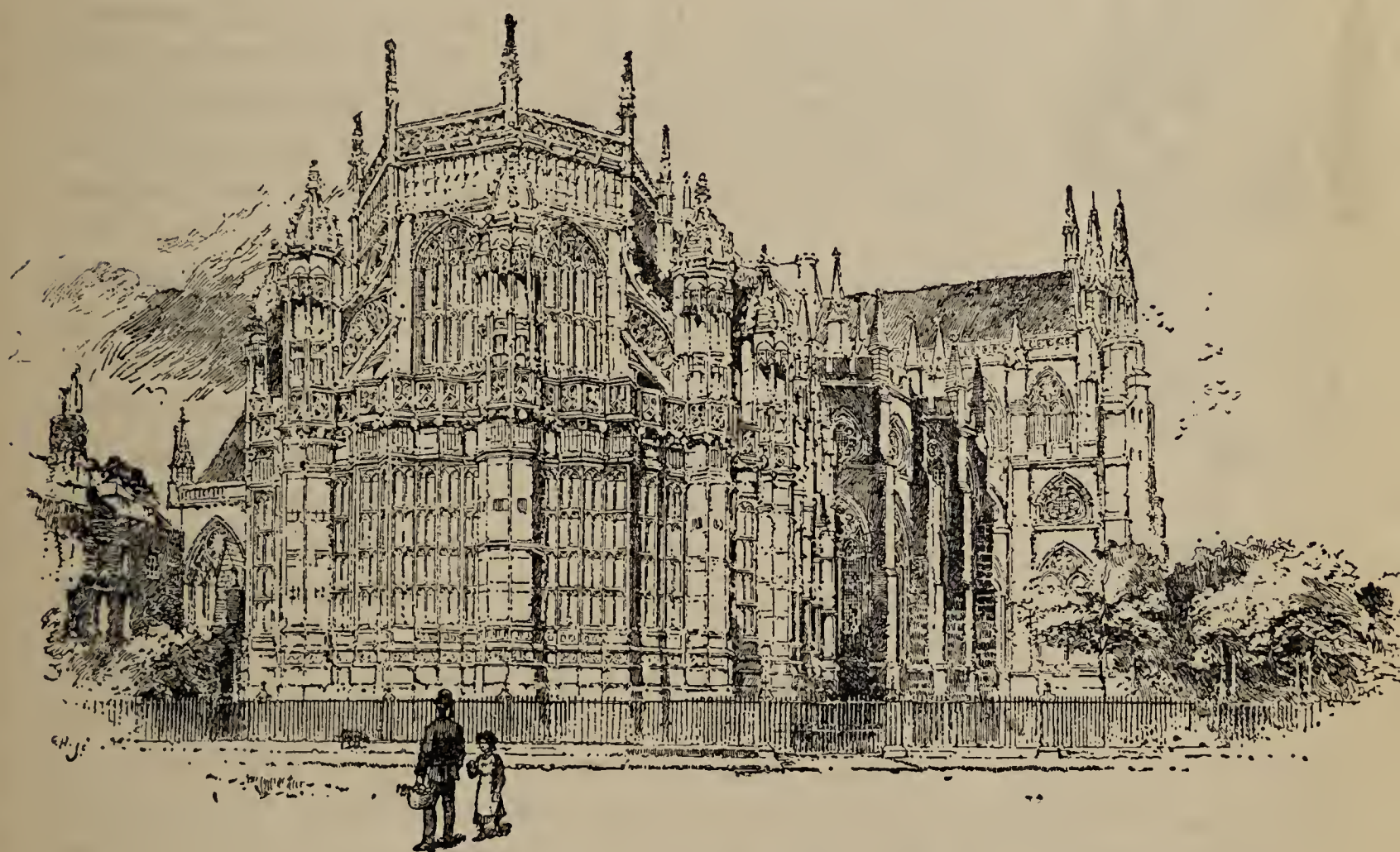
The royal justice had failed in the past because the power of local magnates had enabled them to set at naught the ordinary ministers of the law, to the detriment not only of the government, but of justice in general.



THE COURT OF KING'S BENCH UNDER HENRY VI

One of a series of MS. illuminations in the Library of the Inner Temple. Given by permission of the Master of the Bench of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple.

In fact the local magnates dominated the local courts. Henry found a new way of dealing with them by procuring statutory confirmation of powers occasionally exerted in the past by committees of the Privy Council. Thus a permanent judicial committee was established, bearing the name of the Court of Star Chamber, with powers conveyed to it by Act of Parliament, which court could deal arbitrarily with those offenders who had no fear of the ordinary law or who perverted the administration of the law. The court was debarred from inflicting the death penalty, but its normal process was punishment by fines. Here again there was no tyranny; on the contrary the Crown, so far as forms went, had merely obtained



Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey.

[From a drawing by Herbert Railton.]

parliamentary sanction for what had previously been done, though only occasionally, without parliamentary sanction at all. The hand of the law was very much strengthened and the royal coffers were legitimately filled.

Lastly, the king resorted freely to benevolences, for once disregarding the letter of a statute of Richard III. But there was no compulsion. The king presented to his victims two dilemmas; the first, "If you can afford to aid your sovereign when he is in need of money, you can bear him but little goodwill if you refuse it to him"; the second, traditionally known as Morton's Fork—a libel on the Archbishop, who was not responsible for it—"You live handsomely, therefore you can afford to help the king out

of your abundance ; or else, you live sparingly, therefore you have wealth laid by and can afford to help the king out of your savings." But these dubious methods of raising money were during the earlier part of Henry's reign applied not to the commons but to the nobles. It was only in the

later years, when the king's position was already secured, that the machinery of extortion was brought to bear upon the commons.

In the later years of Henry's reign, parliaments were as rare as they had at first been frequent, because the king had accumulated such a mass of treasure that he had no need to appeal to his subjects for assistance. He left to his son a full treasury, an indisputable title to the throne, and experienced officials who thoroughly understood their business, but had neither the will nor the power to control the Crown. His chosen agents had always been ecclesiastics, or, if laymen, not lords but commoners. His policy had finally destroyed the once dangerously excessive accumulation of power and wealth in the hands of a few great families ; the vast estates were dispersed, while the gentry of moderate estate had been multiplied ; and at the same time the burgess class had been carefully fostered and their wealth also increased. Both these classes had everything to gain by the maintenance of peace, order, and law ; which it was no less in the interests of the Crown to preserve. To the gentry and to the burgesses, arbitrary treatment of the

magnates was rather welcome than otherwise so long as they were not themselves victimised ; and thus the Crown was established in a position of greater power, provided that power were judiciously exercised, than it had known since the days of Edward I.



A gentleman of the time of Henry VII.

IV

THE COMMERCIAL AND AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

The Tudor period saw the beginnings of that commercial expansion which was to make the people of England the wealthiest in the world. Hitherto she had not been distinguished by commercial enterprise. She had prospered largely because, since the time of the Conquest, she had never been devastated by a foreign invader, and, since the anarchy of

Stephen, she had been free from the destruction wrought by private wars between the nobles—an immunity to which Europe offered no parallel. For short periods in the reign of John, of Henry III., of Edward II., of Richard II., and of Henry IV., she had been troubled by civil conflicts; but in none of these, nor even in the War of the Roses, had such havoc been wrought as had been suffered by every district on the Continent at the hands of foreign invaders or of warring factions. English commerce had indeed progressed during the last two centuries; but the Netherlanders, the Venetians, the great maritime cities of Italy and the great trading cities of Germany were, commercially speaking, much more conspicuous than England. In maritime activity she was excelled by many rivals, although for military purposes the fleets of her coast towns held their own in the narrow seas.

The great change came, though not immediately, as a consequence of the enterprise of other peoples. England reaped where she had not sown. A Genoese sailor in the service of Spain discovered America when he was looking for India, and the Portuguese discovered the ocean route to the Far East, hitherto cut off from the Western world by the Mohammedan rampart in Asia. The sea, hitherto regarded as a barrier, shutting out the foreigner indeed but shutting the nation in upon itself, was turned into a vast highway where English sailors above all learnt to find a new field for enterprise. But at the outset the prizes went to Portugal and Spain.

This was in some sort an accident as far as Spain was concerned, for it is not impossible that Columbus would have sailed from England instead of Spain but for the fact that his brother Bartholomew, sent to entreat assistance from Henry VII., was captured by pirates, and the great Genoese made his bargain with Isabella of Castile instead. And even so, England was only just behind. The energy of Bristol merchants had already sent expeditions in unsuccessful search for new lands across the Atlantic when Columbus sailed; and it was an English expedition, though one under the command of the Genoese or Venetian captains, John and Sebastian Cabot, which first touched the American mainland—five years after Columbus discovered the West Indies and a year before Vasco da Gama reached India by the Cape route. But Spain had struck upon a region conspicuously productive; whereas the English discoveries in the Far North seemed altogether unpromising. Henry, interested at first, refused to be drawn into heavy and extremely speculative expenditure. English exploration was not pushed, and no serious protest was made when Pope Alexander VI. drew a line from North to South down the map of the world, and pronounced



A 15th century wool merchant.

[From a brass.]

that all which might be discovered on one side of that line belonged to Spain and everything on the other side of the line to Portugal. So in the course of less than half a century, Portugal set up a maritime empire in the East and Spain established her American empire in the West without interference from England. England's own oceanic expansion did not set in till the reign of Elizabeth.

But if England lagged behind at the beginning of that race in which she was ultimately to distance all competitors, it was not because her king underrated the value of commerce. Henry was not in advance of the economic theories of his day, but more than any of his predecessors he realised the importance of increasing the wealth of the country over which he ruled; and he made it the direct aim of his policy to increase that wealth; treating commercial development as an end in itself, an object of State policy, but also applying commerce and commercial regulations as a means to obtaining political ends. There are those who believe that a policy of "protection" is always right, that the home producer should be artificially aided in competition with the foreigner. There are those who believe that protection is always wrong, and that the best aggregate results are obtained by absolutely unfettered competition. But it is common ground that the strongest case for protection arises in those countries whose industries are endeavouring to enter a field of which other competitors are already in possession. This was England's case. At the close of the Middle Ages no one had challenged the doctrines of protection; it was assumed that the foreign competitor should be shut out, or admitted only in return for reciprocal privileges. Henry made it a special object of his diplomacy to obtain privileges from foreign Powers and to reduce to a minimum the privileges enjoyed in England by foreign mercantile corporations. Monopolies hitherto enjoyed by the Hanseatic League were broken through, the Hanse towns were forced to admit English traders, and the Hanse merchants in England found their own privileges practically curtailed.

But it was not merely to obtain or to extend commercial privileges that Henry employed this instrument. When Burgundy gave shelter to a pretender or threatened to be politically troublesome, Henry fought a commercial war with decisive success. The trade between England and Flanders was practically stopped, to the heavy loss of the English wool-trade for the time being, but to the ruin of the Flemish manufacturers, who suffered much as Lancashire suffered from the cotton famine brought about by the American Civil War in the reign of Queen Victoria. Philip was forced to surrender, and the treaty called the *Inter-cursus Magnus* for a while established something very like free trade between England and the Netherlands. At a later stage, when Philip again seemed likely to be troublesome, and accident forced him ashore in England when he was on his way to Spain, Henry extorted from him a new treaty of an altogether one-sided character, which had

subsequently to be modified when it became obvious that the commercial ruin of Flanders would mean the loss of a valuable market for English goods.

A conspicuous feature of Henry's economic policy was the revival of Richard II.'s Navigation Act. As before, however, the object was not so much the commercial one of capturing the carrying trade as that of developing the English marine for military purposes. Although Henry did not create a royal navy, he was alive to the increasing importance of fleets when England's political horizon ceased to be practically bounded by France. English shipping had so far developed that the renewed Acts were not, like the old ones, absolutely a dead letter. Although the Navigation Act was to some extent a check upon commerce, it increased the amount of English shipping and the number of seafaring men, and thereby gave an impulse to the development of English seaman-ship. Yet even in the sixteenth century such statesmen as Wolsey and Lord Burleigh were inclined to regard the Act as tending indirectly to defeat the end to which it was directly aimed.

Henry's commercial policy was a symptom as well as a cause of the development of commercial enterprise during his reign. A new spirit was abroad, which was exemplified by those "adventures" of the Bristol merchants to which reference has already been made. The companies of Merchant Adventurers were pushing themselves everywhere, without as well as with the direct countenance of the State, thrusting into new markets by illegitimate methods if legitimate means were wanting; their ships were seen in the Baltic and the Mediterranean.

Commercialism was responsible for another change of which the immediate effects were anything but beneficial. Almost throughout the Middle Ages farming had been carried on for subsistence, with very little idea of accumulating profit. But the commercial spirit attacked the landowners, who began to seek to make the maximum of profit out of the land. Accident had turned them to the extension of sheep-farming when it was not worth while to restore to tillage lands which had fallen out of cultivation owing to the Black Death. But when landowners began to seek for profit, and realised that their sheep-runs were paying them much better than their arable land, and that there was an immense market for wool which cost little to produce, they began to turn themselves to the actual conversion of tillage into pasture.



Agricultural labourers.
[Early 16th century woodcuts.]

So began the great process of enclosing, which was twofold. It meant in the first place the legal or illegal appropriation and enclosing of common lands, and in the second place the enclosure of the open fields. It will be remembered that under the old system the cultivated land of which each village and manor-house was the centre consisted of open fields cut up into strips of an acre or half an acre, separated not by hedges but by balks, ridges which were left unploughed. The villein with thirty acres probably had thirty strips none of which were contiguous, although there was a tendency for the lord of the manor to consolidate the demesne lands. The tendency now was for the lord to endeavour to evict the occupiers of strips lying within the demesne lands, in order to complete the consolidation and to provide large enclosed fields for grazing instead of narrow unenclosed strips which could not be put under sheep. The enclosure of



A Common or Open Field in Somerset showing Balks.

[From a photograph by Miss E. M. Leonard.]

commons deprived the peasants of the ground on which they had kept their little supply of live stock. The evictions when they could be carried out with any colour of law, turned the occupiers adrift. The conversion of arable into pasture meant that few labourers were required where many had been employed before. Thus great numbers of labourers found themselves without employment; and the diminution of tillage, the reduced production of food-stuffs, raised the price of food. Hence the country began to swarm with men for whom there was no employment, since the former agricultural labourer could not betake himself to the urban industries, which sought rigorously to exclude new-comers. By the middle of the reign of Henry VII., as we may learn from Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, the swarms of sturdy vagabonds who might be willing enough to work but could get no work to do were already becoming a serious pest, and for more than half a century the evil was continuously on the increase.

V

IRELAND

Ireland claimed its share of attention from the new monarchy. In the old days it had been an outlying dominion of the Crown, practically remote from England, and playing no part in England itself. Since the failure of Edward Bruce to convert it into a kingdom for himself, it had been difficult enough to provide Ireland with any semblance of a government; but sheer incapacity for co-operation on the part of its chiefs, whether Celts or Normans, destroyed any prospect of its seeking to achieve independence. Within the Pale, English law and institutions modelled on those of England prevailed. Outside the Pale, the Fitzgeralds or Geraldines of Kildare and Desmond, the Butlers of Ormond, and the Burkes who had been De Burghs, went their own way in the south and west, while MacNeills, O'Donnells and O'Connors did likewise in the north. Edward III. had sent his son Lionel of Clarence as Lieutenant; his rule was signalised by the Statute of Kilkenny, a desperate attempt to stop the process by which the Normans were becoming increasingly Celticised. The fusion of the races by intermarriage, and the adoption of Celtic customs and language, were prohibited on the hypothesis that the Irish were an inferior and incurably barbarian people; nevertheless, things went on very much as before.

No English king except Richard II. visited Ireland in person. Richard of York, his uncle Edmund Mortimer, and his grandfather Roger, all served as Lieutenants of Ireland, whither they were sent in part at least to keep them out of the way. But all had made themselves popular, with the result that, in the War of the Roses, Ireland provided a safe refuge for Yorkists and a base for Yorkist pretenders in the reign of Henry VII.; although the rivalry between Geraldines and Butlers kept the house of Ormond on the Lancastrian side. By this time the post of Lieutenant had become an honorary one. Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII., was named Lieutenant at the age of three. But the functions were discharged by a Deputy.

The Deputy appointed by Edward IV. had been the great Earl of Kildare, Gerald Fitzgerald, whose relations with Henry VII. were unique. The ablest as well as the most powerful of the Irish lords, he was a man who could himself rule but had no idea of being ruled by anybody else. The King of England thoroughly appreciated his qualities, and despite his turbulence and insubordination, even his notorious complicity in rebellion, retained him in the office of Deputy except when some peculiarly outrageous proceeding necessitated his temporary removal. Henry's attitude is exemplified in an anecdote. "All Ireland," complained a victimised bishop, "cannot rule this man." "Then," quoth the king, "I see this man must rule all Ireland."

But in one of the intervals when Kildare was deposed, Henry found an efficient English Deputy in the person of Sir Edward Poynings, a good soldier and an able administrator, who in his brief term of office established



Ireland under the Tudors.

the foundations of a permanent organised government by Poynings' Law, which remained its basis for nearly three hundred years. In England, according to existing practice, legislation was initiated by the ministers of the Crown, though it might be on the petition of the commons, and though it required the assent of parliament. Theoretically the system under

Poynings' Law did not greatly deviate for Ireland from this practice, but the effect was very different. The Irish parliament did not on its own account pass Bills which were sent up for the royal assent ; it could only accept or reject without modification Bills which were shaped by the King in Council in England. Since the King's Council looked upon Irish affairs with English eyes, this meant practically that Irish legislation was controlled by English ideas, which were not less pronounced because they were formed in almost total ignorance of Irish conditions. But the great problem for Ireland was not that of legislation but of efficient administration. On the whole, Henry himself aimed at the principle of endeavouring to induce the Irish magnates to range themselves on the side of law and order and centralised government ; a policy to which the only alternative was the establishment of a military government emphatically and manifestly capable of enforcing law and order by the strong hand. It was unfortunate that the Tudor governments perpetually vacillated between these two policies, and while they generally leaned to the latter, persistently refused to provide the Deputies with sufficient military force to give it effect.

VI

SCOTLAND

We left James III. of Scotland at the moment when he had triumphed over the baronial factions headed by his brother the Duke of Albany. James, however, lacked the capacity for securing his position. Precisely how or why the new antagonism was aroused is not very clear ; but in 1488 there was a new "band" among the most powerful of the nobles, headed by Angus, popularly known as Archibald Bell-the-Cat because he had announced his intention of "belling the cat" in accordance with the well-known fable. In the face of this combination James himself withdrew to the North, where he was sure of support. The insurgents, however, captured the person of Prince James, the heir-apparent, who allowed himself to be used as a figurehead, he being then a boy of fourteen. Angus in the past had held treasonable correspondence with England, though the insurgents now made anglicising tendencies one of their charges against King James. A battle was fought at Sauchie Burn, not far from Stirling, where the royalist force was routed. The king escaped from the field only to be murdered on the same day, though the actual murderer remained unknown.

Young James was at once proclaimed king. His father's death prevented his title from being challenged, while the manner of it imposed upon the Lords the need of a particularly careful display of constitutionalism.

The result was that the newly constituted government abstained from violence, and could fairly claim credit for devoting itself to the general establishment of order.

It was not long before the young king showed himself capable of assuming the reins of government. He was a prince of brilliant accomplishments, mentally and physically vigorous, romantic and chivalrous of temperament, alive to the duties of a ruler, but dangerously impulsive. For twenty years Scotland advanced under his rule, and became a flourishing



James III. of Scotland.

[Taken from a painting of James and his son at Holyrood.]

ing and orderly State not wholly negligible in European politics. That James was a strong king is sufficiently demonstrated by the absence of any of those great contests with baronial factions in which each of his three predecessors had been involved. Before he was twenty years old it is true that there were troubles, and that Angus again entered into treasonable relations with the King of England. But there was no recurrence of these alarms. The one serious internal conflict which occupied Scotland was that with the Lords of the Isles, the ancient feud of the Western Celts with the supremacy of the Crown. In this contest James was completely successful, and during the latter part of his reign secured not only the submission but the loyalty of the chieftains of the west.

The relations of James with England were habitually what is called

strained. Border raids and piratical encounters at sea provided an eternal cause of complaints and counter-complaints. We have seen James espousing the cause of Perkin Warbeck and finally settling down into comparatively friendly relations with Henry VII., who never wanted to quarrel with him. But even after his marriage with Margaret Tudor there were occasions when only a skilful diplomacy averted war between the two nations. In the different phases of his relations with Henry VII. James did not show himself a particularly far-sighted politician, but he did prove himself an efficient ruler. Similarly he proved his natural soundness and efficiency by great improvements in the administration of justice, and by careful endeavours to foster Scottish commerce. He too was moved by the educational spirit which was abroad, and insisted upon the education of his subjects at grammar schools, besides establishing a new university at Aberdeen and introducing the printing-press. Most notable also was his

zeal for the creation of a navy, a project to which Robert Bruce had devoted attention and energy, but which had remained in abeyance since his day. If James had died before the battle of Flodden was fought, if he had not given way to the fatal impulse which brought about that great national disaster, he would probably have been remembered by posterity as the greatest royal benefactor of Scotland since the days of Bruce. But on that fatal field half his work was undone. That, however, is a story which belongs to our next chapter.

CHAPTER X

THE DEFENDER OF THE FAITH

I

THE CARDINAL

IN strong contrast to Henry VII., stained, to the public eye, by the sordid craftiness of his later years, stood the brilliant young prince who succeeded him on the throne; a goodly youth, a champion in all manly sports, of a notable versatility, highly accomplished, a scholar and a lover of letters, the whole nation acclaimed Henry with enthusiastic anticipations. His first actions added to his popularity since he at once struck down the worst agents of his father's extortion, the notorious Empson and Dudley. It mattered not much to the public that the actual charges on which they were put to death could scarcely be sustained. They met with their deserts, and no one inquired too curiously into the technical justification. The pomp and festivities of the young king's marriage with Katharine of Aragon encouraged the general rejoicing.

The European monarchs also rejoiced. Ferdinand of Spain and the Emperor Maximilian were extremely experienced politicians, who hoped to find in the young monarch's warlike ambitions a means whereby they could use his innocence to achieve their own ends at his expense, their immediate object being the depression of France. There was in England an inclination to revive the martial glories of the past at the expense of France, and before long it seemed that the old schemers would have their way. Henry was drawn into a league, and plunged into a French war in 1512. His prize was to be the recovery of Guienne. This was the bait offered him by Ferdinand and Maximilian, though neither of them had the slightest intention of helping him to get it.

The first expedition despatched for the attack on Guienne was a mere fiasco. But the failure brought to the front the minister who, in the public eye, was to dominate Henry's policy almost throughout the first half of his reign. Thomas Wolsey, the son of a grazier, or of a butcher according to his enemies, had been sent to Oxford at an early age; and having distinguished himself there, entered the household of Lord Dorset as a tutor. By Dorset he was brought to the notice of Bishop Fox, one of the great ecclesiastical ministers of Henry VII. Fox introduced him to the king,

who soon discovered his unusual abilities. When young Henry came to the throne Wolsey was attached to the Council, probably as the right-hand man of Bishop Fox, who remained the official representative of the old king's policy ; while the war party who hoped to carry the king with them was headed by the Earl of Surrey, Thomas Howard. But Henry had an unfailing eye for character, and he perceived in Wolsey precisely the man he wanted—

a man ambitious for England and for himself, but one whose birth and conditions precluded him from becoming dangerous to the Crown ; a man with an infinite grasp of detail and an infinite capacity for labour, but with a breadth of view which completely removed him from the class of merely capable officials. Wolsey's conception of policy appealed to the king, and Wolsey would relieve him of all the troublesome part of carrying it out.

Since the war had been embarked upon, it was Wolsey's immediate policy to carry it through with efficiency.

There were to be no more fiascoes, and a vigorous campaign was arranged for 1513, in which the king himself took part. His zeal for military glory was rewarded by the capture of Terouanne and Tournai. But the great event of the year was the battle of Flodden.

The relations between James IV. of Scotland and his brother-in-law were strained in spite of the treaties of friendship struck in the previous reign. There were mutual charges of piracy between English and Scottish sea captains ; there were quarrels about border raids ; there were squabbles about the alleged dower of Queen Margaret. James had always refused to repudiate the old alliance with France, and his fatal passion for knight errantry was roused by the French queen's appeal to him to strike a blow



Cardinal Wolsey.

[After the portrait by Holbein.]

on English ground as her knight. The bulk of the Scottish nobility were always ready for a fight with the English, and Henry had hardly sailed for France when James crossed the Border with a great army.

The defence of the kingdom had been left in the hands of Queen Katharine and Surrey. James advanced to Flodden Edge in Northumberland,

having secured the castles on his rear which threatened his communications. Surrey, having gathered a considerable force, challenged the Scots to descend from the strong position they had occupied and fight him on the plain. The Scots were completely masters of the situation, and declined. Surrey, whose movements were masked by the hilly country, marched north towards Berwick, leaving the Scottish army on his left, then wheeled, crossed the river Till so as to cut off any retreat of the Scots army, and advanced southwards again towards Flodden. James might have held his own ground and laughed at Surrey; but in a moment of infatuation he chose instead to descend from his position and give battle. The conflict resolved itself into a furious hand-to-hand struggle. The wings of the Scottish army were broken, the centre was enveloped,



The Battle of Flodden.

[Showing the English feint march towards Berwick.]

the flower of the Scottish nobility were cut to pieces, and James himself was slain as Harold and his brothers had been slain at Senlac. The effective military force of Scotland was utterly ruined; and Scotland, with a babe in arms for its king, was once again plunged into the miseries of a prolonged regency. It was fortunate for her that Surrey was quite unable to follow up his victory by a counter-invasion.

Henry's successes had by no means been to the liking of Ferdinand, who

saw that a continuation of the war was not unlikely to secure to the English king the lion's share of the spoils. Therefore he drew off Maximilian, and those two deserted their English ally and made peace on their own account with France. But Wolsey had learnt in the school of Henry VII. to pursue his objects by diplomacy rather than by war, and he counteracted the desertion of Ferdinand and Maximilian by negotiating an alliance between England and France, regardless of the traditional sentiment of hostility between the two countries. His immediate intentions were frustrated, because although the French king, Louis XII., married the English king's younger sister, Mary, his consort having just died, he himself died three months afterwards, and was succeeded by his cousin, Francis I., who was slightly younger than King Henry.

In the course of the next four years both Maximilian and Ferdinand died; with the result that Charles, the grandson of both of them, succeeded to the entire heritage of Spain, Burgundy, and Austria, and was very shortly afterwards elected Emperor. Thus in 1519 three potentates dominated the world, of whom the eldest was eight-and-twenty and the youngest was nineteen; and the domination of this same trio lasted for more than five-and-twenty years. The skill of Wolsey's diplomacy from 1515 to 1519 cannot be appreciated without an elaboration of detail and an intricacy of explanation impossible in these pages. We must be content to say that he outmanœuvred both Ferdinand and Maximilian in their own game of diplomacy, and encouraged the former to check the aggressions of Francis in Italy, while he successfully kept England out of war. The one remaining important factor on the Continent was the Pope, Leo X.; and Wolsey succeeded in making all the Powers realise that his own diplomatic ability made it extremely dangerous for any of them to incur the hostility of England.

The accession of Charles V. to the Empire made the rivalry between Charles and Francis one of the two dominant features of continental politics. The other was the rupture of Christendom, following upon Luther's revolt against the Papacy; but this did not immediately come into play. In 1520 Wolsey found both Charles and Francis eager to secure the English alliance, while it was his own object so to avoid committing himself to either, that England might be able to act as arbiter between them, and might extract her own advantage out of that position. Hence that year witnessed the ostentatious display of cordiality between the kings of England and France at the famous meeting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold—and also a quite unostentatious meeting in England between the English king and Charles. The meetings left the real situation practically unaltered. Henry was the good friend and ally of both the continental monarchs, but neither of them knew which he would support if they should come to blows.

While the collision was still approaching, the immense ascendancy which the Crown had achieved in England was demonstrated by the fall of the Duke of Buckingham the nobleman who stood nearest to the

Crown in virtue of his descent both from the house of Beaufort and from the house of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, the youngest son of Edward III. The king can have had little enough to fear from him; but he was representative of the hostile attitude of the nobility to Wolsey, whose arrogance was particularly insulting in their eyes. The Duke had used language which could be interpreted as implying treasonable sentiments. He was tried by his peers and was condemned without hesitation, though the pretence that there was any real treason was merely ridiculous. It was made manifest that the peers at least were entirely subservient to the Crown.

By the end of 1521 Charles and Francis were at war in spite of all Wolsey's efforts. A few months later, England, as the ally of Charles, had declared war upon France. Wolsey in the interval had been disappointed



Francis I. and Henry VIII. at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in Picardy in 1520.

[From a contemporary French sculpture in marble.]

by a papal election in which he had been passed over. Eighteen months later there was another papal election, and Wolsey was again passed by in favour of the Cardinal de Medici, who took the name of Clement VII. On both occasions Charles had promised to use his influence in Wolsey's favour, and on both he conspicuously failed to do so. Wolsey himself had always been rather inclined to favour Francis rather than Charles, but had taken the course which he knew his master would prefer. But after the election of Pope Clement, he was probably planning for a revival of the French alliance. In his own day he was certainly credited with having been intensely set upon the acquisition of the papal crown. Possibly he did not realise that he was a greater power as Henry's minister than any pope could be; but possibly also he was already conscious that a minister of Henry held office by a precarious tenure.

In 1525 the French king met with a great disaster and fell into the hands of his enemies at the battle of Pavia. England had put little energy into the war, but Henry was anxious to take advantage of Pavia to wring Guienne from France. He wanted money for the purpose. The war was



The army of Henry VIII. about 1513.
[From a contemporary MS. in the British Museum.]

not in the least popular in the country, and Wolsey feared that to ask parliament for supplies would be exceedingly risky. Instead, he resorted to what was called the Amicable Loan, which was nothing more or less than an illegal tax. Perceiving ominous signs that a storm of resentment was brewing, Wolsey dropped the Amicable Loan and called for a Benevolence. London met the demand by an appeal to the statute of Richard III. by which benevolences were declared illegal. The king saw how matters stood, and rose to the occasion after his own fashion. He withdrew the demand, claiming and receiving credit for a noble generosity, while Wolsey, execrated by the people, became a secret object of the royal displeasure; not because of what he had done, but because of what he had failed to do. Wolsey tried to pacify the king's resentment by presenting him with his palace at Hampton Court. The king accepted the present, and the Cardinal's favour was outwardly unimpaired.

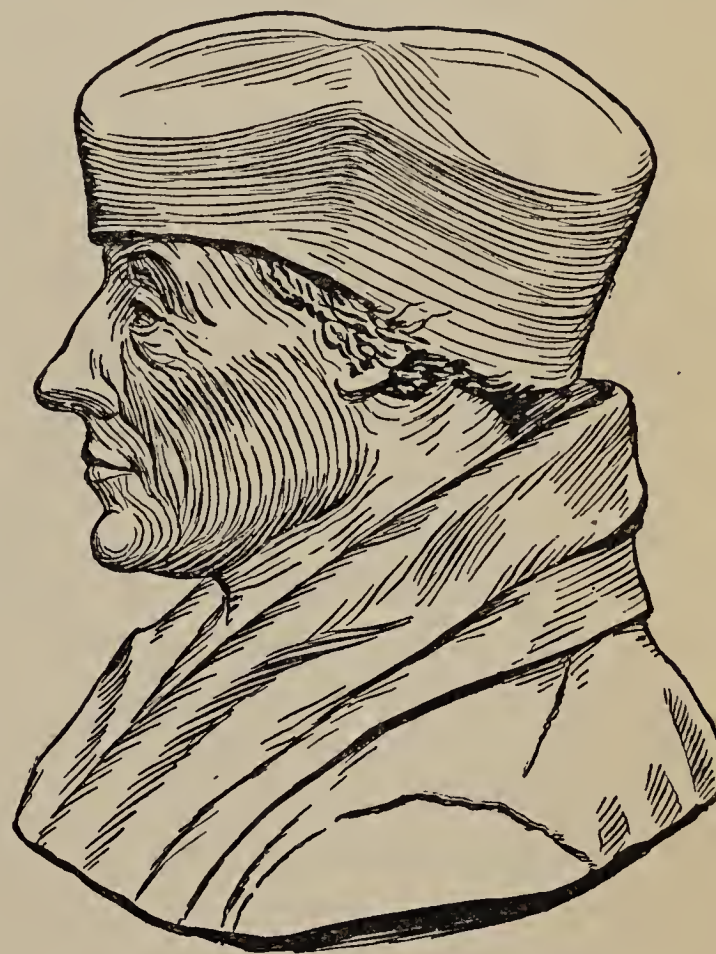
But the fiasco over the loan reduced the French war to an absurdity. Wolsey achieved his own present end, a pacification with France, which was to pay a heavy indemnity. The defection of England forced Charles to make peace. Events were steadily tending to bring England and France into close friendship and to isolate Charles. But Charles was left in a dominating position in Italy, a position alarming to the Pope; the antagonism of Pope and Emperor led in 1527 to the capture and sacking of Rome by Charles's troops, and the Pope was held in the hollow of the Emperor's hand. But before we pursue the story of the reign further, we must examine the progress up to this period of the movement to which we give the name of the Reformation, which was now becoming a foremost factor in European politics.

II

THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION

The Reformation in one of its aspects was a part of that intellectual movement which is covered by such terms as the Renaissance or the Revival of Learning; terms which refer primarily to the revolt of the human intelligence against bondage to the *ex cathedra* dicta of authority in every field. That revolt involved the right of the individual to inquire, to criticise, to judge, and to form conclusions, or at least to choose the authority to whose judgment he will submit himself. In another aspect it was a spiritual revolt against the interposition of any mediating agency between the individual human soul and its Maker. In a third aspect it was a moral revolt against the corruption which was born of the abuse of practices not in their original nature demoralising. In a fourth aspect it was merely another chapter in the world-long struggle between Secularism and Clericalism, between an organisation claiming authority in virtue

of its guardianship of the *arcana* of Divine knowledge, the hidden wisdom of the Almighty, and the frankly human organisation of the State; and in this contest the State was the aggressor, and reclaimed for itself much which it declared the Church to have acquired upon false pretences. But in all its aspects it displays one common characteristic, the rejection of the authority of the Holy See. A great and far-reaching reformation or reconstruction was possible and actually took place within the Church, which continued to acknowledge the papal authority; but "the Reformation" in the technical sense means the schism between the Church which still clung to Rome and the diverse Churches and sects which separated themselves from her. The Reformation for which the government of Henry VIII. was responsible had very little to do with any of the first three aspects; it was with the fourth that the State concerned itself; but it was with the other three that the national life was most vitally concerned.



Erasmus.

[From a German medal of 1519.]

Although the Reformation in the technical sense of the term implies the rejection of the Roman obedience, the movement which culminated in the Reformation had no such object in view. Even the theological speculations of Wiclif and Huss, which had prepared the way, were not consciously directed against the papacy. Emperors, kings, and princes, who fought against popes with the weapons of the flesh, did not, until the eleventh hour, challenge the spiritual supremacy of the Roman pontiff. They habitually looked upon themselves as faithful sons of the Church, and Henry VIII. himself obtained from Pope Leo X. the complimentary title of Defender of the Faith. The man who probably did most to undermine the papal authority, the supreme representative of the critical spirit, the man of whom it was said that "he laid the egg which Luther hatched," Erasmus, remained to the last attached to the principle of papal authority. The men who in England fought hardest to reinstate the papal authority, after it was overthrown, had been brought up in the new school; and in the early stages of their careers they had been looked upon as advanced reformers. The first reformers believed that reform could come from within, and that purification of doctrine and practice could be attained without shattering the organisation which had hitherto seemed inseparable from Christianity itself.

Moral standards in the fifteenth century were low, and the Church did nothing to raise them. After the Great Schism had been brought to an

end, the papacy itself had recovered some of its prestige ; but at the close of the century it again sank to pitiable degradation, reaching its nadir when the Borgia Alexander VI. was elevated to the papal throne. No vice was too foul and no crime too black for the man whom Christendom acknowledged as the successor of St. Peter. Nor was the spirit of religion fostered by his successors, the militant politician Julius II. or the refined pagan Leo X. When the head is corrupt, the limbs are not likely to be healthy. We have no need to turn to the partisan diatribes of anti-clerical fanaticism, or to the inevitable exaggerations of Protestants in the hour of their persecution



John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

[After the drawing by Holbein.]

or of their victory, to realise that the Church was in desperate need of reform. We may be content, so far as England is concerned, to call the evidence of John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, the founder of St. Paul's School, the friend of Archbishop Warham; of the saintly Bishop Fisher and of Erasmus; the evidence of Sir Thomas More, who himself, like Fisher, died for his loyalty to the Church; the evidence of Henry VII.'s great Archbishop Morton. The higher ecclesiastics, often against their will, were forced into politics and drawn away from their religious duties. Laxity of discipline was prevalent in most monastic establishments, and rank immorality in some of them. The lower clergy were uneducated, and their teaching was commonly a wretched travesty of Church doctrine.

Gross superstitions fostered by fraudulent

conjuring tricks were the vulgar substitutes for religion. The redeeming fact was that the best of the clergy and the best of the laity were alive to the evil, and before the close of the fifteenth century were applying themselves to its remedy. The paralysing grip of moribund conventions was being challenged on all sides, and the general intellectual movements had received a great impulse from the revelation of the forgotten literature of Greece consequent upon the dispersion of Greek scholarship after the fall of Constantinople. In England, characteristically enough, the light of the new Greek scholarship was turned first upon the New Testament, and the intelligent criticism of Colet and Erasmus began to vitalise a still orthodox interpretation of the Scriptures. A vigorous educational reform was fostered by the greatest of the Church dignitaries. Warham, the successor of Morton, Bishop Fox, and Bishop Fisher, and not

least by Wolsey himself, the brilliant "boy bachelor," with whom indeed education was a passion. They founded schools and colleges, and set in them teachers who were enthusiasts of the New Learning; and they believed that education was a panacea for all the evils from which the Church was suffering, which would complete a cure without impairing her authority, changing her doctrines, or altering her organisation. The purification was to be wrought by sweet reasonableness.

But elsewhere the study of the Scriptures was generating very different ideas. Zwingli at Zürich was finding biblical warrant for doctrines akin to the heresies of Wiclif and Huss, and in the university at Wittenberg, in Saxony, arose Martin Luther, bringing not peace, but a sword.

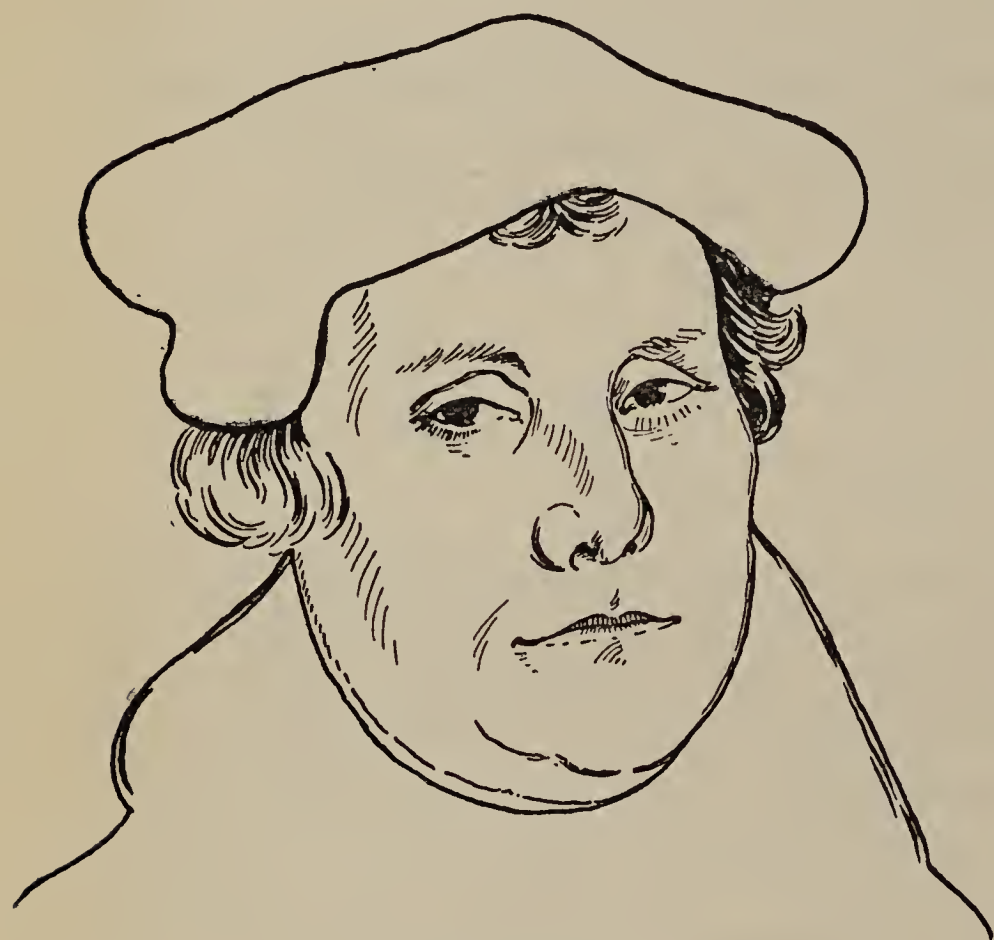
III

THE EUROPEAN SCHISM

The occasion of Martin Luther's challenge to the papacy was the desire of Pope Leo X. to procure funds. A method of raising funds not infrequently employed had been the sale of indulgences. The theory of the Church was that the penitent sinner might obtain from the Church, but not without the mediation of the Church, absolution and pardon for his sins, subject to the performance of the penance imposed by the Church, as the expression of the sinner's penitence. The penance imposed not infrequently took the form of some expenditure on behalf of the Church. Indulgences were in the original idea pardons granted without the imposition of any other penance than the price of the indulgence. But unfortunately in the eyes of every one concerned, the pope, his agents, and the public, the sale of indulgences assumed the appearance of a simple commercial transaction whereby absolution could be bought cheaply, the necessity for repentance being overlooked, to the material profit of the papal treasury. The lay princes, who might otherwise have protested against the abstraction of their subjects' money by Rome, made no objection when they received a substantial commission on the sales.

But to Luther the whole thing appeared a monstrous blasphemy. When the papal commissioners were coming to Saxony, he publicly denounced indulgences, and persuaded the "Good" Elector of Saxony, Frederick, to forbid the sale in his dominions. This was in 1517. Such a matter might have ended by the immediate citation and punishment of Luther as a heretic. But Leo had more important matters on his mind than the opinions of a university professor. Luther, having issued his challenge, realised that the theological conceptions upon which he had acted, and in which he intensely believed, were incompatible with the recognised teaching of the Church, and were in fact closely akin to those for which Wiclif and Huss had been condemned as heretics. If

he and they were right, the Church was wrong. If the Church was wrong, the existing system was based upon a lie. Luther resolved to fight at all costs for the truth as he conceived it. He proclaimed the truth; but at the same time he gathered a large amount of lay support in all ranks from the princes of the empire downwards by challenging the whole system by which the States were laid under contribution for the benefit of the papal exchequer.



Martin Luther.

[From the painting by Cranach.]

In 1519 young Charles V. became emperor. Towards the end of 1520, Pope Leo issued a Bull condemning Luther. Luther burnt the Bull. A Diet, or assembly of the Imperial Estates, met at Worms. Luther was cited to it under safe conduct, to be heard in his own defence before the secular arm should enforce the will of the pope. In the face of the whole world Luther proclaimed his uncompromising adherence to the faith that was in him. "Here stand I. God help me. I can no other." The irrevocable word had sounded at the moment when Christen-

dom was ready to hear. Fearful lest the bold monk should be treated as Huss had been treated a hundred years before, Luther's friends kidnapped him and hid him in the forests of Thuringia. But his work was already more than half accomplished. Although the diet condemned him and he was put to the ban of the empire—in other words outlawed—he carried with him an immense force of public opinion. From that moment Germany was divided into two camps, and the division was soon to spread all over Western Christendom.

Charles himself had declared for the papacy; so also had the King of England, who regarded himself as an expert theologian. But Charles could not afford to develop the policy of the Edict of Worms which had condemned Luther; to do so would have involved Germany in civil war, of which his rival Francis would not have hesitated to take advantage. The religious question was left for the time being to take care of itself. A great revolt of the German peasantry, although vigorously condemned by Luther himself, who was a strong advocate of the civil authority, was inevitably attributed to the spread of the new religious doctrines, in the same sort of fashion as the English peasant revolt had been associated

with the teaching of Wiclif. The revolt had a reactionary effect upon the intellectual reformers in England, very much as the French Revolution exercised a reactionary influence upon English Liberalism at the end of the eighteenth century. But in Germany itself, Luther was in fact so uncompromisingly on the government side that Lutheranism was unshaken. At the diet of the empire held at Speier in 1526 the principle was accepted of leaving the several States to settle their own religious affairs "as each thought it could answer to God and the emperor." The Empire as such was not to take sides. Charles and the pope were, in fact, just engaging in that quarrel which brought about the sack of Rome by the imperial forces in the following year and practically placed Clement under the control of the emperor.

With the alliance of the papacy thus again secured, Charles reverted to the policy of repressing Lutheranism, and a second Diet at Speier in 1529 again took up the attitude of the Diet of Worms. The Lutheran princes entered the Protest, which gave to the Lutheran party the title of Protestant, a name which was at first applied to all who accepted the Lutheran Confession of Augsburg, which was drawn up in the following year; but in common parlance the term was presently extended to cover all those who rejected the Roman

obedience, whether they were in agreement with Lutheran doctrines or not. The Protestants at this time felt the attitude of the anti-Lutherans to be so threatening, that they united themselves in the League of Schmalkald. A war of religion seemed on the verge of breaking out, but the aggression of the Turks on the East impressed responsible persons with the necessity for preserving a religious truce. During the sixteen years which passed before the death of Luther himself, there was no outbreak of religious war in Germany. But such a war was always possible, and the possibility was a constant factor in the politics and diplomacy of the period.

It has to be borne in mind, further, that while Luther was the head and front of the revolt against Rome, that revolt was following a somewhat different course in the schools of theology, whose headquarters were at Zürich and Geneva. The reformers themselves were to be divided into two main camps under the standards of Lutheranism and Calvinism when the Swiss school was dominated by John Calvin. But as yet divisions had not crystallised. The fundamental fact was that the ultimate



The Pope struggling with Calvin and Luther.
[From Jaime, "Musée de Caricature."]

seat of authority had been suddenly brought into dispute, while all men seemed to require that some ultimate authority should be established. The Reformation did not at this stage mean anything like the recognition of the right of private judgment; but it meant that every man sought for the establishment of an authority which would be in agreement with his own private judgment. There was, in short, a common desire for a settlement which would have involved at least a high degree of uniformity. The obvious method of achieving a settlement was by means of a General Council of the Church; therefore every one professed to desire the holding

of a General Council. But no one was prepared to accept a Council in which views adverse to his own were likely to prevail. Each party and each potentate wanted to secure the predominance for themselves. The ultimate outcome was the Council of Trent, which was opened in 1545 and closed in 1563; but its constitution so absolutely ensured papal predominance that the reformers repudiated its authority from the outset, and it was resolved into a council of the papal branch of the Catholic Church, which condemned all who were outside its own pale as schismatics, arrogating to itself alone the title of Catholic. In spite of the fact that other branches of the Church entirely repudiated this papal claim, popular parlance accepted the terminology and treated the terms Papist and Catholic as synonymous. The his-



The Music of the Demon.

[A contemporary Catholic caricature of Luther.]

torian is practically reduced to accepting the popular names of Catholic and Protestant; nor is there any reason why they should be regarded as misleading, so long as it is clearly understood that they are used merely as party labels without any implication of their theological accuracy.

IV

THE BREACH WITH ROME

A reformation, as we have seen, was in actual progress in England. The "intellectuals" found favour in high places; the leading churchmen belonged to the group, and the one English layman with a European reputation, Sir Thomas More, was greatly sought after by the king—rather to his own annoyance. Moreover, the intellectualism was broad-minded,

not self-centred ; and it strove honestly and zealously to educate the people. The churchmen themselves were conscious of being excessively absorbed in temporal affairs, and many of them were sincerely desirous of a relief therefrom, although Wolsey was himself a conspicuous example of the worldly prelate. Of the monasteries specifically, we shall have to speak later. The standard of clerical morals was not particularly depraved, and the general tendency was certainly towards the higher standards. It was a long time, too, since the Church had set itself to do battle with the secular authority. Aggressive heresy was suppressed, but with a comparative gentleness. It might, in short, have been fairly anticipated that sweet reasonableness was destined to triumph.

It is no doubt probable that the undercurrent of Puritan zeal would in any case have proved too strong for mere liberalism ; but it was the action of the king himself which swept England into the revolution. Henry, after some fifteen years of married life with Katharine of Aragon, determined to marry one of her maids of honour, Anne Boleyn. This involved the nullification of his marriage with Katharine, which again required the papal assent. When Henry found that the papal assent was refused, he resolved to take the law into his own hands, which involved the repudiation of the papal authority and the substitution of that of the Crown. The complete subordination of the Church to the State was the logical corollary, and the methods by which that subordination was carried involved a complete breach with tradition entailing an internal struggle which ended by ranging England on the side of Protestantism.

Henry's ostensible motive for seeking what is always, though incorrectly, called a "divorce" from his wife, was a conscientious conviction that the papal dispensation which had sanctioned his marriage with his brother's widow was invalid—such a marriage being contrary to the moral law of God, as distinguished from the law of the Church, to which the dispensing power of the pope applied. Church law forbade, for instance, the marriage of first cousins ; but no one pretended that such marriages were in themselves immoral, and the pope's dispensing power was unquestioned. But every one recognised the marriage of a brother and sister as immoral, and



The overthrow of the Pope by the Reformation.

[From a drawing by Lucas Cranach, 1521.]

no one pretended that in such a case the papal dispensation would be valid. Henry's contention was that marriage with a brother's widow was in the same category as marriage with a sister. But Henry was not content with the obvious remedy which should have satisfied conscience, namely, that he should live as a celibate instead of as a married man. He was determined to marry again, which he could not do unless the marriage itself were nullified. For re-marriage there was a very strong political reason. Of the children born to him by Katharine, male and female, only one had survived, the Princess Mary ; and the succession of a woman, even if it should be undisputed, as was by no means likely, would certainly be fraught with dangers in the future. So far statesmanship endorsed Henry's desire. But it is further perfectly certain that Henry was bent not merely on re-marriage, but on marriage to Anne Boleyn, that lady being astute enough to reject his advances on any other terms, although statesmanship could not possibly approve.

Wolsey found that his master expected him to subordinate all other considerations to procuring the divorce. But Katharine was the aunt of the emperor, and after 1527, Pope Clement dared not incur the emperor's wrath by acceding to Henry's wishes. Wolsey, on the one hand, desired the divorce, but, on the other, he did not desire the marriage with Anne Boleyn ; consequently he incurred the hostility, both of the queen herself and of the Boleyn party.

Now, if the case were to be settled by Clement in Rome, it was tolerably certain that he would not venture to give Henry the verdict he wanted. It was possible for Wolsey to take the responsibility upon himself, since by the king's desire he had been appointed papal legate, and in virtue thereof was the supreme ecclesiastical judge in England. But Wolsey had no mind to be made directly responsible, especially as there was no security against an appeal from his decision as legate to Clement himself. His aim therefore was to procure a court which he could control, but whose judgment the pope would be committed to accept. Thus the affair would be practically in Wolsey's hands, while the ultimate responsibility could still be laid on Clement. But all that he could succeed in procuring was a commission consisting of himself, with another legate appointed *ad hoc*, Cardinal Campeggio ; while the decision of the commission was still to be referred to Rome for confirmation.

Between the emperor and the King of England, Clement's most earnest desire was to evade giving any decision at all. He procrastinated to the utmost of his power, and instructed Campeggio to do the same. Katharine was determined to fight to the last gasp. Although the commission was sanctioned early in 1528, the proceedings of the court were not opened until June 1529. It was manifest that popular sympathies were entirely on the queen's side ; while the Boleyn party were doing everything they could to undermine Wolsey's influence with the king. Before the proceedings could be completed, a consummation which Campeggio was

careful to delay, Clement revoked the whole case to Rome. Charles and Francis came to terms and the prospect disappeared of utilising French pressure to counterbalance the emperor. Wolsey had failed to do what the king wanted, and the king struck. Campeggio had hardly embarked



Henry VIII.

[After a portrait generally attributed to Holbein.]

when a summons was issued against Wolsey for acting as legate in breach of the Statute of Præmunire. Wolsey was deprived of all his offices, though at the beginning of the next year he was reinstated in the Archbishopric of York and was permitted to retire to his diocese. Some months later he was arrested on a charge of treason, and died at Leicester Abbey on the way to London. One voice only had been raised in his

defence, when his former secretary, Thomas Cromwell, opposed in the House of Commons a bill which had been introduced to deprive the Cardinal of office for ever.

Before Wolsey had actually fallen, his ruin was assured. Had the legatine court annulled the marriage with Katharine, Henry would have married Anne, and the cardinal would have been sacrificed to the new queen. If the divorce proceedings failed, Henry was determined to bring pressure to bear on the pope, for which Wolsey would have been a most inappropriate instrument. The pope was to be made to feel that he could not ignore the wishes of the King of England without paying a heavy penalty.

An anti-papal and anti-clerical policy was likely to be popular, and Henry resolved to take the nation into partnership, to make it share the responsibility for his policy. Only twice during the twenty years of his reign had he called parliament; for the next ten years, parliament was to be the instrument whereby the king obtained his ends. The assembly which met at the end of 1529 was not dissolved till its seventh year, and is variously known as the Seven Years or Reformation Parliament. It was not till some time after Wolsey's death that any one person again became prominently the first minister of the Crown; but it is certain that Thomas Cromwell, Wolsey's former secretary, was very soon taken into the royal favour; and it is probable that he at once secured the royal confidence and shaped the king's policy. For, though Henry chose the ends which he set before himself, he was not, when left to himself, skilful in his application of means. Whenever he went behind the cardinal's back, he failed; and when he forced the cardinal to act against his own judgment, he went wrong. After Cromwell's death, he showed no real grip of government. Hence it may be assumed that throughout the decade in which he appears conspicuously as a strong man, he was guided by a more astute politician than himself.

This year 1529 and its predecessors introduce to us three men, all of whom were to become exceedingly prominent. First in order of time comes Stephen Gardiner, a cleric brought up in the New Learning, who in 1528 was employed in the negotiation with Pope Clement. In his diplomatic capacity he had done something more than hint to the pope that the recognition of his authority in England was at stake, and that he might find England prepared to dispense with a pope who obstinately ignored her just demands. Gardiner was rewarded with the bishopric of Winchester, vacated by Wolsey; possibly Henry at this time intended him to go to Canterbury when old Archbishop Warham should die.

But before that time arrived Henry had discovered a man much better suited to serve as his instrument in the campaign which he contemplated. Gardiner had in the interval shown an independence and a loyalty to his order which hardly commended him to the king. Thomas Cranmer, on the other hand, was avowedly an Erastian from the outset; that is to say, he always asserted the supremacy of the civil power, and the clerical duty of

submission to the civil power ; and this was precisely the attitude desired by Henry for the primate of the English Church. Cranmer was a Cambridge scholar of considerable attainments, inclining to new ideas, impressionable, of a tender but adaptable conscience. An accidental conversation with Gardiner and Foxe, the king's almoner, caused the Cambridge divine to be brought to the king's notice—he had suggested that the best way of settling the divorce affair was to take the opinion of the European universities on the question of the validity of the dispensation granted by Julius. If they condemned it, the king's courts could settle the matter without further reference to the pope. The king sent for Cranmer, detecting in him precisely the man he wanted, and at once employed him on a series of continental missions which brought him much in contact with several of the Reformation leaders.

The third personage was Thomas Cromwell, reputed to be the son of a Putney blacksmith, a man who had certainly spent a good many years in Italy and in the Low Countries as an adventurer, possibly as a soldier, certainly as a trader. On his return to England he added the practice of the law to his other pursuits. Wolsey had come across him, employed him on business of his own, and finally made him his secretary. He had somehow found a seat in the last parliament, and appeared again, as we have seen, in the parliament of 1529. As a politician he was deeply imbued with the ideas crystallised in the *Prince* of the great Florentine, Machiavelli. Now he became the master-builder to whom Henry entrusted the carrying out of his policy.

The first business of the parliament was, as we have seen, the attack upon Wolsey ; the second was an attack on some quite obvious clerical abuses which even the clergy themselves hardly pretended to defend. No further action on its part was called for till two years had passed ; but in the interval the king himself had struck a hard blow at the clergy. He called their attention to the fact that they as well as Wolsey had been guilty of a breach of the Act of Præmunire in recognising the cardinal's legatine authority. Technically the thing was true ; the authority had been granted and exercised at the king's desire, but without the sanction of parliament. He therefore invited Convocation to procure pardon for the clergy by paying a fine of a hundred thousand pounds, which to-day would be represented approximately by a couple of millions. They were at the same time required to recognise him as " Protector and only supreme head of the Church in England." The clergy lay absolutely at the king's mercy, and were



Thomas Cranmer.

[After Holbein.]

obliged to accept that objectionable title, though with the saving clause, "So far as the laws of Christ permit."

Meanwhile, however, to the king's annoyance, the Universities had returned answers strictly according to their political leanings. It was quite impossible effectively to claim that the learning of Christendom had decided in favour of Henry's views.

So parliament was set to work again. In the first place, the pope must be definitely threatened, and, in the second place, the clergy must be completely brought to heel. To the former end was directed the Annates Act, which authorised the king to suspend the payment of what were called Annates to Rome. The Annates were a tax, amounting to one year's income, payable by each of the higher clergy on taking up an appointment. Owing to a misapprehension, it was universally believed till quite recently that the clergy themselves petitioned for the abolition of the Annates, but this has now been proved to be an error.

Against the clergy was directed a petition known as the Supplication against the Ordinaries. This was a grand remonstrance against the legislative powers of Convocation in ecclesiastical matters, and against the procedure of the ecclesiastical courts. Convocation replied that they were themselves dealing with the questions of procedure, while the canon law could not conflict with the civil law. They were prepared to go so far as to promise that in future their ordinances should not be promulgated until they had received the royal assent. The king, however, was resolved that the independent ecclesiastical legislation should cease. The "submission of the clergy" was extorted from Convocation; by which they entirely surrendered the right to make new canons except with the king's authority, while a portion or the whole of the existing canon law—the language employed is ambiguous—was to be submitted to a Royal Commission. The blow killed old Archbishop Warham, and caused the chancellor, Sir Thomas More, to resign, since he would not be a party to the claim of the civil authority to usurp a spiritual authority over the Church.

Now at the end of 1532, Francis of France was making a display of friendship to England in order to bring pressure to bear on the emperor for his own ends. Henry felt so secure of the support of Francis that he privately married Anne, probably in November. There were signs of a weakening on the part of Clement, who wished to avoid alienating France as well as Henry. But French diplomacy achieved its end, Charles made the concessions which satisfied Francis, Clement was relieved from the fear of France; and although he assented to the appointment of Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury in place of the deceased Warham, a threat was made public of excommunication against Henry unless he again recognised Katharine as his queen, which for some time past he had refused to do. Henry therefore was left with the alternatives of complete submission or point-blank defiance.

Henry chose defiance—and vengeance. His position was decisively

affirmed by the Act in Restraint of Appeals, the final confirmation of all past pronouncements and all past legislation directed against the Roman jurisdiction. Following this up, the new Archbishop convened a court to try the question of the validity of the marriage with Katharine of Aragon. Katharine denied the jurisdiction and refused to appear; the court pronounced that her marriage had been invalid, that it had never at any time been a bar to another marriage, and that by consequence the secret marriage to Anne Boleyn was valid and legitimate. Cranmer's action was absolutely in accord with the principles which he had always professed,

Anglici Matrimonij.



Sententia diffinitiva

Lata per sanctissimum. Dñm Nostrum. D. Clementem. Papā. vij. in sacro Consistorio de Reuerendissimorum Dominorum. S. R. E. Cardinalium consilio super validitate Matrimonij inter Serenissimos Henricum. VIII. & Catherinam Anglie Reges contracti.

PRO.

Eadem Serenissima Catherina Anglie Regina.

CONTRA.

Serenissimum Henricum. VIII. Anglie Regem.

Clemens Papa. vij.

Heading of the Papal Bull against the dissolution of Henry's marriage with Catherine.

principles which in a layman could have excited neither surprise nor indignation, though the cleric who acted upon them was necessarily, in the eyes of nearly every member of his order, a traitor to his spiritual office. Convocation, however reluctantly, declared against Katharine. The pope did not immediately issue an excommunication, but he declared that the judgment of the English court was void. Henry rejoined by confirming the Annates Act—the Annates themselves were not remitted, but appropriated to the Crown—and the Act in Restraint of Appeals, both of which had been held temporarily in suspense. Early next year, Clement definitely pronounced his own judgment affirming the validity of Katharine's marriage. The door to reconciliation was bolted and barred.

V

THOMAS CROMWELL

When parliament again assembled in the following year, 1534, it proceeded to re-enact the recent anti-papal statutes and to abolish the one remaining tribute to Rome, known as Peter's Pence. Also it gave the "submission of the clergy" a statutory form and secured to the king what is called the *congé d'élire*, whereby the Crown nominates to all the



Thomas Cromwell.

[From Holland's "Heröologia."]

higher ecclesiastical appointments and the chapters are graciously permitted to elect the Crown's nominees. Further, it passed an Act of Succession fixing the succession on the offspring of Anne Boleyn, who in the previous September had become the mother of Princess Elizabeth. The voiding of Katharine's marriage *ipso facto* stamped the Princess Mary as illegitimate. The Act authorised the exaction of an oath of obedience, which commissioners were appointed to present. The form of the oath involved the acknowledgment that the marriage had been invalid, as well as acceptance of the rule of succession. Sir

Thomas More recognised the parliamentary right to fix the succession, but refused to admit that the marriage had been void. Bishop Fisher of Rochester took the same line, and both were sent to the Tower.

Henry and Thomas Cromwell were both exceedingly alive to the necessity of obtaining every possible pronouncement in favour of their position, because the divorce had been extremely unpopular. It was just at this time that the pope's final rejoinder was received, and was answered by a declaration of Convocation that "the Bishop of Rome has in England no greater jurisdiction than any other foreign bishop." The Church was to repudiate the Roman authority, whether voluntarily or not, no less emphatically than the State. The series of statutes was rounded off by the "Act of the Supreme Head," which gave statutory confirmation to the previous declaration of Convocation.

Not ostensibly anti-papal or anti-clerical was the Treasons Act passed by the same parliament in the same year. Cromwell was in fact planning,

through constitutional forms, to make the English monarchy a despotism. Such division of authority between the spiritual and temporal powers as had previously existed was already wiped out; the whole power was concentrated in the State, and the ecclesiastical supremacy was vested in the Crown. The Treasons Act was a new weapon for striking down all resistance. Treason had hitherto been, in theory at least, a matter of overt acts. The new statute made treason of words, and even of silence, which were capable of bearing a treasonable interpretation. Thenceforth if a charge of treason were brought it would be all but impossible to resist it, since it was the standing rule of the law to require not proof of guilt but proof of innocence.

More and Fisher, maintaining their refusal to take the oath of supremacy in the prescribed form, were both beheaded for treason in the summer of 1535. The heads of certain monastic establishments which followed the lead given by More and Fisher were also put to death, and their houses suppressed. Thomas Cromwell's reign of terror under colour of the law was openly initiated when he struck down the two most admired Englishmen of the day, and crushed those religious houses which enjoyed and deserved the highest reputation in the country.

It was in this year that Cromwell appeared unmistakably as the brain which directed and the hand which executed the king's policy. He was appointed Vicar-General; in other words, the king delegated to him his own authority as supreme head of the Church. At the same time he became the king's foreign minister, so far as such a term could be applied, although his control of foreign policy was much less complete than Wolsey's had been. It was his primary aim in this field to unite England with the Lutheran princes, as Cranmer desired a religious union with the reformers; but both were held in check and in effect frustrated by the orthodoxy of the king, who was antagonistic to all theological innovations unless he recognised in them some political necessity which he could translate for himself into terms of conscience; a process which never presented any difficulty to him. Cromwell never succeeded in associating England with the Protestant League, and finally lost his head when his anxiety in that cause led him to cross his master's matrimonial tastes.

The minister had tried to make the king a despot through constitutional forms and with popular support. But the first condition of a despotism in England was the provision of a full treasury which should make the Crown independent of voluntary supplies. Royal extravagance had thoroughly exhausted the mighty stores accumulated by Henry VII., and a new source of supply was needed. Cromwell found it in the immense wealth of the Church, as Henry VII. had found it in the wealth of the baronage. That wealth had always excited popular jealousy, but some decent excuse had to be found for confiscation. Cromwell as vicar-general instituted a visitation of the monasteries. His commissioners spent three months in their investigations, collecting but hardly sifting all the evidence which told against the

monastic establishments, and not troubling themselves about the evidence in their favour. The result was that they were able to present Cromwell with a portentous report condemning a number of the small establishments as hotbeds of vice, and many of the larger houses as seriously lacking in discipline and requiring stringent supervision. On this basis a bill was presented to parliament, and cheerfully accepted, which condemned the smaller houses *en bloc*, though about eight per cent. were excepted from the condemnation. From what remains of the evidence, there can be little doubt that a fair and full enquiry would have quite warranted the suppression, but the enquiry was neither fair nor full, and the picture actually presented, lurid and appalling, was indubitably a gross exaggeration of the facts. The revenues were confiscated, though some compensation was granted; and the vicar-general issued, for the regulation of the greater houses which were as yet untouched, injunctions, of which it can only be said that they must have been intended to make the monastic life intolerable and to drive the monasteries to a voluntary self-suppression.

In all this there was no attack on religious doctrine, a subject on which men's minds were much engaged. An undercurrent of Lollardry had always survived official hostility. In Germany and in Switzerland doctrines were challenged which the Church had taught for centuries. Whither should men look for direction? The preparation of an official translation of the Bible into English had been authorised; but it was time for some sort of official pronouncement on the dogmas which were being called in question. This was provided in 1536 by the issue of the Ten Articles "for stablishing Christian quietness," drawn up nominally by the king himself and sanctioned both by parliament and by convocation. The Ten Articles admitted no innovations in doctrine, but drew a distinction between practices which were necessary and essential, and those which were "convenient," that is, required by public policy only.

But the Articles did not "establish Christian quietness." The disturbance and alarm created in the people's minds by the whole course of recent events could not be stilled by a mere declaration in favour of orthodoxy. In the north especially the dispersed monks found sympathetic listeners. The monasteries had been popular landlords, and the poorest classes of the community owed much to them as the only professionally charitable institutions in the country. An insurrection broke out in Lincolnshire which was sharply suppressed, but was followed by the much more alarming rising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace.

The leadership of the movement was laid upon Robert Aske, a lawyer of good family. By him it was organised with consummate ability; a great force was rapidly raised and held under an admirable discipline. But it was Aske's one desire to insist that the agitation was absolutely constitutional, absolutely loyal, and directed only against intolerable innovations and against the "evil counsellors"—that is, Cromwell and the advanced bishops, such as Cranmer and Latimer—who were "destroying religion."

All over the north Aske and his followers were welcomed and applauded. If they had marched upon London, it is not impossible that the whole country would have risen in their support. But when they came to the river Don they were met by the Duke of Norfolk at the head of a small force. Aske wished to avoid bloodshed; Norfolk opened negotiations,



England and the Lowlands of Scotland in Tudor times.

and the insurgent leaders were tricked into a belief that their demands had been conceded. The government was merely playing for time, intriguing with the northern gentry, and secretly bringing up forces. The deluded insurgents dispersed, and then began to realise how they had been deceived. Against the will of Aske, some of the more headstrong spirits rose in arms and appealed to violence. But the government now held the

military control, seized the excuse to cancel the pardon which had been granted, and smote the insurgents with a heavy hand—not only those who were responsible for the new disturbance, but those who had taken part in the original rising. Aske and others of the leaders were executed, and the same fate befell the heads of sundry abbeys and priories who were held to have been implicated.

A new formulary of faith was issued, commonly known as the *Bishops' Book*, and the English version of the Scriptures known as *Matthew's Bible* was officially authorised. But the real use of the rising to Thomas Crom-



Queen Jane Seymour.

[After Holbein.]

well was the opportunity which it gave him to employ charges of treasonable complicity for a further suppression of the monastic establishments in the north. Meanwhile other events of importance had been occurring. Anne Boleyn, like her predecessor on the throne, presented her husband with one daughter, and a second child which died immediately. The king tired of her, and fixed his favours on a lady-in-waiting, Jane Seymour, who was not to be tempted by illicit advances. Anne was unpopular, flighty, and exceedingly unguarded in her actions, besides being singularly tactless. Charges were brought against her of gross immorality; they were proved to the satisfaction of a court constituted with an eye to the appearance of strict impartiality. It could be confidently asserted both of Henry

and of Cromwell that they never brought any one to trial unless they felt secure of a conviction, whether they relied for that conviction on evidence or upon other motives in the judges. Anne was condemned; an ecclesiastical court was somehow convinced that some prenuptial proceedings either on her part or on Henry's made her marriage to him void, and pronounced accordingly. Anne was executed, and the king was left with a second illegitimate daughter. Such was the grotesque outcome of those divorce proceedings which Henry's apologists justify on the ground that a male heir to the throne was a political necessity.

Queen Katharine was already dead. The day after Anne was beheaded, Henry married Jane Seymour. A year later she bore him a son who was beyond all cavil the legitimate heir to the throne. Having thus done her duty, she was fortunate enough to die; and the king realised with some reluctance that it was still advisable to multiply his legitimate offspring, especially as the infant was sickly. For two years to come, various projects were proposed for a political marriage; which culminated in Cromwell's selection of Anne of Cleves, the Duke of Cleves being associated

Anna Boleyn Queen.



The Lady Mary after Queen.



QUEEN ANNE BOLEYN AND THE LADY MARY, DAUGHTER OF HENRY VIII,
AFTERWARDS QUEEN MARY

From drawings by Holbein.

with the German League of Protestant Princes, though not actually a member thereof.

Meanwhile Cromwell had been turning his attention in another direction. The country was restive under the ecclesiastical policy, and there was a possibility that the insurrectionary spirit might resort in desperation to an attempt at restoring a Yorkist dynasty. Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, the sister of the unlucky Earl of Warwick, had been married by Henry VII. to a knight named Pole, who, it should be noted, had nothing whatever to do with the family of De la Pole. Her eldest son was known as Lord Montague, and her younger son, Reginald, afterwards famous as Cardinal Pole, was already prominent in the ecclesiastical world on the Continent. One of Edward IV.'s daughters had been married to Sir William Courtenay, and her son was Marquis of Exeter. Exeter and Montague were on terms of intimate friendship. Hence it is not surprising that Cromwell discovered a conspiracy. The country was sown with his spies, and he had no sort of difficulty in procuring what passed for evidence of verbal treason whenever it suited his own convenience. Exeter and Montague were executed at the end of 1538. The old Countess of Salisbury was spared for the moment, but only for the moment.

The Exeter conspiracy gave Cromwell his final opportunity. An Act was introduced for the entire suppression of the monasteries in view of the manifest complicity in treason of which some had been guilty, their general failure to satisfy the disciplinary ideals of the vicar-general, and the common absence of any sufficient reason for their continued existence. Perhaps the most astonishing thing about the great spoliation of the Church was the recklessness with which the confiscated wealth was squandered. A fraction of the proceeds was appropriated to educational purposes, and a larger fraction to the defences of the southern seaboard. But the great bulk of the estates were given away or sold at low prices, in many cases to persons of burgess extraction who were eager to become enrolled among the landed gentry. A large new class of country gentry was thus created, which in the second and third generations was to become a factor of considerable political importance. Meanwhile the prominent fact was that for the old monastic landlords was substituted a new race in whom the commercial instinct was highly developed, men who were determined to make the most of their acquisitions, untrammelled by any sentimental consideration.

The final suppression of the monasteries was the coping-stone of Cromwell's ecclesiastical policy; that of his constitutional policy was the Royal Proclamations Act, by which parliament conferred the force of law upon royal proclamations issued with the assent of the Privy Council. As the Privy Council had long ago been transformed into an instrument of the Crown, to all intents and purposes the Crown now had complete control both of administration and of legislation, though it still remained without authority to impose taxation. The king was also given authority to fix the course of the succession by will.

Cromwell in 1539 was still supreme ; yet he had warning that the opposition to him personally was still powerful. He could not afford to identify himself too closely with the school of advanced reformers. This was sufficiently demonstrated by a victory of the opposite party when the Act of the Six Articles was passed, very emphatically re-asserting six ecclesiastical doctrines which were impugned by all schools of Protestants. Manifestly at great risk to themselves, Cranmer and others of the advanced bishops offered a strenuous resistance to the measure, though they held themselves bound to obey the statute when it became law. The victory was perhaps not so decisive as it seemed ; for although the penalties imposed by the Act were of a most merciless character, Henry very decidedly discountenanced any attempt at its extensive application.

But, as a matter of fact, Cromwell had already finished the work for which the king wanted him. His fate, like Wolsey's, was sealed by a royal marriage question. His representations induced Henry to fix upon Anne of Cleves as his fourth wife ; there was apparent danger that the Emperor and the King of France were on the verge of making up their quarrels, an event which might bring trouble upon England, and gave the Lutheran alliance a new desirability. But when Anne arrived in England, she was found to be quite without those charms of person which she had been represented as possessing. Henry was disgusted with her and still more annoyed with his minister. So he had no sooner married the lady than he discovered a pre-contract which provided a sufficient excuse for nullifying the marriage. Precisely at this moment there came a renewed rupture between Francis and Charles. Henry felt that he had been doubly duped, and he turned upon Cromwell. The mighty minister, the most dreaded, perhaps, who had ever held sway in England, was suddenly arrested at the council table, attainted under the Treasons Act, and sent to the block.

VI

SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

The story of Scotland during these years falls into two divisions, the period of the minority of James V., and that of his personal rule. After Flodden, the infant king's mother, Margaret, the sister of Henry VIII., was made regent. A year later she married the young Earl of Angus, who had just succeeded old Archibald Bell-the-Cat ; but in the meantime a powerful section of the lords resolved to place the regency in the hands of the Duke of Albany, the son of that Albany who played so active a part in the reign of James III. The duke, it must be observed, was to all intents and purposes much more of a Frenchman than a Scotsman ; but he stood next in blood for the succession to the two infant princes, of whom the younger, a posthumous child, did not long survive. Family relationships played so im-

portant a part, and are at the same time so confusing, that it is advisable to grasp them clearly.

Next to the throne, then, was John Stewart of Albany—Stuart was the French spelling of the name ultimately adopted by Queen Mary. Next to Albany stood the Hamilton Earls of Arran; the mother of the actual James, Earl of Arran, was the sister of James III. Next to the Hamiltons themselves were the Stewarts of Lennox, the mother of the present Earl of Lennox being a sister of Arran. These Stewarts themselves were not of the royal family. The house of Albany will presently disappear; but we shall find the nearness to the throne of the houses of Arran and Lennox playing later on an important part in various political complications.

During the succeeding years, Albany, from the time of his arrival in Scotland in 1515, nominally held the regency, and was predominant while actually in the country. While he was not in the country, the factions of Arran and Angus struggled for supremacy. There were frequent hostilities with England on the Borders. English diplomacy was largely engaged in fostering the feuds of the Scottish nobles; Arran, with James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, representing the party which clung to the French alliance and the hostile attitude towards England, while the Douglas party were the hope of Wolsey and Henry. There is no doubt at all that Henry cherished the desire of turning Scottish factions to account in order once more to assert the obsolete English claim to the sovereignty of Scotland. He appears never to have grasped the fact that while there were Scottish nobles who were ready to make promises and to receive gifts, a threat to enforce English supremacy was the one absolutely certain means of uniting Scotland in an attitude of defiance.

Albany himself finally threw up the cards and left Scotland for ever in 1524. It is curious to find Arran now leaning to the English policy, with Angus on the other side. Angus obtained the upper hand, and for a time was supreme in Scotland, while he held the young king in an extremely irksome tutelage which inspired him with an intense hatred towards the Douglasses. In 1528 the king escaped from the hands of his guardians, and the moment he asserted himself, though he was but seventeen at the time, he found himself at the head of a powerful following. Men who supported Angus in a struggle of factions supported the king against him. Before the year was over the Douglasses were driven out of the country.

It was the policy of James to ally himself with the churchmen, while his attitude towards the nobility was one of repression. Of the King of England and his designs he was with very good reason extremely suspicious; and these circumstances combined to make the Crown definitely hostile to the progress of the Reformation. An anti-English policy in Scotland always meant the drawing closer of the French alliance; and in 1537 James married the French princess Madeleine. The bride, however, did not long survive the marriage, and in the following year James took to wife Mary of Lorraine, a daughter of the house of Guise, now one of the most

powerful in France. Mary herself was a woman of great ability, and she soon allied herself with David Beaton, the famous cardinal, who succeeded to the influence which had been exercised by his kinsman the Archbishop of Glasgow, and developed an extreme zeal as a persecutor of heretics. On the other hand, the king's treatment of the nobility, directed to strengthening the power of the Crown, was tending to drive the latter body into direct antagonism with James's clerical supporters. Hence we shall presently find the nobility to a great extent supporting the Reformation, and the reforming party looking to England for support.

In Ireland the arrangement made by Poynings did not in fact very greatly affect the government of the country at the time. In England,



An Irish groat of Henry VIII

[The first Irish coin on which the harp appears.]

government worked to a certain extent mechanically ; that is to say, the general administration of justice and the ordinary enforcement of law went on as a matter of course, even when rival claimants were fighting for the crown. In Ireland the problem was to make any systematic administration work at all. A strong deputy like Poynings himself could make his hand felt and

impress upon the great men a certain respect for authority. So also could a strong man of an altogether different type such as Kildare. But authority had to be personified in a strong ruler ; in the abstract, it counted for nothing. When Kildare died, his son, who was made deputy, proved less efficient than his eccentric but capable father ; so the Earl of Surrey was sent over to take the country in hand. The victor of Flodden had been elevated to the dukedom of Norfolk, the title held by his father in the reign of Richard III., and "Earl of Surrey" became the courtesy title of the eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk.

Surrey, like his father, was a capable soldier, and was in frequent employment when larger forces were required on the Scottish borders than those of the Wardens of the Marches. His frank opinion was that force must be vigorously employed if Ireland was to be brought into order. But his idea of an adequate force was more than Henry was disposed to allow him. So the policy of governing by the sword was rejected. The other policy, of persuading the Irish chiefs to range themselves on the side of law and order, was tried. Unfortunately, their natural instincts were all on the other side. When Kildare was sent back as deputy, they merely concluded that matters were to go on as before. At last Kildare was summoned to England and was shut up in the Tower. A rumour reached Ireland that the ex-deputy had been put to death, whereupon his son, known to fame as Silken Thomas, raised an insurrection. There was much raiding and counter-raiding between loyalists and Geraldines, and nearly a year passed before the distinctly incompetent deputy, Skeffington,

succeeded in capturing the strong fortress of Maynooth, where the garrison were for the most part hanged, so that the "pardon of Maynooth" became a byword. Silken Thomas was persuaded to surrender, but was ultimately executed as he had not received definite promise of a pardon. His captor, Lord Leonard Grey, was made deputy, and having promptly proved himself much more than a match for Desmond in the south and O'Neill in the north, he again set out on a policy of conciliation, treating the English party with a very high hand. Consequently he found himself accused of treason, and his attainder was followed by his execution. Grey had failed disastrously, chiefly because of his arrogance and high-handedness. That the policy of conciliation was a sound one is the natural conclusion to be drawn from the rule of his successor, St. Leger. A combination of tact and firmness, and a shrewd appreciation of the varying characters of the men with whom he had to deal, enabled St. Leger to establish an unprecedented degree of order and peace. But the root of the trouble lay in the fact that successful government depended almost entirely on the personal character of the Deputy. A series of St. Legers might have solved the Irish problem for the Tudors, and have delivered posterity from an exceedingly perplexing heritage; but unhappily there were no more St. Legers forthcoming, and trouble revived in the ensuing reign.

VII

LAST YEARS

In the last years of the reign of Henry VIII., England's relations with the continental powers and with Scotland again become prominent. Cromwell had completely established the royal supremacy in England, where Henry was virtually absolute. The Church's power of resistance to the royal will had been completely shattered, and Henry had no inclination to permit any extension of religious changes. He did not choose that Archbishop Cranmer should be hurt, and although the party led by the Howards and by Bishop Gardiner were on the whole predominant, they were not allowed to make active reprisals for their repression under Cromwell's régime. The Howards, indeed, seemed to have achieved a triumph when the king was persuaded to take for his fifth wife Catherine Howard, the niece of the Duke of Norfolk; but the triumph was short-lived, since the new queen was very soon found guilty of gross misconduct, this time on quite unquestionable evidence, and was executed. Henry took for his sixth wife Catherine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer, a lady with leanings to the reformed doctrines, but endowed with a tact which enabled her to retain the favour of her royal spouse and so to outlive him.

Abroad the fear of a reconciliation between Charles and Francis had

enabled Cromwell to hurry Henry into the Cleves marriage. That was a danger which had now finally disappeared. Moreover, Henry was again



Suit of armour for fighting on foot, King Henry VIII.

[Tower of London.]

free to revert to Wolsey's balancing policy ; that is, there was now no inherent reason against a revival of amity with Charles, since his aunt Katharine had been dead for some years. Moreover, there was no love lost between Henry and the Lutheran League, especially since the Cleves fiasco ; although, on the other hand, there was no more chance of a reconciliation with the present pope, Paul III., than there had been with Clement VII. So long as Charles kept on good terms with his Protestant subjects, they would not be driven into the arms of Henry ; but there was no reason why the emperor should not be on good terms with him at the same time.

Now the relations were strained between Henry and Francis ; partly because the French king delayed the payment of certain long-standing indemnities due from him, and was somewhat ostentatiously drawing closer the bonds of alliance with the King of Scots. Border raids and public recriminations continued, though England and Scotland were nominally at peace. That nice scrupulosity of honour which some historians have managed to attribute to Henry was illustrated by his approval of a scheme for the kidnapping of King James, who was given to private rambles in search of adventure ; but the king's council, to its credit, rejected the surprising proposition. A particularly extensive English foray, however, at the end of 1541, gave James warrant for preparing a great invasion in the following autumn. But the organisation

of the Scottish army was chaotic ; its commanders were inefficient, and James himself was not present with it. The great force was entangled in the morass called Solway Moss, and was cut to pieces by a very much



The Siege of Boulogne by Henry VIII., 1544.

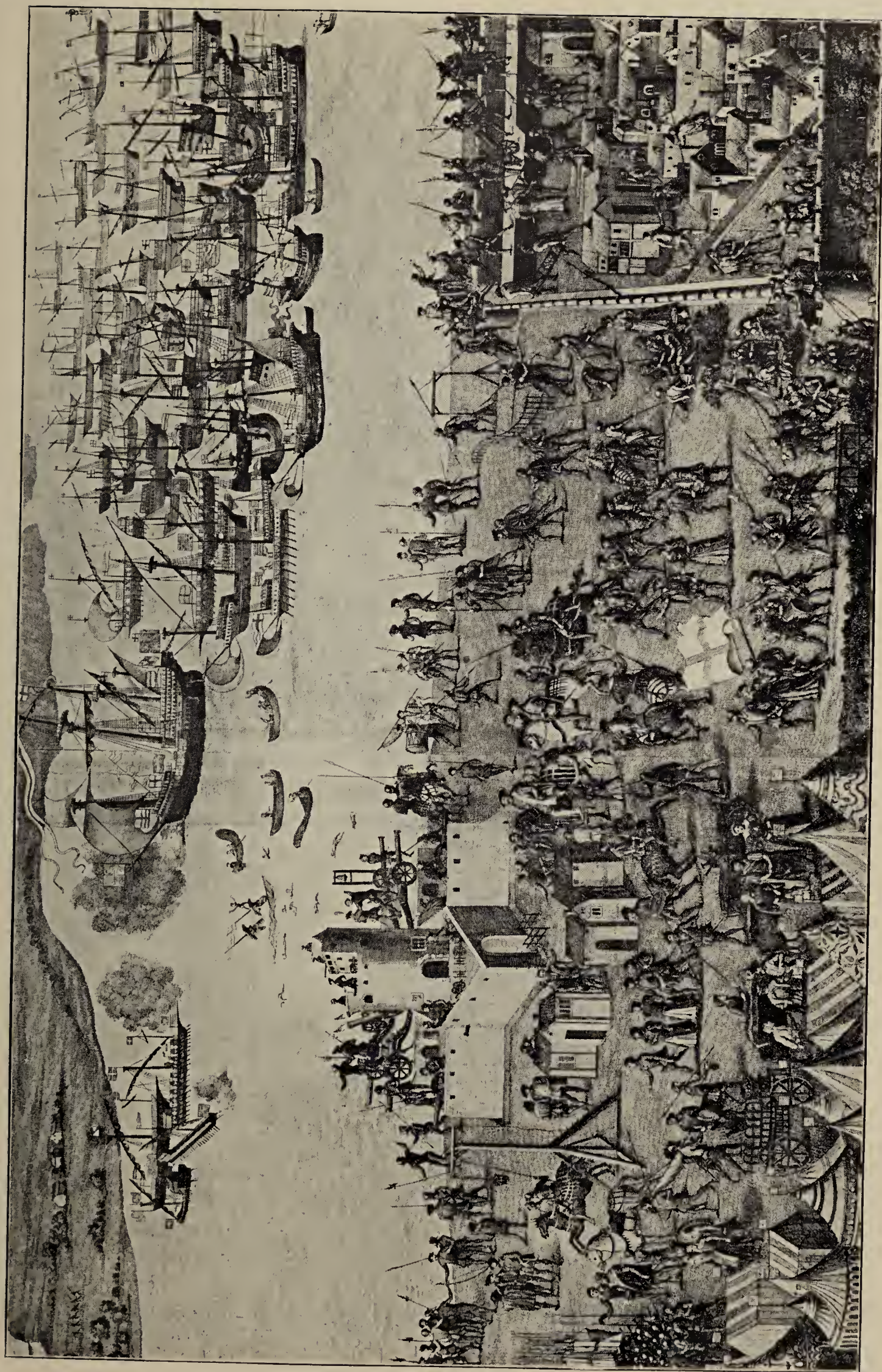
[From an engraving in "Vetusta Monumenta" after a contemporary painting which hung in Cowdray House, Midhurst, until its destruction by fire in 1793.]

smaller body of English under the command of Wharton, the energetic warden of the marches. The Scots king's health had already completely broken down; the blow of this great disaster killed him. A fortnight after the battle, as he lay on his deathbed, news was brought to him that his wife had borne him a daughter. "It came with a lass, and it will go with a lass," he said, and turned his face to the wall. His words were an allusion to the fact that the Stewarts had succeeded to the Scottish throne through a daughter of the Bruce. A week later he was dead. So pitifully began the tragic reign of Mary, Queen of Scots.

But for Mary's birth, Henry might have thought the opportunity a fitting one for attempting to capture the Scottish crown. More wisely, he in fact proposed, like Edward I., to betroth the infant queen to his own heir-apparent, a scheme to which the one serious objection was the conviction of most Scots that such a union would in effect mean the subjection of Scotland to England. A Scots prince might have married an English princess with comparative approval. A number of the Scots lords taken prisoner at Solway Moss were released on promise of supporting the king's design—promises which were as easy to break as to make. Cardinal Beaton and the queen-mother established their ascendancy, and headed the irreconcilables who desired a close alliance with France to counteract the English influence. The treaty which Henry had actually proposed fully warranted the most determined nationalist opposition, since he had required not only the establishment of a Council of Regency which would have been virtually under his own control, but also the importation of English garrisons into Scotland.

The open countenance given by Francis to the Scots threw Henry into the arms of Charles, who was already at war with the French. In 1543, English troops were despatched to Picardy, and a great campaign against France in conjunction with Charles was being planned for the ensuing year. Scotland was seething with intrigues, for Beaton was exceedingly unpopular, partly because of his fierce persecution of Protestants; and it was almost as easy to stir up hostility against French influence as against that of England. The zealots even proposed to Henry plans for the assassination of the cardinal; but he gave them to understand that although such a design was meritorious, it was not one to which he could lend official countenance. It sufficed for his present purposes to keep the country in a state of chaos, and in the spring of 1544 a great English fleet sailed up the Firth of Forth. Leith was sacked, Edinburgh was pillaged, and the surrounding country was devastated. Then the English troops retired; Henry's serious business was in France.

Here Henry's troops were operating with success; but he declined to embark on the emperor's plan of campaign, which was calculated entirely in the emperor's own interest. Francis negotiated separately with his two enemies. Henry refused to make peace except in conjunction with his ally; Charles, less scrupulous, made terms on his own account



THE ENCAMPMENT OF THE ENGLISH FORCES NEAR PORTSMOUTH IN 1545

Part of an engraving of a contemporary painting (lost in the destruction of Cowdray Castle) showing the beginning of the action between the English and French fleets in June, 1545. The fleet shown is the English.

at the peace of Crêpy. But Henry had taken Boulogne, and was now determined to fight Francis single-handed rather than abate any of the demands with which he had entered upon the war. Francis found encouragement in a rout inflicted on the English by the Scots at Ancrum Moor, and prepared a great armada for the invasion of England. But the English fleet was too strong to be attacked, and the French fleet was presently broken up by an outbreak of the plague. Ancrum Moor did not prevent an English force from again spreading devastation in Scotland. Francis realised that England was ready to go on fighting until he would come to satisfactory terms, and peace was made in the summer of 1546. France agreed to pay up the English claims, and Boulogne was to remain in England's hands for eight years as security. At the same time Henry had the satisfaction of learning that Cardinal Beaton had been duly murdered in Scotland, and the assassins held possession of the castle of St. Andrews, from which they could defy the punitive efforts of the government.

There are certain other characteristics of the reign to which brief allusion must be made. Henry had come to the throne with a treasury far better provided than any one of his predecessors, thanks to his father's peculiar economic methods. That inheritance he squandered, and he sought for a remedy in the spoliation of the Church. Yet those vast spoils were squandered in turn. Henry took refuge in the most ruinous of all financial expedients, the repudiation of debt and the debasement of coinage. In the last few years of the reign, the actual value of the coins issued from the mint fell to only about a seventh of their face value; that is, they contained only about that proportion of the silver which they were supposed to contain. Their purchasing power fell accordingly, a fact otherwise expressed by saying that prices rose. Wages did not rise in proportion, and the wage-earning population suffered correspondingly. Only the debased coinage as a matter of course remained in circulation, and foreign commercial transactions were plunged into ruinous disorder. The process of enclosure extended and increased with the redistribution of the monastic lands. Agricultural



An arquebusier.

[From an early 16th century MS.]

depression became worse and worse, while the sturdy vagabonds increased and multiplied, and trade of every kind suffered. It was not till finance was vigorously taken in hand by the ministers of Queen Elizabeth that the chaos wrought by Henry was remedied and the recovery of a real prosperity became possible. The depreciation of the coinage, it may be remarked, was made the more serious when the influx of silver and gold from the new Spanish territories in America began to make itself

felt, because the increased supply of the precious metals lowered their value in exchange. Hence the middle years of the century were in many respects a period of very serious depression, felt perhaps more acutely in the sixth than in the fifth decade.

When Cardinal Beaton was murdered, Henry's race was already almost run. He had been definitely authorised to fix the course of the succession, which was to go first to Edward and the heirs of his body, next to Mary and the heirs of her body, next to Elizabeth and her heirs, and next to the Greys, the heirs of Henry's youngest sister, Mary. This Mary, it will be remembered, had for a short hour been the queen of Louis XII. of France. She had then become the wife of the king's intimate companion, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Their daughter Frances married Lord Dorset, who afterwards became Duke of Suffolk, and was the mother of three

daughters, of whom the eldest, Lady Jane Grey, was destined to be a nine-days' queen. Henry's will ignored the claims of the Scottish royal family, through his elder sister, Margaret, and also the claims of her daughter by her second marriage with the Earl of Angus. This daughter married Matthew, Earl of Lennox, so that the Lennox Stewarts of the next generation, of whom the eldest was the unfortunate Henry, Lord Darnley, stood a remote chance of succession both to the English and to the Scottish throne, though on distinct grounds, since Earl Matthew himself stood in the line of the Scottish succession, and his wife in that of England.

Henry had settled not only the succession but the form of the government which was to take control if he died during his son's minority. He



A pikeman.

[From an early 16th century MS.]

had nominated the "Council of Executors" (of his will) who were to form this provisional government. The body was carefully selected, so that to all appearance the two parties, represented on the one side by Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, Henry's brother-in-law, and by Cranmer, and on the other by the Howards and Bishop Gardiner, should be evenly balanced, and the equilibrium preserved until Edward came of age. But at the last moment the Howards spoilt the scheme, to their own destruction. Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and his father, the Duke of Norfolk, were charged with treason. There was evidence enough of guilt under the very wide interpretation of treason permitted by the Treasons Act. Surrey was sent to the block, a doom which seems to have been by no means undeserved, though much unmerited sympathy has been wasted upon him because he was also a poet. Yet it was scarcely a condonation of technical treason and of a painfully deficient sense of honour that he introduced blank verse into England. Norfolk himself only escaped the same fate as his son, though he was probably innocent of any treasonable intent, by the happy accident of Henry's death before the hour for the duke's execution had arrived.

Martin Luther was already gone; Francis of France followed Henry to the grave two months afterwards. Of the great personalities who had dominated Europe for so long, Charles V. alone remained.

CHAPTER XI

IN DEEP WATERS

I

PROTECTOR SOMERSET

SURREY'S conduct was probably responsible for the fact that the Howards and Gardiner were not finally on the Council of Executors to whom Henry left the management of the realm. The whole strength lay with the progressive section, headed by the Earl of Hertford, the young king's uncle. Brief but energetic intriguing procured for Hertford the office of Protector of the Realm, while the Council distributed honours and peerages among themselves. The Protector became Duke of Somerset, the name by which he is best known.

Somerset was a man of intellectual tastes and many admirable ideals, combined with a quite exceptional incapacity for adapting means to ends. What he wanted was usually right; the way he set about trying to get it was invariably wrong. He wanted a union with Scotland. He wanted what hardly any one else dreamed of, a wide religious toleration. He wanted an advance beyond Henry's position, by the admission of doctrinal innovations such as Cranmer had unsuccessfully striven for during the last reign. He wanted to remedy agricultural depression and the evils of vagrancy. But in almost every case the methods he adopted tended to defeat his own ends.

The immediate problem was that of Scotland, where the Anglophile party, the party of the Reformation, had just achieved the assassination of Cardinal Beaton. He had his choice between giving an active support to that party, which would have secured him in return their adhesion to his own policy of marrying the little Queen of Scots to the young King of England; and, on the other hand, of leaving Mary of Lorraine's government to win by French help, and relying upon the inevitable reaction against French influence to give him his opportunity at a more convenient season. He could have followed the second line without alienating the Scottish reformers. The course he adopted was that of allowing the regent Arran and the queen dowager to triumph by French assistance, and then intervening to compel Scotland at the sword's point to accept his marriage policy. He marched into Scotland, thereby uniting the entire nation against him. At Pinkie Cleugh, near Edinburgh, he inflicted a tremendous

and bloody defeat upon the Scots, then sacked Edinburgh, ravaged the country, and retired. He had made no preparations for garrisoning the south, and the practical effect of Pinkie was to draw closer the bond between Scotland and France ; whither the little queen was sent, to be brought up at the French court, betrothed to the French dauphin, and ultimately married to him. Somerset had successfully destroyed an anglicising party in Scotland by explicitly reasserting the English claim of sovereignty. He had, however, achieved a military glory which won him popularity in England and increased his already overweening self-confidence.

Meanwhile the Council, within which the advanced party had practically silenced opposition, was moving towards the adoption of reformed doctrines. Even Henry had gone some way in sanctioning the abolition of notoriously gross abuses in the current religious practices, including the destruction of what were called "abused images." The term was now practically extended to include almost anything which might conceivably lose its merely symbolical meaning and be transformed by super-



A portrait medal of Edward VI., 1547.

[In the British Museum.]

stition into an actual object of worship ; and a crusade against such images was carried on which degenerated into wanton violence and irreverence. The injunctions issued were resisted by Gardiner, and by Bonner, Bishop of London, as being notoriously opposed to the wishes of the dead king, which the Council was bound to observe until Edward VI. should come of age and formulate his own policy. The remonstrances of the two bishops were answered by their confinement in the Fleet prison.

When the victorious Somerset returned from Scotland, parliament met. The Protector's paternal benevolence was demonstrated by the repeal of a series of the harshest statutes of the preceding reign—the Treasons Act, the Six Articles Act, and with them the old Acts against the Lollards. On the other hand, some of the religious foundations which Henry had omitted to suppress were now absorbed in spite of the opposition of even the reforming bishops. In answer to the petition of Convocation itself, parliament sanctioned the marriage of the clergy, and the administration of the cup to the laity in the Sacrament of Holy Communion, both of which had been ex-

pressly prohibited by the Six Articles. Further, a general pardon set the two recalcitrant bishops again at liberty.

During the following year, although there was no actual introduction of new doctrines, the party of the advanced reformers was exceedingly active. On the plea of preventing unseemly controversy, preaching was forbidden except to licensed preachers; but as only those were licensed who held, and gave vent to, extremely advanced views, the general effect was extremely inflammatory, and again Gardiner's opposition caused him to be sent to the Tower. At the same time a number of foreign Protestants, especially of the Swiss school, were flocking into the country, owing to



Part of the Coronation Procession through London of Edward VI., 1547.

[From an engraving of a contemporary painting at Cowdray House, Midhurst, destroyed in 1793.]

their dissatisfaction with the religious compromise which Charles had decreed by what was known as the Interim of Augsburg. The emperor had crushed the Protestant League, it must be remarked, at the battle of Mühlberg, but was at odds with the pope, and was at the same time endeavouring to concentrate in his own hands an effective political power over the empire, which was arousing the keen hostility of the princes.

When parliament met again at the end of the year, its main business was the passing of the first Act of Uniformity, requiring the clergy to adopt a new Book of Common Prayer. This prayer-book of 1549 had been prepared by a commission in which Archbishop Cranmer undoubtedly had the strongest influence; but it was composed upon such broad lines that the most advanced and the most reactionary of the bishops alike found themselves able to use it without violation of conscience. The Act of

Uniformity was opposed, as it seems, not because the new prayer-book itself was objected to, but because it was imposed upon the Church by parliament.

At this time trouble came upon the Protector through his brother William, the Lord Admiral. The admiral resented his own exclusion from a position of practical equality with the Protector. That he was an ambitious and unprincipled intriguer is beyond question. He was at last charged with treason, and there is no room to doubt that if he had had a fair trial he would have been condemned with perfect justice. But the Protector was persuaded to proceed by Act of Attainder instead of by trial, and the execution of his brother gave his enemies a handle against him.

Enemies he had in plenty, owing them to the combination of virtues and weaknesses in himself. His arrogance and autocratic bearing gave offence on one side and his popular sympathies on another. Half the Lords of the Council and half the members of parliament belonged to that numerous class who had profited by the distribution of monastic lands, and sought to make further profit by the extension of enclosures, which they were now carrying on with a lordly disregard of law—safely enough, since its administration rested in the hands of men of their own class. The whole of that class was roused against the Protector when he appointed a commission of enquiry, and based on its reports bills for remedying what was a manifest and flagrant evil. Parliament would have nothing to say to the bills, yet Somerset was apparently quite unconscious that danger was brewing.

Now with the summer came two popular insurrections, one in the west country, the other in the eastern counties. The latter was agrarian without qualification; the former was complicated by religious motives. In the eastern counties the monasteries had not been popular landlords; even in the old days of Wat Tyler, popular indignation had been very largely directed against them. For this and for other reasons Protestantism found its stronghold among them, as did Puritanism in the following century. Religion had nothing to do with this insurrection, which was headed by a tanner, Robert Ket, and was directed entirely against illegal enclosures. It was avowedly a movement not to protest against the existing law, but to procure its enforcement. In the west, on the other hand, the agrarian grievance was probably at the bottom of the matter, but the existence of that grievance was attributed by the rural population to the suppression of the monasteries and the substitution for them of the new greedy lay landlords. The popular sympathies were therefore wholly antagonistic to the reformers and the Reformation. Thus with them the introduction of the new prayer-book was the spark which kindled the conflagration. To the Cornishmen the old Latin services were familiar if unintelligible; but their native tongue was still, as it seems, a Welsh dialect, and a new English service was unfamiliar as well as unintelligible.

On the agrarian question the personal sympathies of the Protector were

with the insurgents, and he displayed no enthusiasm in putting them down. The rest of the Council took a different view. The eastern rising was stamped out by John Dudley, who had been made Earl of Warwick when the Council were loading themselves with honours at the beginning of the reign. The western rising was crushed by Herbert and Russell. Warwick headed the opposition which now turned upon Somerset ; and the Protector found himself wholly without support among the magnates of the realm. He yielded, was deposed from the protectorship by parliament, and was deprived of a portion of his estates ; but after a brief sojourn in the Tower was again set at liberty.

Meanwhile St. Leger's rule in Ireland had been brought to a close by his recall. There were signs of a recrudescence of disturbance due to various causes, and not least, perhaps, to the religious conservatism of the Irish, who very much more than the English were under the influence of the clergy. The policy of the strong hand again found favour with the government, and St. Leger was replaced by Sir Edward Bellingham. No better man perhaps could have been found to carry out a policy of stark justice untempered by sympathy. Bellingham established his mastery with complete success, but in doing so he destroyed all possibility of reverting successfully to a policy of conciliation. There was no chance of resisting the stern Deputy, but a new hatred of English domination was created ; and Bellingham's own death in 1549, the year of Somerset's fall, left Ireland without the masterful hand which could hold it in control.

II

JOHN DUDLEY

It is necessary, though it is not always customary, to recognise a real distinction between the period of Somerset's rule and that of his successor in the control of the government, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who is best remembered by the title of Duke of Northumberland, which he subsequently appropriated. Somerset had in him much of the visionary. His conception of religious toleration was far in advance of his time ; his conception of union with Scotland went much further than the mere union of Crowns which actually took place little more than half a century after his fall—it was rather such a union as the treaty of 1707 sought to achieve. His attitude on the agrarian question was more akin to that of Sir Thomas More than to that of any man of his own class. He made no attempt to sweep England suddenly out of her traditional beliefs into a zealous Calvinism. The prayer-book for which he was responsible carried with it the repudiation of no doctrine which was held as an article of faith by the most stubborn adherents of the ancient ways, nor did it carry with it the affirmation of anything positively abhorrent to the followers of John Calvin. There was

no religious persecution in his time; not one person was sent to the stake. Gardiner was placed in confinement, not on account of his religious opinions, but because he set himself in open opposition to the government. The Act of Uniformity was an order to the clergy, and did not touch the laity. The final acts of spoliation were at the worst the logical conclusion of the proceedings of the previous reign by which no layman had refused to profit; nor did any layman, however orthodox, surrender one scrap of the booty which he had gained thereby. Unfortunately for his own reputation, Somerset was personally greedy, and set a particularly bad example in the appropriation of what had been Church property to his own enjoyment; but that is the worst that can be said of his ecclesiastical proceedings from what may be called the Anglican point of view. It was not till the time of his successors that the attempt was made to transform the English Church into a Calvinistic body and to impose Calvinistic doctrines and practices upon the community—an attempt which was partially stemmed mainly by the persistency with which Cranmer acted as a drag on the extremists.



Mummers at a feast about the middle of the 16th century.

The man who supplanted Somerset was anything but a visionary. He was clever, with that kind of cleverness which is happily apt to overreach itself, a politician with no aims except self-aggrandisement. There is no reason to suppose that he had any religious convictions; at the moment when he stepped into Somerset's place, it seemed perfectly possible that he would lead a reaction. But he saw no advantage for himself in that course. Among the men who had identified themselves with the new ideas he saw no rivals to fear now that Somerset had fallen. Cranmer was assuredly not the man to challenge his leadership; whereas reaction would mean the reappearance in public life and activity of the ablest ecclesiastical politician living, Bishop Gardiner; and not only of Gardiner, but also of the old Duke of Norfolk. Warwick had no intention of relegating himself to a secondary place. His policy was clear. If the Reformation was to go forward, the party of the future was the party which drew its inspiration

from Geneva. It was Warwick's business to identify himself with that party as its champion.

Bishop Bonner had already for the second time been imprisoned, and besides his imprisonment had been deprived of his see, which was given to Nicholas Ridley, who was at that time the man on whom Archbishop Cranmer most leaned. By degrees excuse was found for treating other prelates of the old school in similar fashion, their sees being conferred in every case upon reformers of the most advanced school. It is interesting to observe that the grim champion of the Reformation in Scotland, John Knox, came very near being appointed to an English bishopric. He had been taken prisoner by the Scottish government when the castle of St. Andrews was captured, and on being released from his captivity in France, where he had been sent to the galleys, betook himself to England; since it would have been merely courting destruction to return to Scotland, where the French and clerical party were now entirely predominant.

The strength of the Swiss school made itself felt in a revision of the Prayer Book which took effect in 1552. The first Prayer Book had been so carefully vague that it was possible alike for those to make use of it who held the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation or the Zwinglian doctrine that the Communion service is purely commemorative. In the new volume which was sanctioned by parliament the forms and expressions laid down could no longer be reconciled with adherence to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, although a mystical character in the Sacrament was still implied if not positively affirmed, while the precise nature of the mystery was undefined. Further than this Cranmer and Ridley would not go. The manifest intention was still to allow the largest possible latitude of interpretation short of the Roman doctrine that the substance of bread and wine is transformed into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ by the Act of Consecration. The extreme reformers had to be content with the explicit rejection of the sacrificial doctrine of the Roman Mass, accompanied by the retention of ceremonial observances which many of them were inclined to stigmatise as idolatrous or tending to idolatry. The authorisation of the new Prayer Book was accompanied by a second Act of Uniformity, imposing penalties for non-compliance not only upon the clergy but upon laymen also. Forty-two Articles of Belief, which vary very slightly from the Thirty-nine Articles afterwards embodied in the Book of Common Prayer, were issued separately in 1553, by the royal authority, without express sanction of either parliament or convocation.

In matters of religion, then, the new government did not reverse the policy of Somerset, but applied it with increased violence and more in accordance with the views of the extremists. In other respects Warwick's aims were directly antagonistic to those of the Protector. Somerset, in spite of his treatment of his brother, had been opposed to the employment of those weapons of arbitrary power which had been forged by Cromwell. Warwick's first parliament made a new Treasons and Felonies Act which

included as treason, or as felony punishable by death, the gathering of assemblies disturbing to the public peace or aiming at the alteration of the law; and brought sundry offences against members of the Council under the same category as similar offences against the king's person. The new Act was presently utilised against Somerset, who after his release had been readmitted to the Council. Since he exerted himself in opposition to the more rigorous members of the body, fears arose lest he should gather to his standard a moderate party which would restore him to power. He was arrested on the charge of compassing the death of Warwick and others. Since he had brought himself within the toils of the law concerning felonious assemblies, Warwick, who had now taken the title of Duke of Northumberland, made a show of magnanimity by withdrawing the charge of compassing his own death—which would have been exceedingly difficult to prove and was quite unnecessary to securing Somerset's destruction. The former Protector was condemned on the charge of felony, and was executed at the beginning of 1552, amid remarkable manifestations of sympathy from the populace whose welfare he had sincerely at heart, however ineffective had been his attempts to promote it.

III

THE SUCCESSION

Northumberland had not achieved popularity. The fact was clearly implied when still a new Treasons Act was introduced at the time of Somerset's death. The Commons were ready to restore "verbal treason" to the Statute book, but, with pointed reference to the evidence produced against Somerset, they demanded that the evidence of at least two witnesses should be held necessary to condemnation. The plain fact was that the fall of Somerset in 1549 had introduced changes of policy and a change of persons in the government, but no improvement at all in administration, while the changes of policy had not commanded popular assent. The national finances were in appalling disorder, the fleet which Henry VIII. had created was falling to pieces, and the government had been obliged to surrender Boulogne to France without getting the indemnities for which it had been held in pledge. When a new parliament met in 1553, it showed very little inclination to adapt itself to Northumberland's views, in spite of the fact that every effort had been made to pack it with satisfactory representatives. Northumberland's influence was indeed supreme with the young king; but Edward, though of an extraordinary precocity, had always been extremely delicate. Northumberland knew that he was dying, and that he himself had not time to secure his position before a successor to Edward should be seated on the throne.

The law had settled indisputably who that successor was to be.

Parliament had not only authorised Henry VIII. to fix the course of the succession by his own will; it had also expressly ratified that course as he laid it down. The question of legitimacy was suspended and Mary was nominated the heir to Edward VI.; failing Mary, her half-sister Elizabeth. After Elizabeth under the will stood Frances Grey, who was now Duchess of Suffolk, and her daughters. If the will were challenged, the question of legitimacy at once took the first place. Every adherent of the old religion was bound to look upon Mary as Henry's legitimate child. If, however, the decisions of the English Law Courts were relied upon, Mary and her sister were both illegitimate, and in that case it was manifest that the legitimate heir was Mary Stuart, not any of the Greys. Even on the hypothesis that Mary Stuart was barred as an alien, the Lennox Stewarts, being English as well as Scottish subjects, were not similarly barred and came before the Greys.

Nevertheless, Northumberland conceived a desperate plan of placing Lady Jane Grey upon the throne as his own puppet; to which end he procured her marriage to one of his sons, Guildford Dudley. Mary's succession was absolutely certain to mean his own ruin, since she was passionately attached to the Roman Church, besides having been treated personally with extreme harshness during his own tenure of power. As a substitute, Jane Grey was more likely to serve his purposes than Elizabeth. His plan, then, was to claim that the dying king could subvert his father's will and himself nominate his successor. Edward's Protestantism was as fervid as Mary's Romanism, and Northumberland found no great difficulty in persuading him to fall in with the scheme in view of the danger to Protestantism attendant on Mary's accession. It was no such easy matter to persuade the Council. Its members had indeed little enough to hope from Mary; Lady Jane Grey would suit most of them much better. But it was next to impossible to find any sort of constitutional justification for the scheme, which was doomed to disastrous failure unless the nation acquiesced, as it was exceedingly unlikely to do. Still Northumberland succeeded. Reluctant members of the Council suddenly realised that their lives and liberties would be in immediate danger unless they threw in their lot with Northumberland: so they gave their assent subject to the approval of parliament. The judges declined to draw up the necessary Letters Patent without parliamentary authority, until they received their orders under the Great Seal together with a formal pardon in case it should subsequently be held that they had acted illegally. The Letters were signed by members of the Council and others; among them Cranmer, who refused until he was induced to believe that the judges had declared the whole proceedings to be legal, and the Secretary William Cecil, who afterwards averred that he had signed merely as a witness. Fifteen days later the king was dead. Two more days passed before the fact became known, and on the fourth day Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed queen.

All that cunning could accomplish Northumberland had done. He alone

had soldiers available ; not a member of the Council could move against him. He had control of the pulpits, which were perhaps the nearest equivalent of the time to our newspaper press, and could count on impassioned appeals against the succession of a papist. For his puppet he had a child of sixteen, the new-made bride of a son of his own. Yet it was from this same child that he received the first check. When the great men of the realm came to her and declared to her with one consent that she was the lawful Queen of England, with plenty of plausible demonstrations, what could she do but believe them and accept, however reluctantly, the responsibilities laid upon her? But when Northumberland would have claimed that her husband should be crowned king, she flatly refused. Guildford Dudley might be her husband, but he assuredly had no right to the Crown of England. Northumberland discovered that the puppet might prove dangerously independent, if the path which he meant her to follow should be crossed by the path of her duty as she conceived it.

Ominous too was the silence with which the Londoners received her proclamation, a silence broken by a voice from the crowd saying, "The Lady Mary hath the better title." Ominous, again, was the escape of Mary herself, who had received the news of her brother's death just in time to enable her to ride hard out of the reach of the men who had been despatched to secure her person. Ill news poured in. The forces with which two of Dudley's sons went in pursuit of Mary turned against them, and the Dudleys had to ride for their lives. The country was rising in arms.

The duke was in a dilemma. If he remained in London to overawe the Council, the whole country would declare for Mary. If he went forth himself to crush revolt the Council might turn against him. He chose the second risk as the lesser. Five days after his departure, watched in grim silence by the Londoners, the Council declared for Mary, proclaimed her queen at Paul's Cross amid general acclamations, and sent a messenger post-haste after Northumberland ordering him to lay down his arms. The message was superfluous. The traitor had realised that in spite of all his intrigues he stood alone, deserted. The bubble was pricked. He had played a gambler's throw and lost, and in the hour of defeat he showed himself pure craven. He threw himself on the queen's mercy ; and she would have spared even him in her magnanimity had she not yielded to the unanimous voices of her counsellors. In deference to them and to the



Lady Jane Grey.

[After Holbein.]

pressure of public opinion, Northumberland himself and two of his accomplices were sent to the death which they very thoroughly deserved. Lady Jane was sent to the Tower. Bishop Ridley, who had preached a fervid sermon in favour of Queen Jane, was imprisoned ; so were a very few more ; but the generous extension of pardons was almost without parallel. None could have guessed from the commencement of Mary's reign that she would be singled out among English monarchs to be labelled with that cruel title by which posterity has known her.

The completeness of Mary's victory is in no wise astonishing. There was absolutely no conceivable ground for challenging her title except the fact that Cranmer's ecclesiastical court had pronounced her mother's marriage invalid, a plea which was equally effective against the only other child of Henry VIII. Had there been a male claimant to the throne it might have been urged that there was no precedent for the occupation of the throne by a woman ; but every other possible claimant—Elizabeth, Mary Stuart, Jane Grey, even Lady Lennox—was also a woman. No one could pretend for an instant that Lady Jane had been put up with any object whatever except that of securing the ascendancy of Northumberland, and that ascendancy was already becoming intolerable. The people of England had acquiesced in deflections of the succession, but those changes had always been born of rebellions which represented a strong national opposition to flagrant misgovernment. Here there was nothing of the kind. The usurpation was attempted in order to maintain a thoroughly bad government in power. The extreme Protestants might indeed feel that a Romanist restoration must be prevented at any price ; doubtless Northumberland had hoped that such was the dominant sentiment of the country. But the reformers had moved forward far in advance of popular sentiment ; the public at large were prepared to acquiesce in whatsoever religious forms might be imposed upon them by authority. It was the Marian persecution itself which created in England the deep-seated hatred of "popery." Protestantism had rooted itself firmly in a portion, but not in the major portion, of the nation, which was quite prepared for a return to the position as it had been under the Protector or even under Henry VIII. in his last years ; and the nation had no reason to anticipate that the reaction would go further, no particular sympathy for the advanced Protestants who might suffer. And at the outset of Mary's reign there was every appearance that the national anticipations would be justified.

IV

MARY

It was inevitable that there should be a reaction, but there was no sudden and sweeping attack. Ample time and opportunity were given for Protestants, lay and clerical, to leave the country if they felt themselves

too deeply committed to remain in safety ; of which not a few, including John Knox, took advantage. Ridley was imprisoned, not for his religious opinions, but for his active promotion of treason. Cranmer and Latimer chose to invite arrest and deserve full credit for their courage ; but they, who had been privy to Gardiner's imprisonment for years past, had certainly no ground of complaint. For the rest, Gardiner and Norfolk were of course released, and it was obvious that the party so long suppressed would now have the upper hand ; but there was no vindictive treatment of the other side.

Anxiety, however, soon began to grow. The queen would marry, and much would depend on her choice of a husband. Her choice fell on her cousin Philip, the Prince of Spain, the son of the still reigning Emperor Charles V. The marriage was exceedingly unpopular, since men felt that such a union was in danger of subordinating English to Spanish interests, and also of strengthening the Romanist reaction. How far the country was prepared to go was shown by the parliament, which formally asserted Mary's legitimacy and repealed the ecclesiastical legislation of Edward VI., but declined to touch Henry's legislation at all ; while the Commons petitioned the queen not to marry a foreigner. The queen's advisers, how-



Queen Mary.

[From a miniature painting by Luis de Vargas, 1555.]

ever, including Gardiner, found her so determined on this head that they were obliged to content themselves by insisting on the insertion in the marriage treaty of every possible safeguard against the exercise of Spanish influence.

It was not by any means only the Protestants who detested the Spanish marriage. Within a fortnight of the signing of the treaty an insurrection had broken out, headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt, which was ostensibly directed against the marriage. Wyatt's undoubted intention was to depose Mary, set Elizabeth on the throne, and marry her to an English nobleman, the young Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, who was descended from Edward IV. Of complicity on Elizabeth's part there was no sort of proof. The common-sense of all such conspiracies required that the figurehead should be able to proclaim innocence with righteous indignation if matters went wrong. That rule applied to all operations involving breaches of the law or of what passed for international law. Elizabeth herself, Mary Stuart, Henry of Navarre, and Philip of Spain, nearly always managed to

be in a position to repudiate any personal association with illegalities committed in their name; and yet we can be tolerably certain that they generally knew precisely as much as they wished to know of what was going on.

For a long moment it seemed possible that Wyatt's insurrection might develop into a general rebellion. The troops sent against him deserted with the cry "We are all English." London was in a panic, and the Council appeared to be at their wits' end. Mary's own masculine courage and audacity stemmed the tide. Wyatt, unable to cross the bridge at Southwark, moved up the Thames, crossed at Kingston, and so marched towards the city. But his long straggling column was cut in two. The portion which reached Ludgate was already exhausted and was overcome with no great difficulty, Wyatt himself being taken prisoner. Wyatt, who stoutly declared Elizabeth to be completely innocent, was executed; so were about a hundred of his followers. Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Grey, was implicated, in spite of the generosity with which he had been treated in Northumberland's affair. He too was now deservedly executed, together with his hapless daughter and her husband Guildford Dudley. Elizabeth was sent to the Tower, but was shortly afterwards released, though she was held under very strict surveillance throughout the reign.

In the summer Mary and Philip were married. The parliament which met between the rebellion and the marriage showed the state of public feeling by refusing to restore the persecuting acts directed against heresy, or to exclude Elizabeth from the succession; on the other hand, the tendencies of the government were disclosed when those of the clergy who had availed themselves of the statute passed in the previous reign to take to themselves wives were deprived of their benefices.

A new parliament which met in November was more complaisant. There was a formal reconciliation with the papacy, when the queen's cousin Cardinal Pole was received as legate and solemnly pronounced the absolution of the repentant nation. Gardiner from the pulpit confessed his own sin in the past; for, indeed, he had taken an active part against the Pope in Henry's quarrel, although in other respects he had resisted the Reformation. National repentance, however, stopped short of the restoration of ecclesiastical property, and it was soon to be made clear that a part of the nation had in no wise repented. The reaction for the moment, however, was triumphant. The new parliament restored the persecuting Acts, and repealed the whole of Henry's anti-Roman legislation, always excepting his confiscations of Church lands.

In January 1555 began the great persecution which converted the people of England to a passionate Protestantism. It was sanctioned by parliament and pressed forward by the Council collectively, though not without opposition from some of its members. It was not encouraged by Spain, for Charles V. had learnt by experience that persecution is unpopular, and it was the policy of Spain to minimise the unpopularity of the Spanish

marriage. During the first year it was probably directed largely by Gardiner, and throughout that period it was consistently marked by the selection of conspicuous victims, pointing clearly to the idea that such drastic action would achieve its end without any prolonged and miscellaneous persecution; and it is only fair to remark that, throughout, the most vigorous of its agents, the restored Bishop of London, Bonner, made strenuous efforts to induce the victims to recant and be pardoned rather than to send them to the stake.

But there is one outstanding fact which marks the Marian persecution apart from all other persecutions which have taken place in England. In every other case the pretext was political.

In this one case there was no official pretence of any other purpose than the suppression of false doctrines. For more than two centuries afterwards, Romanism was penalised by English governments cruelly and sometimes even savagely, but always on the plea that Romanism was a political danger—the plea on which Christianity itself had been persecuted during the first three centuries of the Christian era. The Marian persecution put forth no such plea, and for that reason it has been indelibly stamped on the British mind as the one example of a religious persecution; though to this reason must be added another, that it was the one persecution in which the stake played a prominent part, and the stake appeals to the imagination more luridly than any other method of persecution. The three hundred martyrs of Mary's

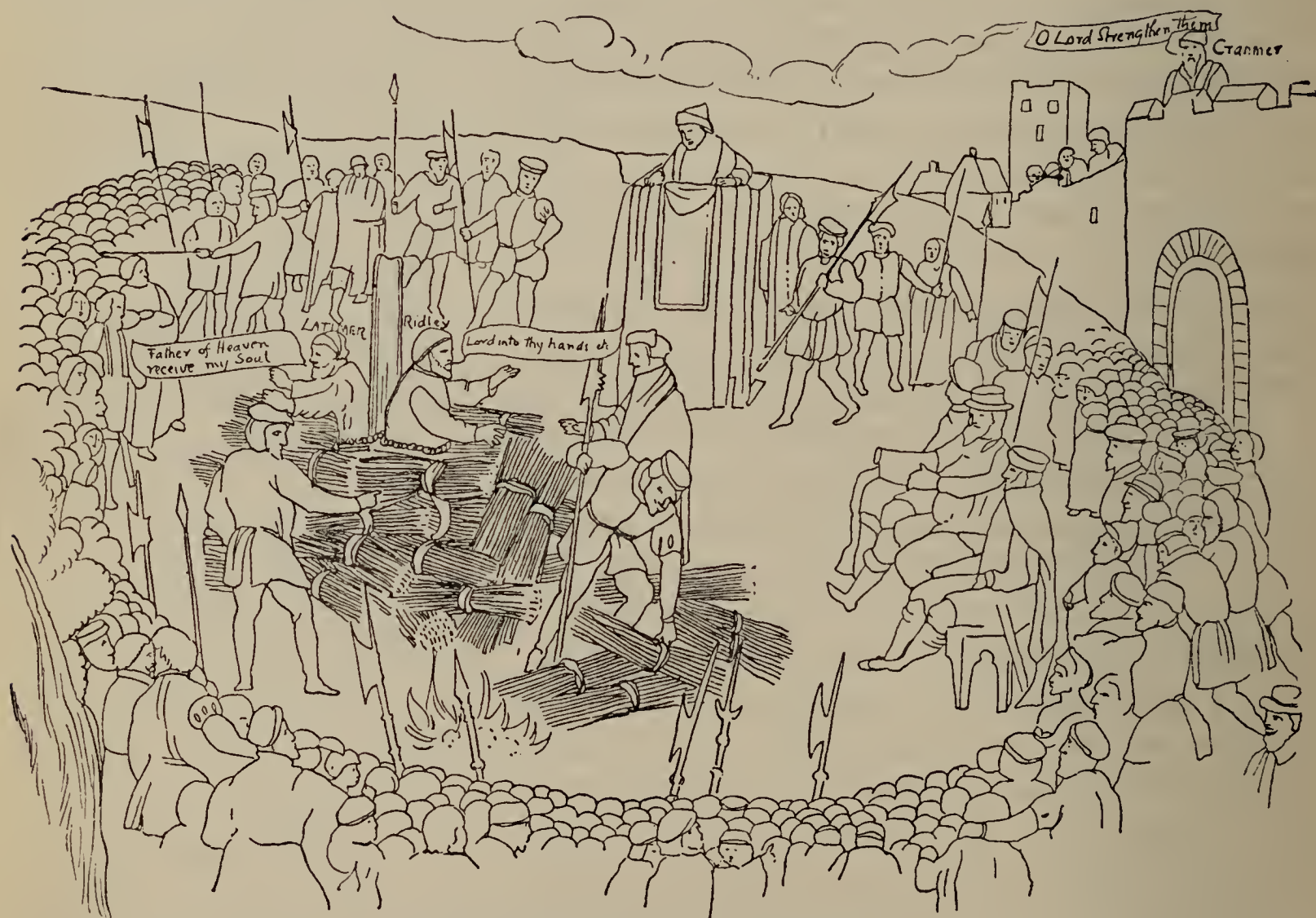
reign made an infinitely more vivid impression on the popular mind than all the rest of the martyrs English or Irish, Romanist or Protestant, who have suffered for conscience' sake; more vivid even than the twenty thousand Huguenots who were slaughtered in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

First of the martyrs was Rogers, reputed to be the author of the great translation of the Scriptures known as Matthew's Bible. He was followed by men renowned for their saintliness: Rowland Taylor of Hadley, and Bradford. Then came the bishops Hooper and Ferrar, and in the autumn Ridley and Latimer, and then the man who for more than twenty years had been primate of all England, Archbishop Cranmer. Him the world has chosen to despise. To the extreme Protestants he has appeared as a Laodicean, a temporiser; those who take the high Anglican view of the priesthood cannot forgive the man who, holding the highest office in the Anglican Church, deliberately acted on the principle that the Church is subordinate to the State. Cranmer alone among the martyrs gave way in



Stephen Gardiner.
[After Holbein.]

the terrible ordeal and recanted ; but to Cranmer came the reward of the sinner who repents, for at the last in utter abasement of soul he repented and repudiated his recantation ; nor did any one of the martyrs suffer the last torments with a more unflinching courage. The roll of the victims in the first twelve months numbered about seventy, nor was there ever much variation in the persistence of the persecution. But after Cranmer no person of prominence was sent to the stake ; all were humble folk, harmless, with no widespread influence while they lived, whose martyrdom made a hundred converts for every one whom they had made in their lives. Mary



The martyrdom of Latimer and Ridley.

[From Foxe's " Book of Martyrs," 1563.]

had not shrunk from the terrible duty, as she conceived it, of saving the souls of her people from eternal flames by destroying the bodies of a few in earthly fires. She lived long enough to feel, or at least to fear, that the sacrifice was in vain ; for instead of extirpating what she had accounted heresy she had ensured the victory of Protestantism.

Save for the splendid heroism of the martyrs, the tragedy of Mary's reign is unrelieved. There was no relaxation of the agricultural depression, no mitigation of the financial chaos. France and Spain were at open war in 1556 ; Charles V. had just abdicated and Philip was King, Lord of the Spanish and Burgundian dominions, while his uncle Ferdinand held the Austrian possessions of the house of Hapsburg, with Hungary and Bohemia, and the Imperial Crown remained with the Austrian branch of the house.

England was dragged into the French war, which was unpopular because it was the direct outcome of the Spanish marriage. Moreover England was in such a strait that she could put neither an effective fleet on the seas nor an effective army in the field. The crowning disaster came when at the close of 1557 Calais was besieged by the French and was forced to surrender in the first week of the new year. Calais, treasured by Englishmen as we treasure Gibraltar, was lost after it had been held for something over two centuries. Of Mary's many bitter griefs the bitterest was the loss of Calais. Ten months later she passed away, the most tragically pitiable figure among all the sovereigns who have ruled over England.

CHAPTER XII

THE ELIZABETHAN RECONSTRUCTION

I

THE QUEEN

ELIZABETH, the daughter of Henry VIII. and of Anne Boleyn, was five-and-twenty years of age when she came to the throne. At that moment she found herself with an empty exchequer and a ruined fleet; with a country engaged in the interests of Spain on a French war which could only be disastrous. Financial dishonesty and the debasement of the coinage had disorganised trade; agricultural depression was at its worst, having been aggravated by bad seasons. Pestilence too had been at work, and the country had been sickened by the religious persecution. Since the death of Cromwell, no statesman had emerged whom the world could recognise as an efficient guide and support for the young queen; there were clever men in Queen Mary's council, but those whose honesty was to be relied on were not amongst that number. The outlook would have been black enough for a new king whose title to the throne was beyond cavil. It seemed still blacker for a girl of five-and-twenty whose title was very far indeed from being indisputable.

For there was a claimant, a possible claimant, in whose favour the whole power of France might be exerted in conjunction with that of Scotland. Mary Stuart, now nearly sixteen years old, had just been married to the Dauphin Francis. As a matter of legitimacy she was beyond all question the heir of Henry VII. unless Elizabeth herself was legitimate. But Elizabeth could not possibly be legitimate in the eyes of any Romanist, because in the eyes of any Romanist Henry's marriage with Katharine was valid, and his marriage with Elizabeth's mother was void. Moreover, apart from the question of Rome, the mere fact that Mary Tudor had taken priority of Elizabeth without any formal act of legitimation was incompatible with the theory that Elizabeth was herself legitimate. In plain terms, the queen's title rested on the fact that she had been nominated to the succession by her father's will, with the express sanction of parliament; a sufficient title as it proved in the eyes of the nation, but entirely futile in the eyes of legitimist upholders of divine right. For nearly thirty years of Elizabeth's reign, the existence of Mary Stuart and her title to the throne remained a cardinal factor in policy. So vital was it now that the Spanish court

assumed that if she were sane, she must recognise that the security of her own crown depended entirely on her retention of the goodwill to Spain.

Nevertheless, to the intense indignation and disgust of the Spanish ambassadors, Elizabeth, with a complete disregard of the wishes of Spain, established an administration as capable as England had ever known, and followed out her own perfectly independent policy. She had her father's genius in the selection of ministers, and had already chosen for her chief counsellor a consummate administrator who was at the same time exceptionally shrewd and absolutely trustworthy. William Cecil was no idealist, but he was perhaps the most level-headed opportunist who ever served an English monarch. Cecil and Elizabeth saw with unerring clearness of vision that she, not Philip, was in fact mistress of the situation. Philip could not afford at any price to allow Mary Stuart to become Queen of England. For Mary was already Queen of Scotland; she would in the natural course of events become Queen of France; and if she became queen of England also, France, England and Scotland, united under a single crown, would form a power destructive to the Spanish ascendancy in Europe, completely severing Spain from the Netherlands by sea as well as by land. Hence, whatever Elizabeth might do, it was absolutely imperative for Philip to maintain her on the English throne. She was under no necessity for seeking his support, since for his own sake he was bound to give it.

On the other hand, the fact that Mary was the prospective queen of France gave Elizabeth additional security within her own realm. The nation had had a very unpleasant taste in the last reign of the effects of having a queen whose consort was King of Spain. If Mary Stuart, queen of France and Scotland, were queen of England, France would be the leading State in the combination, and English policy would inevitably be made subservient to French policy. Whatever the religious leanings of the majority of the population might be, two-thirds of the Romanists would certainly not stir a finger to set a French queen on the English throne.

But it was imperatively necessary to arrive at a religious settlement which should give the country religious peace. Was Elizabeth to follow a Romanist or a Protestant policy? She could not if she would be frankly Romanist, because that would involve her own admission of her own illegitimacy, while it would deprive her Protestant subjects of their religious grounds for supporting her, and might even drive them to fall back upon asserting the claims of Catherine Grey, the sister of Lady Jane. Moreover, a Romanising policy could not stop short at a mere reversion to the position at the end of the reign of Henry VIII., which was what Elizabeth herself would certainly have chosen. Nor was that a policy which could have found support from the men on whom the queen knew that she must rely. A Protestant settlement was the only possible solution.

There still remained an undecided question of great importance. Whom

should the young Queen of England marry? All England took it for granted that she must marry somebody, if only in order to settle the succession. Elizabeth herself had probably made up her mind from the outset that she would not marry at all, though no statesmen either at home or abroad ever believed that this was her real intention. She did not mean them to believe it. She recognised in her own unwedded state an eternal diplomatic lure. Until she should be married, her hand was a prize which could be made the subject of negotiation; once she was married, an actual husband in the flesh would certainly be an incubus. And accordingly for five-and-twenty years of her reign she retained the possibilities of a marriage with herself as an invaluable diplomatic asset.

II

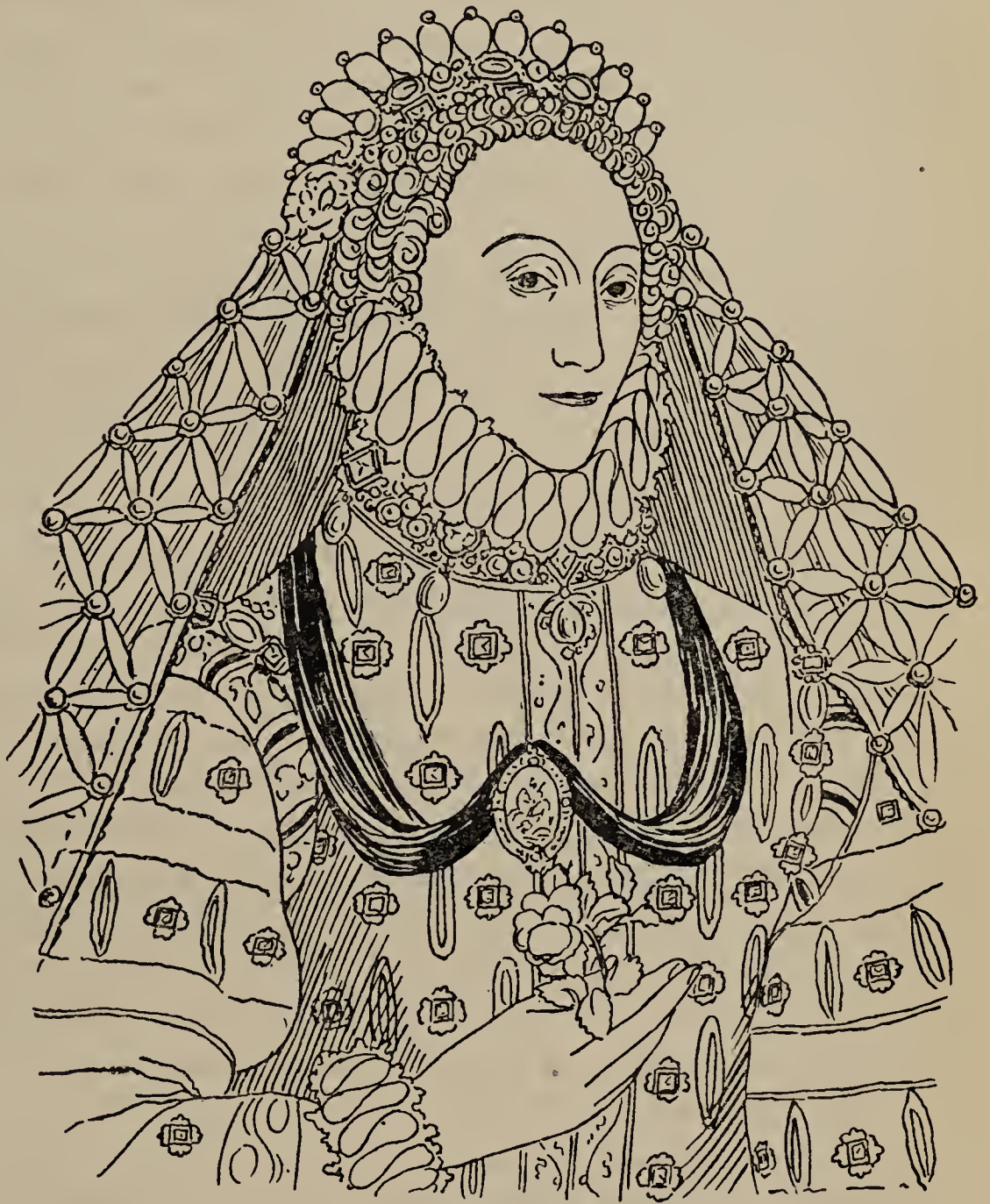
THE SETTLEMENT IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

The first marriage proposal came from Philip of Spain himself. He would get a papal dispensation allowing his marriage with his deceased wife's half-sister. To his great astonishment, his offer was politely declined by the daughter of Anne Boleyn, who, if such a dispensation were valid, could not herself claim to have been born in wedlock. The disappointed suitor took another wife, a princess of France. A curious popular superstition that he sent the Spanish Armada thirty years afterwards to punish Elizabeth for refusing him must be put away among the fairy tales of history. The matter of pressing importance to Elizabeth was to free herself from foreign complications for the moment. There was an armistice in the French war, and the treaty of Câteau Cambrésis allowed England to retire with her honour saved by the French king's promise to restore Calais after eight years, supplemented by the formal recognition of Elizabeth as the lawful Queen of England; while she herself evaded the formal recognition of Mary as heir-presumptive.

The religious question was promptly dealt with. No changes were made till parliament met at the beginning of 1559. The Marian legislation was then reversed, and the new settlement took shape in the new Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. By the former, the title of Supreme Head was dropped, but the Crown was declared to be "supreme in all causes as well ecclesiastical as civil." The refusal of the oath was not to be counted as treason, but was a bar to office. Religious opinions were to be a ground for proceedings only when they controverted decisions of the first four General Councils of the Church Universal, or were in plain contradiction to the Scriptures. The Act also authorised the appointment of a court for dealing with ecclesiastical offences, which was actually constituted twenty-four years later as the Court of High Commission. The new Act of Uniformity required the use of a new service-book

which differed very little from that of 1552, though in some respects it reverted to the less emphatically Protestant volume of 1549. Refusal to accept the two Acts caused the deprivation of all the bishops except one, and the ejection of a small number of the lower clergy from their benefices. The vacated sees were filled almost entirely from among the less extreme Protestants, Matthew Parker being made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Critics hostile to the doctrine of the continuity of the English Church and of the apostolic succession in its priesthood rest their case on doubts of the validity of the ordination of Bishop Barlow, who consecrated Archbishop Parker—doubts for which the evidence gives no sufficient warrant. The principle of the settlement was approximately that at which Somerset had aimed—the enforcement of a sufficient uniformity of practice and ceremonial along with the admission of very wide variations of doctrine but a definite rejection of transubstantiation. Methods of Church government and questions of ceremonial,



Queen Elizabeth.

[From the painting attributed to Marcus Gheeraedts in the National Portrait Gallery.]

not questions of actual doctrine, were those which for the most part disturbed the peace of the comprehensive Church which was thus established.

Financial administration was also vigorously taken in hand. Immediate confidence was inspired by the known probity of the financial agents selected by Cecil, by the obvious self-reliance with which the government faced its difficulties, and by its hardly expected stability. It soon became manifest that there was to be no wastage, and that every penny of the public supplies would be strictly expended on national objects under stringent supervision. Every loan that was negotiated was repaid with

an admirable punctuality ; and with the restoration of public credit, the negotiation of loans became a comparatively easy matter. The financial problem was in great part solved by the skill with which the whole of the debased coinage in general circulation was called in and was replaced by a new coinage of which the real and the nominal values were the same.

During the same period Scotland was also settling her own affairs, which were reaching a crisis at the moment of Elizabeth's accession. In the eleven years since Somerset's invasion in 1547, the French party had held the ascendancy. Although the Earl of Arran, the heir-presumptive, who held also the French title of Duke of Chatelherault, was nominally régent, Mary of Lorraine was the real ruler of the country, and in 1554 she became actually regent, Chatelherault retiring. It was in fact her policy to turn Scotland into a province of France—by no means with Scottish approval. The appointment of Frenchmen to the most responsible offices of the state intensified the general uneasiness. An attempt to establish a property tax had to be promptly abandoned, and when the regent in 1557 proposed to invade England in the interests of France, she met with an obstinate refusal from the leading nobles. In the following year Queen Mary was married to the Dauphin, and the Scottish commissioners for the marriage treaty returned from France with an angry consciousness that if they had given way to the French demands, which they refused to do, Scotland would have ceased to be the ally and would have become in effect the subordinate of France.

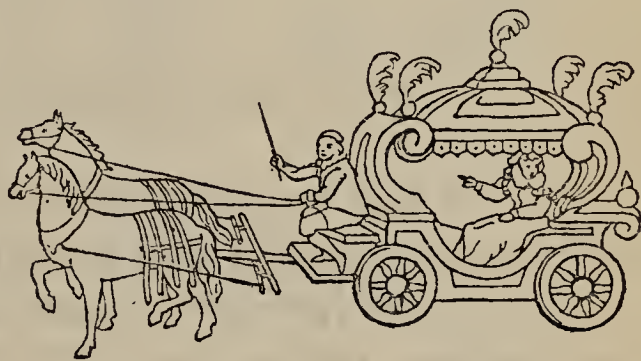
Now hostility to France meant of necessity inclination towards England. In the past it might at almost any time have been claimed that patriotism and hostility to England would go hand in hand ; but under the existing conditions patriotism came near to involving hostility to France. Moreover, the coming of the Reformation had introduced a new factor. The Guises in France were at the head of what, in that country at least, may be called without offence the Catholic party ; Mary of Lorraine in Scotland had identified herself with the Clerical party. If Protestantism triumphed in England, Scottish Protestantism would inevitably turn to England for support, as it had done a dozen years before. Scotland would in any circumstances refuse, as she had always refused, anything that pointed to subjection to the richer country, but the idea of a union which involved no subordination was one which now might possibly be rendered acceptable to the Scottish people, even as it had seemed desirable to far-seeing statesmen in both countries.

During Mary Tudor's reign in England, the regent in Scotland had been obliged to walk warily in matters of religion, and the reformed doctrines had spread apace, several of the nobles ranging themselves upon that side ; prominent among whom were the Lord James Stuart, the young queen's illegitimate half-brother, and the Earls of Argyle and Morton, to whom was shortly to be added the Earl of Arran, a title which was now borne by the son of the Duke of Chatelherault. The Protestant lords,

soon to be known as the Lords of the Congregation, were already in 1557 assuming an aggressive attitude, which became directly defiant in the next year when an old man named Walter Mills was burnt for heresy. And before the end of that year the professed Protestant Elizabeth was on the throne of England.

Before the end of May 1559 it was already certain that there would be an armed struggle in Scotland. In July Henry II. of France was killed in a tournament; his son Francis II. and Mary Stuart became king and queen. Both in France and Scotland the Guise interest was predominant; and the Lords of the Congregation opened communications with England, while French troops were landed in Scotland to support the regent.

It was at this stage that Elizabeth got fairly started on her matrimonial diplomacy. Philip of Spain now wished her to marry his cousin the Austrian Archduke Charles. The Scots proposed that she should marry the young Earl of Arran, whose prospective claim to the Scottish throne might be made an immediate one by the deposition of Mary Stuart. Elizabeth played with both offers, though she had no intention of accepting either. It was her favourite method to avoid committing herself to anybody.



Queen Elizabeth's State Carriage.

But in the next year, under persistent pressure from Cecil, she did commit herself to supporting the Lords of the Congregation; not, in theory, against the queen, but against the regent who was abusing the royal authority. Elizabeth was already able to send an efficient fleet to sea, and the arrival of an English squadron in the Forth cut off all prospect of French reinforcement for the regent. This was followed up by the despatch of an army to help the Lords of the Congregation. The regent was shut up in Leith, which was vigorously defended; but in June she died, and with her death the position of the French troops in Scotland became practically untenable. An arrangement was entered upon variously known as the Treaty of Edinburgh or of Leith. The French were to evacuate Scotland, having given a pledge that the demand of the Lords of the Congregation for religious toleration should be recognised, as well as Elizabeth's own right to the throne of England. Virtually the triumph of the Lords of the Congregation was secured with the death of the regent and the disappearance of the French troops. It was certain that after this any serious attempt to bring back the French would be impracticable. Mary might, and did, refuse to ratify the treaty, but the fact of the evacuation was decisive.

Before the end of the year, the death of Mary's husband changed the whole situation. She was no longer Queen of France. The queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, meant to secure her own ascendancy over the new King Charles IX., and France had no longer the same interest as before in

the possibility of Mary's accession to the English throne. The presumption remained that such an event would bring England into close alliance with France, but nothing more. There was a possibility that Philip might attach Mary to himself, though unless he could succeed in doing so it would still be emphatically opposed to his interests to see Mary on the English throne. Elizabeth could for the present remain free from the fear of Spanish intervention on Mary's behalf, and would rather make it her aim to attach Mary to England. The Scots of both parties saw possibilities of advantage for themselves in the return of the young queen to her native country. In August 1561 Mary left the land in which she had been bred and reached the bleak shores of her own northern kingdom.

III

THE CONTINENT: MARY STUART IN SCOTLAND

For a few years to come, England itself was settling down and rapidly developing strength and wealth under Burleigh's administration. Mary was following out her own dramatic destiny in Scotland. But on the Continent events were taking place, the meaning of which must be grasped in order to make the subsequent history intelligible.

In the first place the Council of Trent was brought to a conclusion. It had never been in any sense a Council of Christendom, since it had excluded from its deliberations so much of Christendom as challenged the spiritual supremacy of the papacy. But it defined Catholic doctrine from the Roman point of view, drawing its own ring-fence round the Church and parting those whom it recognised as Catholics from the rest of the world. The party label was accepted in common speech, but without any admission of the implied contention that those whom the Church of Rome chose to exclude were not members of the Church Catholic; precisely as an English political party calls itself and is called by its opponents Liberal or Conservative without implying its exclusive possession of the qualities expressed by those terms. Further, within the Roman Church there was being perfected that militant organisation known as the Order of the Jesuits, which played an extremely active part in the coming politico-religious struggle.

Next; in France began a series of wars of religion which continued into the last decade of the century. Among the nobility and the common people there was something like a balance between the Catholics and the Huguenots; the Huguenots being headed by the Bourbon branch of the royal family, which stood next in succession after the four brothers of whom the reigning king Charles IX. was the second. At the head of the Catholics stood the powerful Guise family. But between the two stood a middle party whose main object was the political one of preventing either Huguenots or Guises from becoming over powerful. This was the party

of Catherine de Medicis, who herself cared nothing for religion, but inclined towards repression or toleration of the Huguenots according to the exigencies of political strife. These came to be known as the *Politiques*. This strife of parties prevented France from concentrating on a national policy.

In the third place, Spain became involved in a long struggle with the Netherlands, which formed the main portion of Philip's Burgundian inheritance. Here there were two factors at work. The several states which made up the Netherlands or Low Countries had in effect been self-governing states in the past; whereas it was Philip's aim to subject them to Spanish domination, to which none of them were inclined to submit. But further, the Northern Provinces were fervent adherents of the Reformation, whereas the Southern Provinces, roughly corresponding to the modern Belgium, remained on the Catholic side. Philip regarded the suppression of heresy as his own special function. The Northern Netherlands therefore had the double grievance that Philip's policy sought to deprive them both of political and of religious liberty; the Southern States had only the political grievance. In 1567 the Duke of Alva was sent to the Netherlands as governor to crush resistance in general and heresy in particular, and in 1568 the Netherlands broke out in open revolt. From that time the recognised hero of the struggle for liberty was William the Silent, of Orange and Nassau, and the subjugation of the Netherlands took precedence of all other objects in the mind of Philip of Spain.



Queen Mary Stuart.

[After the painting by François Clouet.]

The dramatic interest centres entirely in Scotland. There the young queen on her arrival found the Lords of the Congregation completely dominant, while the two most powerful men in the country were the preacher John Knox and her own half-brother Lord James Stuart, better known to posterity by his later title of Earl of Moray. In Scotland there was no question of a Catholic element extending toleration to Protestants; the question was as to the amount of toleration which the Calvinistic

Protestants of the country would extend to the Catholics. A Catholic herself, all that Mary could do was to place herself ostensibly in Moray's hands, whatever hopes she may have cherished of ultimately restoring the ascendancy of her own faith. But she was able and ambitious, and she had been bred in a political atmosphere. She was also beautiful, and endowed with an extraordinary fascination. With her as with Elizabeth, the great problem was to find a suitable husband, a matter which was of extreme interest to the French, the Spanish, and the English courts.

Elizabeth tried hard to persuade her cousin to marry her own favourite Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, a younger son of the traitor Duke of Northumberland. The Queen of England had driven her own ministers to the verge of despair by giving colour to the suspicion that she had thoughts of marrying Leicester herself; and the proposal that Mary should marry him was resented as insulting. Both Charles IX. of France and Don Carlos the heir-apparent of Spain flitted across the Scots Queen's matrimonial horizon, but neither was ever a probable suitor. Mary, however, selected for herself Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley—the eldest son of the Earl of Lennox—who as we have seen stood not far from the succession to the thrones both of England and of Scotland, in right of his descent on one side from a daughter of Henry VII. and on the other from a daughter of James II. Darnley himself passed for a Catholic, and the union would strengthen Mary's hold on the English Catholics. Unhappily for Mary, Darnley was utterly unfitted for the position she gave him. Intellectually and morally he was entirely despicable, as she was soon to find to her cost. Moreover the marriage alarmed and angered many of Mary's Protestant subjects, including Moray, who took up arms, but then thought it better to retire from Scotland. Mary was now managing her own affairs and ignoring her husband, who was easily inspired with a furious jealousy towards her Italian secretary, David Rizzio. The secretary was likewise detested by the Scots Lords because the queen placed her confidence in him and distrusted them. Several of them entered into a "band" with Darnley himself for the slaying of Rizzio, and the secretary was butchered almost before Mary's very eyes in the palace of Holyrood.

Mary was without a friend she could trust, tied to a husband whom she loathed most deservedly, surrounded by men who had proved themselves utterly unscrupulous. And yet there was one daring ruffian whom she did trust, or at least on whose loyalty to her she relied, James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell; but for practical purposes she was a woman helpless in the hands of her enemies—a girl rather, for she was but three-and-twenty when her husband and his fellow-conspirators committed their unpardonable outrage. She would have been either more or less than human if her soul had not longed for vengeance, and, above all, vengeance on her husband. Yet since she could not strike, she suffered herself to make some show of reconciliation leading up to a new tragedy. There

were many of the Scots Lords who were ready to help her to that, for Darnley was unendurable. Before twelve months were out the vengeance fell. Mary and her husband were together. He was ill, and they were quartered, not at Holyrood, but in a house called Kirk o' Field close to Edinburgh, a house which had been selected by Bothwell and Maitland of Lethington, the cleverest politician in Scotland. Fortunately for Moray, who had been restored to favour, his wife fell ill and he was summoned to her side. One of the queen's servants was to be married, and late that night Mary left the doomed house to attend the bridal masque. Before she could return, the house was blown up. When search was made, the body of Darnley was found close by, dead, but bearing no signs of injury.



Queen Mary surrenders to the Confederate Lords at the battle of Carberry Hill, 1567.

[From "Vetusta Monumenta."]

Was Mary guilty? On the evidence, as we have it, a modern jury in a law court would be obliged to acquit her, because guilt is not definitely proved; but it would be difficult to find twelve men any one of whom after hearing the evidence believed in his heart that she was morally innocent. The first quite plain fact is that the murder was carried out by Bothwell, the next that Maitland and Morton were both privy to it. It is scarcely possible to doubt that Mary left Kirk o' Field that night without any expectation of seeing her husband alive again. It is not easy to doubt that Moray at least suspected that the tragedy was imminent, and deliberately absented himself in order to avoid inconvenient entanglement. But this amounts to no more than saying that both Mary and Moray knew enough to enable them to save Darnley if either of them had chosen to do so.

The standard of political morality which refused to connive at assassination was exceedingly rare outside of England. Philip of Spain and a whole series of his ambassadors connived at plots for the murder of Queen Elizabeth, and for the murder of William of Orange. In France the massacre of St. Bartholomew was the deliberate letting loose of religious fanaticism in order to achieve a political end by assassination on an enormous scale. In England one Spanish ambassador noted with extreme disgust the difficulty of getting any one to lend himself to such expedients ; the Englishman's passion for doing everything by form of law was too

strong. Yet Henry VIII. had encouraged the murder of Cardinal Beaton, while in Scotland assassination was almost a commonplace ; and so far as Mary herself was guilty, she shared her guilt with the very men who sought to turn her ruin to their own advancement.

But the special points are : first, that there was a political as well as a personal motive for the crime, because Darnley had fully proved that so long as he lived either his follies or his vices would make havoc of every political design of Mary's ; and next, that the current morality of the period, even while it forbade persons in high positions openly to associate themselves with such crimes, did



James Stewart, Earl of Moray.
[Regent of Scotland.]

not by any means prohibit a very flimsily veiled connivance. The thing that was fatal to Mary Stuart was precisely the recklessness with which she permitted her actions to tear in pieces the flimsy veil which propriety demanded. If the unhappy queen had not chosen to marry the murderer himself almost on the morrow of his deed her actual complicity would probably have been, not acknowledged, but both assumed and condoned. As it was, she made herself an accessory after the fact, and gave the whole crime the appearance of being, not political, but the outcome of a guilty amour ; though it can never be proved beyond question that she had more than an inkling of the plot beforehand.

The drama moved forward swiftly. Three months after the murder Mary was Bothwell's wife. Another month, and at Carbery Hill she surrendered to the lords who had risen in arms, while Bothwell made his escape. She was carried to Lochleven Castle, and while there was compelled to sign a deed of abdication in favour of the infant she had borne

between the two murders; Moray being nominated as regent, with a council which included Morton, who has already been named as one of those privy to the murder of Darnley.

The arrangements of the new government were by no means to the mind of all the nobles, and Moray had some hard work before his authority was completely enforced. Even then the Hamiltons, angry at being set aside in favour of Moray, succeeded in contriving Mary's escape from Lochleven, and gathering a force to restore her to the throne. Just eleven months after Carbery Hill, Mary struck her last blow for her crown on Scottish soil at Langside. The battle was short and decisive. The queen's troops were completely routed; she herself fled southward, crossed the Solway, and threw herself on the generosity of her loving sister of England.

IV

CROSS CURRENTS

The England of 1568 was by no means the England of 1558. Ten years of a steady, honest, and business-like government had established the national finances on a sound basis, completely restored public confidence, and revived the activity of trade. The regulation of home trade and industry had been reorganised by the Statute of Apprentices. The process of enclosure had apparently been brought to a natural end, because the time had arrived when it was no longer obviously advantageous to the landowner to convert arable land into pasture; there was no more displacement of labour, and the labour which had already been displaced was beginning to find industrial instead of agricultural employment. The moral depression of the years preceding Elizabeth's accession had passed away, giving place to a spirit of energetic self-confidence which was finding expression in the adventurous activities of the seamen. Elizabeth was firmly seated on her throne, and the fact had become obvious to the world, as well as to the queen and to Cecil, that neither France nor Spain would or could openly assume the championship of Mary Stuart's title to the throne of England. Any attempt to do so by one of those two Powers would compel the intervention of the other, and both already had too much on their hands to enter upon outside adventures which did not promise immediate and certain benefit. England, in short, had passed from a condition of instability to one of assured stability. The immediate trouble which vexed the souls of her statesmen was the question of the succession if anything should happen to Elizabeth, a question which Elizabeth herself preferred to leave to chance. She had no intention of dying, and what might happen if she should die interested her less than the control of events during her own lifetime.

Such was the position when Mary Stuart crossed the Solway, and by

so doing presented Elizabeth with a very inconvenient problem. If she restored her cousin in Scotland by force she would alienate Scottish Protestantism. If she handed her over to the victorious Lords of the Congregation she would be condoning rebellion. If she allowed Mary passage to France, and the queen were reinstated in Scotland by French



Sir Thomas Gresham, Banker and Merchant
under Mary and Elizabeth.

[From a statue in Gresham College.]

aid, she would in effect be restoring the old French ascendancy in Scotland. She rejected each of these courses and resolved to keep Mary a prisoner in her own hands, in spite of the risk of her becoming a figurehead for any conspiracies directed against Elizabeth herself.

But the first thing to do was to minimise Mary's power for harm and at the same time to get some sort of colour for holding her prisoner. Elizabeth could plausibly assert that she was not justified in restoring Mary until the charges brought against her by her subjects had been investigated. Mary could not prevent an investigation, however vehemently she might deny that the English queen had any right of jurisdiction in the matter. So a commission was appointed at York, and later transferred to Westminster, before which the Scots Lords were invited to defend their own actions, which meant in plain fact to formulate their charges. They did so and put in their evidence, including the famous Casket Letters; documents which, if they had actually been written by Queen Mary, carried absolute proof of her guilt. The evidence having been produced, further proceedings were stopped. There was no cross-examination, no admission of evidence on the other side. Mary of course could not be condemned, but Elizabeth did

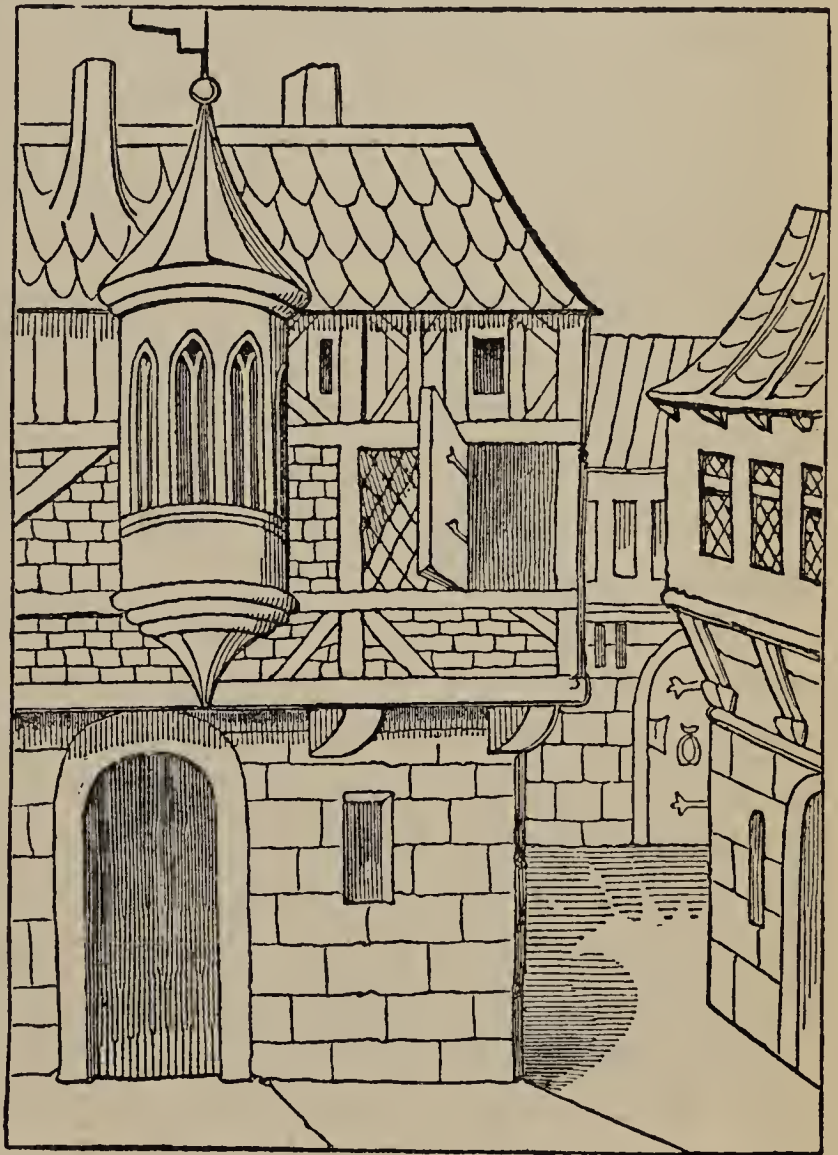
not wish to condemn her; she merely wished to blacken her character thoroughly in the eyes of the world, and, having done so with complete success, to retain a large latitude of choice in such further action as expediency might suggest.

Mary was kept in ward, but the publication of the charges against her did not prevent her from at once becoming the centre of plotting among disloyal Romanists. The Duke of Norfolk, the premier peer of the kingdom, had been one of the commissioners for her trial; but the evidence did

not dissuade him from himself contemplating marriage with Mary. The earldom of Northumberland had been restored to the Percies, and in 1569 the Northern earls rose with the design of setting the Catholic Mary on the throne of England. The rising was crushed, and the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland were driven from the country; but the general effect was to bring wavering supporters of the old religion decisively into the ranks of the loyalists. The world as a matter of course believed that Mary had been involved in the conspiracy, and popular animosity towards her was intensified; though as before it did not suit Elizabeth to take any steps for proving either her guilt or her innocence.

Catholic loyalty to the Crown would probably have been completely confirmed, but for the Pope's blunder in issuing a bull deposing Elizabeth and laying upon all good Catholics the duty of seeking her removal from the throne, while instructing them to maintain an appearance of loyalty until the moment should arrive for striking. The host of loyal Catholics who set patriotism before their allegiance to the Pope were placed in a hopelessly false position. The most fervent declarations of loyalty were compatible with complete acceptance of the papal bull; which accordingly made every adherent of the old religion a suspect, and of necessity led to a greatly increased rigour in the application of the laws against papal practices; so that from this time onward adherence to Romanism became politically dangerous, while it entailed a considerable degree of petty persecution.

The sentiment of hostility to Rome and all her works was intensified, and there was a growing feeling in favour of England standing forth as the champion of Protestantism and the ally of Protestants, whether they were French Huguenots or Netherlanders struggling against Alva and the tyranny of Spain. English Protestantism fully recognised Spain as the enemy, all the more readily because English seamen were endeavouring to force their way into the New World, where Spain blocked the entry, and sailors who fell into the hands of the Spaniards were handed over as heretics to the tender mercies of the Inquisition. But Elizabeth, while she



Town houses in the 16th century.

[From Barclay's "Ship of Fools," 1570.]

knew that sooner or later England would have to fight Spain, was determined to put off the evil day as long as possible. The primary object of her diplomacy was to avert war at least until she felt strong enough to be sure of victory. She would not openly quarrel with Spain. But at the same time she was supremely anxious to preserve amicable relations with the government of France, whether Huguenots or Catholics were dominant.

At the end of 1571 an open rupture was with difficulty averted. A plot was discovered, for which the agent in England was one Ridolfi, which aimed at liberating Mary, marrying her to Norfolk, setting her on the throne, and killing Elizabeth. It was abundantly clear that the Spanish ambassador Don Guerau de Espes was in the plot. He was expelled from the country, and if parliament had had its way Mary would have been attainted and executed; but Elizabeth held fast to her own scheme of treatment for the captive. Philip himself was paralysed for action by the sudden outburst of a fresh revolt in the Netherlands, which Alva imagined himself to have brought into subjection. Elizabeth was dallying with projects for her own marriage, first with Henry of Anjou, the heir-presumptive of his brother Charles IX. in France, and then with his still younger brother, Francis of Alençon, who was only some twenty years younger than herself.

But again the situation was changed by an appalling tragedy. France was apparently on the verge of a religious settlement. Huguenot influence was predominant, and the Bourbon Henry of Navarre, the Huguenot figure-head, and heir to the crown after the king's brothers, was about to marry the king's sister. There was a vast gathering of Huguenots in Paris for the celebration of the wedding, which took place on August 18th. Six days later the streets of Paris were running red with the blood of the victims of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The possibility of a French marriage for Elizabeth for the time being vanished completely; to the disappointment of Elizabeth's ministers, who had hoped by means of it to secure France as a Protestant force in European politics. Indeed, whether she were Catholic or Protestant, France's political interests were so vitally antagonistic to those of Philip that even after St. Bartholomew, Orange would have accepted a French protectorate as the price of French aid when he despaired of definite assistance from England.

In the repulsion aroused in England by the massacre, Philip found his opportunity for reviving an appearance of amity with Elizabeth, in order to deter her from active intervention on behalf of the Netherland Protestants. Alva, by his own wish, was recalled from the Netherlands, and a governor whose methods were less drastic took his place. The southern provinces were detached from the revolt by proposals for meeting their constitutional demands as distinct from the religious demands of the northern provinces. Popular sympathy in England remained with Orange, but Elizabeth's personal views were antagonistic to the encouragement of subjects who declined to have their religion dictated to them by their

legitimate sovereign. In plain terms, her sympathies as a ruler were with Philip, though she felt the political expediency of fostering the forces which held him in check. She could not afford to allow the Protestant provinces to be crushed completely, but she would give them no more than just enough help to preserve them from destruction, and that help was given grudgingly and secretly.

And so she and Philip, each privily seeking to damage the other as much as possible, both publicly insisted on their desire for a reconciliation and an adjustment of the grievances of which the two countries complained. At the same time neither had the slightest intention of conceding what the other most strongly insisted on, Elizabeth demanding for English sailors in Spanish ports immunity from the claims of the Inquisition to seize them as heretics, while Philip demanded the suppression and punishment of the seamen whom he regarded as pirates. Still the mutual protestations of goodwill seemed to be quite promising when, for the first time since the Ridolfi plot, a Spanish ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza, appeared in England in 1578. The time, however, was at hand when the papacy and the Jesuits were to take up the business of attacking England.

In the meanwhile Scotland was enduring the government of regencies in the name of the child James VI. Moray ruled with vigour and ability, but eighteen months had hardly passed since Langside when he was assassinated. After that came chaos, which after a considerable period issued in the predominance of Morton, who became regent at the end of 1572. It was not till then that that party among the nobles who had attached themselves to the scheme of restoring Mary to the throne was definitely crushed. For six years Morton remained supreme, enforcing the law with a strong hand, and with justice except when injustice was better suited to his personal interest. But such rule was popular with no class of the community. He was a political Protestant who would by no means counte-



Queen Elizabeth hunting.

[From Turberville, "Noble Art of Venerie," 1575.]

nance the claims of the Calvinistic clergy to assume the position of the prophets of Israel. The government needed money, and its exactions fell heavily on the common people. The nobles wanted to go their own way, whereas Morton made them go his. In 1578 he realised that he had brought together such a formidable combination of enemies that he resigned the regency ; but the chaos which immediately followed soon enabled him to recover a brief ascendancy, which was again broken down through the appearance in Scotland of the king's cousin, Esmé Stewart or D'Aubigny, who was now the male representative of the Lennox Stewarts.

V

IRELAND

The rule of St. Leger in Ireland had pointed not very conclusively to the possibility that combined firmness and tact might introduce into the country some conception of law and order as ends which it might be generally profitable to pursue. St. Leger had been superseded by Bellingham, who had taught the Irish chiefs that lawlessness and disorder might entail very unpleasant consequences, under a stern English governor with an adequate force at his disposal. But he had also inspired the Irish with a fervent dislike to any kind of English government which did not allow them to go their own way. If they had had any capacity for combination, Bellingham's disappearance would probably have been the signal for a concerted uprising with which the governments of Edward VI. and Mary would have been quite unable to deal. But they preferred relapsing into general disorder, and English rule was again hardly felt outside the Pale except in the south, where, perhaps owing to jealousy of the Geraldines, the Butlers were consistently loyal to England.

Now, while Mary was still reigning in England, there arose in Ulster a leader who presently caused serious trouble to Elizabeth. This was Shane O'Neill, who was the legitimate heir of the Earl of Tyrone, although the peculiarities of Irish custom allowed the recognition in his place of a younger and illegitimate brother. Matters were simplified when the brother was killed, leaving a youthful heir. Shane, in accordance with another Irish custom, got himself elected as "the O'Neill," chief of the traditionally dominant clan of Ulster. In this capacity he rapidly made his power felt, and became practically master of the north of Ireland, where he exacted an obedience to his rule not less effective than that exercised by the English government within the Pale. There the English Deputy, the Earl of Sussex, was forced to rely upon his English soldiery, who were generally speaking the worst kind of riff-raff ; whose perpetual misconduct persistently destroyed the moral effects which ought to have followed upon the enforcement of authority. Shane's indepen-

dence caused the Deputy to attack him in arms, with the result that his expedition narrowly escaped being cut to pieces.

Elizabeth made up her mind that Shane was a fitter subject for conciliation than for coercion. He was summoned to England, whither he came under a safe conduct, and where he studied English ways with Lord Robert Dudley, the future Earl of Leicester, as his tutor. But during his absence, wild disorder raged in Ulster. Elizabeth was obliged to recognise that he was the one man who could rule Ulster, and to let him return with very large authority sanctioned by the queen. For the next three years O'Neill was consolidating his rule. Elizabeth's ministers, with benevolent intent, devised the scheme of dividing Ireland into four presidencies or provinces. One was to be the Pale, that is Leinster; O'Neill was to be president in Ulster, a Geraldine in Munster, and a Burke or an O'Brien in Connaught. This system in the two latter provinces only opened the way to violent tribal feuds; while O'Neill continued to prove himself the one strong man, though his methods were rather those of an oriental potentate than of a western ruler.

In 1566 Sir Henry Sidney came to Ireland as Deputy, and Shane found an antagonist who taxed his abilities to the utmost. Sidney promptly informed Elizabeth that, if English government was to prevail in Ireland, O'Neill must be suppressed, to which end he must have the necessary forces. With extreme difficulty the supplies were extorted from the reluctant queen. Sidney's diplomacy dissuaded Desmond from joining O'Neill; Sidney himself marched into Ulster; the O'Donnells of Tyrconnel, who had an old complaint against O'Neill, rose to take vengeance. O'Neill had to fly and take refuge among his very dubious friends, the Scottish colony of Antrim, and there he lost his life in a brawl.

So fell the first Irish chief who may be suspected of having formed the deliberate design of throwing off the English yoke; for such a description would hardly apply to the men who had supported the adventure of Edward Bruce two and a half centuries before. And Shane had set the ominous example of opening correspondence with foreign Powers on the basis of national Irish loyalty to the Roman religion. With O'Neill's fall Elizabeth's government began trying to enforce the Act of Uniformity outside the Pale; and from that time forward the religious grievance took its place beside the national grievance against English domination.

In the years that followed both these grievances were greatly embittered, and a third, thenceforth of vital importance, began to assume an acute form. Over the greater part of Ireland the relations between the occupiers and the owners of the soil were fixed in fact, not by English law, but by the Celtic tribal traditions of centuries. The customs according to English ideas were bad; but bad or good, the Irish people were passionately attached to them. The Englishman likes to believe that political institutions are a matter of common sense in which there is no room for sentiment. When sentiment gets the better of him, he persuades himself that it is not sentiment

at all but common sense. With the Celt, sentiment stands first, and a very long way first. The Elizabethan Englishman proposed to substitute common sense for sentiment in the government of Ireland. His common sense taught him that if Ireland were planted with English colonies, English laws were applied to the holding of land, and English law generally were enforced, sentiment would die a natural death, and Ireland would become a second England. Incidentally the process appeared to demand the treatment of the native Irish as unreasoning savages, brutal and treacherous, on whom it was useless to waste intelligent argument or human sympathy. They must be ruled by brute force. There was indeed a good deal of excuse for the point of view. Irish sentiment being unintelligible to the Englishman, the Englishman attributed its existence to lack of intelligence in the Irishman; and the Irishman, being treated as outside the pale of civilisation, acted accordingly. But in his eyes it was the Englishman who was the aggressor.

In an evil hour, then, the English hit upon the happy expedient of planting English colonies; in an evil hour, because every circumstance combined to ensure the maximum of hostility between the colonists and the natives. The land to be colonised was provided by the seizure of domains for which the holders could prove no title valid in English law, however secure it might be according to Irish customs. These lands were conferred upon adventurers, chiefly gentlemen from Devon, who were prepared to take care of themselves without expense to the English government—an arrangement which appealed to the economical soul of Elizabeth. The scheme was applied in the province of Munster very shortly after the death of Shane O'Neill. Another experiment of the same kind was tried in Ulster. In both cases the attempt to rule with an iron hand was met by savage outbreaks and massacres, answered by equally savage reprisals; and the English government still refused to provide the government of Ireland with the supply of well-paid troops under thorough discipline which the situation absolutely demanded. The alternatives were a despotic but carefully just rule maintained by a palpably irresistible force, or a consistently conciliatory attitude. There was a possibility that either policy might have had a really successful issue. But the Irish got neither, and every day hatred of England and of English rule struck its roots deeper and deeper.

VI

THE SEAMEN

In the first twenty years of Elizabeth's reign she and her ministers restored order where there had been chaos: a stable government, sound finance, a religious peace in which the great bulk of the nation acquiesced. France and Spain both learnt that England would go on its own way;

indifferent to any threats from any foreign Power, knowing that whatever they might threaten, they were impotent to take effective action against her. England was playing no heroic part ; she rejected the rôle of the champion of Liberty, civil or religious. She would embark on no great adventure. The second half of the reign was to see her challenging and breaking the might of the greatest Power in Europe, and asserting for herself an unqualified supremacy by sea. It was to see her also step into the front rank among the peoples who have given to the world great poets and great thinkers. Already, however, in 1579, while as yet scarcely a hint had appeared of the literary splendours which were so soon to burst forth, the English seamen knew that when the hour of conflict should arrive, their own supremacy was assured.

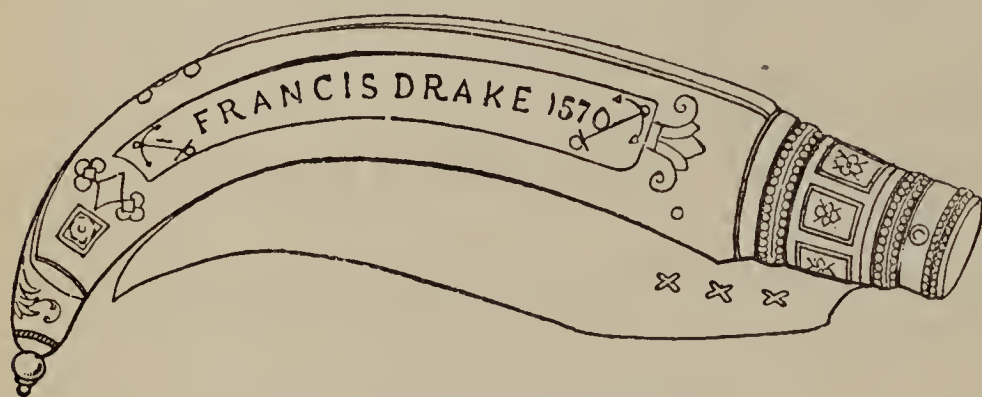
In the narrow seas English sailors had always held their own since the days when Hubert de Burgh dispersed a French Armada off Dover. The two great Edwards and Henry V. had been alive to the uses of fighting fleets, which English statesmen occasionally endeavoured to foster, with no very marked success, by Navigation Acts. But, until the sixteenth century, the recognised maritime Powers were the dwellers on the Mediterranean, and the Portuguese. The reign of Henry VIII., however, saw signs of the coming maritime expansion. The creation of a royal navy was that monarch's pet hobby ; it was the one useful object on which he expended a portion of the spoils of the monasteries. He was the first king who really owned a considerable navy of fighting ships, although in the ten years after his death its strength in numbers and in tonnage was reduced to about one half.

But, in fact, England was awakening to a consciousness of her maritime destiny. English sailors were making adventurous expeditions, intent on exploration or on commerce ; even the reign of Edward VI. witnessed the departure of the expedition of Willoughby and Chancellor in search of a north-east passage to the Indies—an expedition which resulted in the "discovery of Muscovy," the opening of direct communications with Russia. But by the time of Elizabeth's accession they were already turning emulous eyes to the realms of fabulous wealth where the Spaniard had established his dominion. Apart from that shoulder of South America which the Pope had inadvertently bestowed upon Portugal, the whole of that continent, as well as North America up to Florida, was regarded by the King of Spain as his private estate, in which a strict trading monopoly was preserved. That trading monopoly was resented by the English, who claimed that it was in contravention of past treaties. Moreover, it was inconvenient to the Spaniards themselves, to whom English sailors brought goods which they were prohibited from buying, but were quite ready to buy on some show of compulsion.

John Hawkins, to his profit, broke through the official barriers with a cargo of negro slaves, purchased from native chiefs on the African coast. The negro was a much more efficient labourer than the so-called "Indian"

of America, and John Hawkins repeated the experiment. His first venture had displeased the King of Spain, and the official barriers were less easily penetrated the second time. But they yielded to a formal display of force. Hawkins sold his slaves and returned to England a wealthy man, but under official Spanish condemnation as a pirate.

He sailed a third time, and with him his young cousin Francis Drake. His previous experiences were repeated, but when he had already started

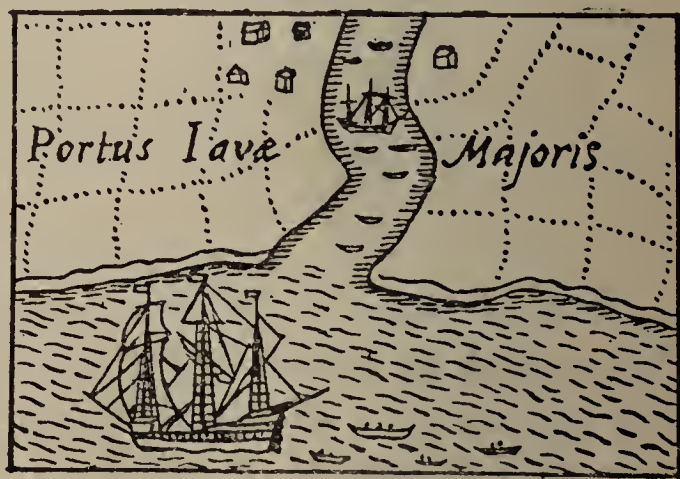


Knife which belonged to Drake.

for home his three ships were driven back by stress of weather to the Mexican port of San Juan D'Ulloa. He was received with entire friendliness, but, while he was still in port, a large Spanish squadron arrived on the scene. The attitude

of friendliness was maintained; but Hawkins' suspicions were aroused, and he was preparing for departure when the Spaniards made a sudden attack upon him. Hawkins and Drake, with two of the ships, escaped; but with the loss of a large part of the crews, many of whom fell into the hands of the Inquisition, to be treated not as pirates—for which there would have been technical excuse—but as heretics. England and Spain were at peace; but from this time forward both English and Spaniards acted on the hypothesis that beyond the line—not the Equator but the Pope's boundary line between Spaniards on the west and Portuguese on the east of it—there was a declared state of war.

Five years later, in 1572, Francis Drake set sail with a small company in three ships for the Spanish Main, the mainland of South America. The expedition was in the technical sense wholly piratical, that is to say, he intended to seize by force any Spanish treasure



Drake's ship, the *Golden Hind*, at Java.

[From the Chart of Drake's voyages.]

which fell in his way. Cecil, who about this time became known as Lord Burleigh, was perhaps the only prominent Englishman who viewed such proceedings with disfavour; he had in full measure that passion for legality which has usually been so marked a feature in the English character. But the rest of his countrymen, with the queen at their head, had no compunction whatever in encouraging such ventures, participating in the risks, or sharing the profits; although the proprieties might compel them personally to remain in the background. Drake seized a quantity of treasure in the Spanish emporium Nombre de Dios on the Isthmus of Darien. Then he laid up his ships, penetrated the Isthmus, saw the

Pacific, and swore that he would sail upon those seas. On his way back to the coast he fell in with two treasure-laden mule-trains, and returned, well recompensed, to England.

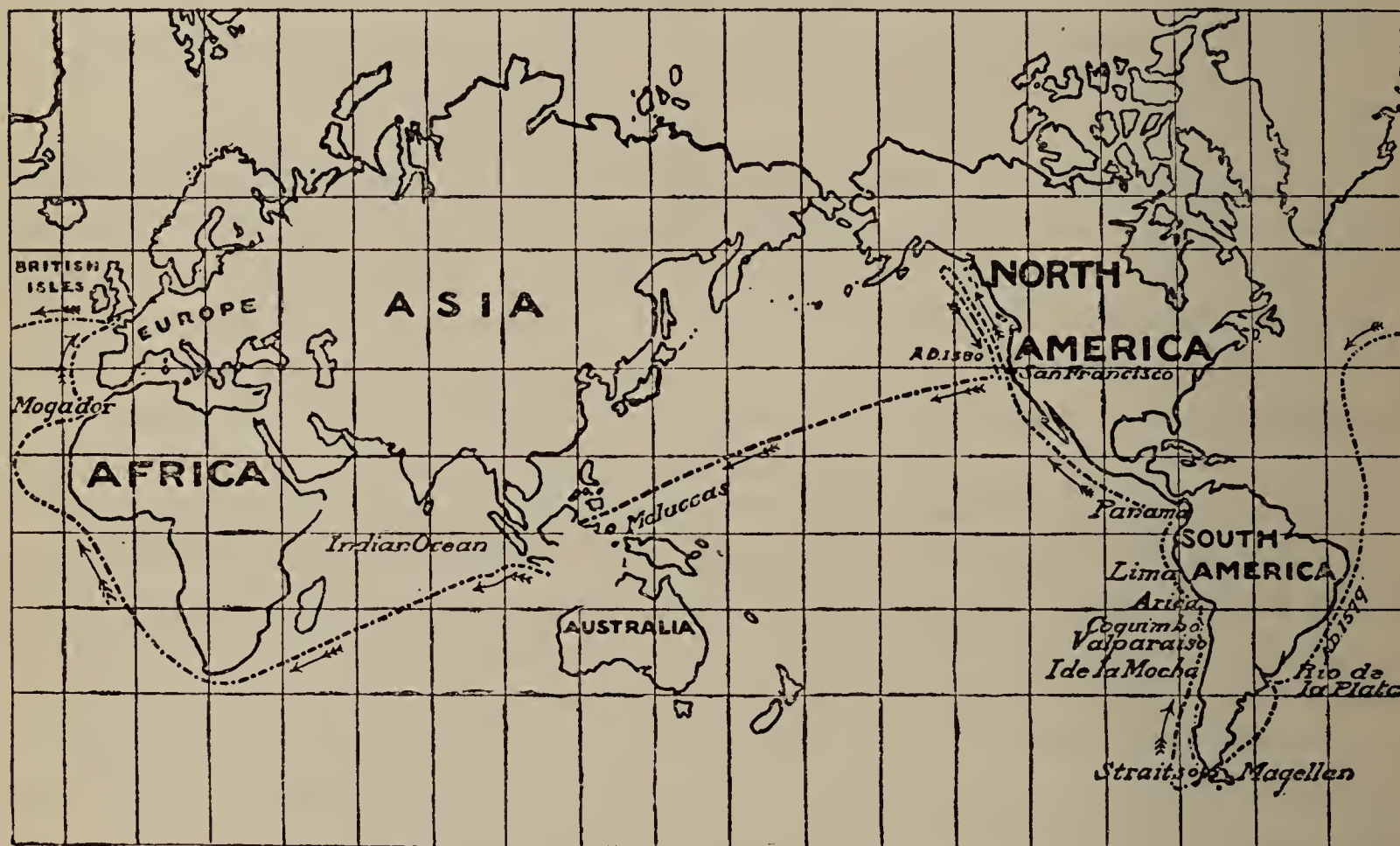
Thence he sailed again on the most famous of all his voyages in the last month of 1577. Meanwhile another adventurer, John Oxenham, more reckless though not more daring, had won the credit of being the first Englishman to sail on the Pacific Ocean, having, like Drake, crossed the Isthmus of Darien and then built himself a pinnace with which he surprised and looted two Spanish treasure-ships. Oxenham, however, was caught and killed.

Drake started on his great voyage with the intention of doing what only one man had done before him, entering the Pacific by the Strait of Magellan. So daring a scheme was undreamed of by the Spaniards, and twelve months after he first set sail, Drake with his famous ship the *Pelican*, renamed the *Golden Hind*, began his raids on Spanish ports and Spanish treasure-ships, on the west coast of South America. Enormous prizes fell into his hands; but he evaded the Spanish ships which were sent after him, and, sailing northward with the idea of possibly discovering a north-east passage, he touched at California. Thither he returned again to refit, when further exploration decided him against attempting the northern voyage. He declined the divine honours proffered to him by the Californian natives, and made his way home through the Southern Archipelago and round the Cape of Good Hope—the first captain who had in person conducted and completed the circumnavigation of the globe. The *Golden Hind* sailed into Plymouth Sound on September 26th, 1580.

Already another of the great captains, Martin Frobisher, had made three Arctic voyages, in the course of which he explored the waters now known as Frobisher's Sound. During the years ensuing his example was followed by John Davis, whose name stands second only to that of Drake in the list of English explorers.

These are the conspicuous instances of the mighty spirit of adventure which had taken possession of the English seamen. Their boundless audacity can be felt by realising that Drake's company on his Darien expedition numbered less than six score; that the *Pelican* herself was of only one hundred tons burden; and that Martin Frobisher's first ship was of no more than twenty-five tons. The English seamen, in fact, carried the art of navigation to a pitch hitherto unprecedented; and they discovered the all-important fact that with sufficient breezes the sailing ship in skilful hands was a more efficient instrument than the oar-driven galley. They found by practical experience that a well-handled English ship could sail round a Spanish galleon of thrice the size and pound it to pieces with comparatively little injury to itself. They learnt how to handle ships and how to build them, how to mount their guns so as to pour in broadsides, while the Spaniard still held the conventional belief that the business of a ship in battle was to ram or to grapple her opponent and leave the fighting

to the soldiers. Even before Drake's return, and very much more so after it, the English sailors knew themselves a match for the Spaniards. They had learned to hate Spain as the instrument of the Inquisition and also as the monopoliser of the wealth of the New World; to hate her and to crave for her destruction as the enemy of England; and they had learnt also how her destruction was to be wrought. Their hour was at hand.



Drake's voyage round the world, 1577-1580.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DAY OF TRIUMPH

I

THE JESUIT ATTACK

IN the year 1578, Philip's lieutenant in the Netherlands was his half-brother Don John of Austria, who enjoyed a brilliant reputation as a soldier and was meditating grandiose schemes of his own which probably included his marriage with Mary Stuart. Elizabeth, as we have seen, had no real sympathy with William of Orange, since she hated and feared the doctrine that subjects might legitimately offer armed resistance to their lawful sovereign. But she could not afford to see the Provinces crushed, because Philip would then be left free to employ all his energies against England. She did not want openly to take the part of the Provinces, but there was a possibility that France might do so out of antagonism to Philip, even although the King, Henry III., was suspected and feared by the Protestants as having been very deeply implicated in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Now both Elizabeth and Burleigh in their hearts were more afraid of France than of Spain; not as matters actually stood, but if France should succeed in healing her internal discords and aggrandising herself at the expense of Spain.

Elizabeth therefore could not view with equanimity the prospect of Orange throwing himself completely upon French support and accepting a French protectorate. And yet she wanted to impose upon France the burden of supporting the Netherlands revolt. To this end in the year 1578 she revived the old business of negotiating for her own marriage with Francis of Alençon. Alençon was more or less in alliance with the French Huguenots; in the event of a French protectorate the office of Protector would be conferred upon him; and Elizabeth hoped to keep him virtually under her own control by dangling before him the prospect of a marriage with herself. For five years she managed to keep up the farce, always evading the actual marriage, although more than once she seemed to have committed herself so far as to make withdrawal impossible.

Late in the year 1578 Don John died, and was succeeded as governor of the Netherlands by Alexander of Parma, the ablest soldier and one of the ablest statesmen of the age. Politically Parma succeeded in narrowing the issue in the Netherlands by detaching the Southern Catholics from

the Northern Protestants ; but by so doing he gave the struggle the definite character of a war waged by the United Provinces of the North for the preservation of their religious liberty. The one thing certain was that those provinces would hold out to the last gasp. English volunteers fought for the Dutch in the Low Countries ; England secretly supplied Orange with funds just sufficient to preserve from complete financial collapse ; and Elizabeth kept Alençon in play. Such was the inglorious part which she chose to take in that glorious struggle.

But England herself now became the object of attack ; a papal attack which Philip of Spain fostered in the same sort of fashion as Elizabeth herself fostered Philip's enemies and encouraged the depredations of the English seamen. The agents of the attack were the Jesuits and the English Romanist zealots trained by Cardinal Allen in his seminary first at Douai and then at Rheims. These were men who for the most part believed with an entire conviction that their first patriotic duty towards England was to bring her back to the Roman fold at whatever political cost. The attack was threefold. It was directed to the resuscitation in Scotland of a Catholic party, which should appeal to national sentiment by pressing the claim of the Stuart succession to the throne of England. In Ireland it sought to raise insurrection ; and in England itself it developed a vigorous Romanist propaganda, associated with the doctrine that Romanists were bound to do everything in their power to subvert the government of Elizabeth but were individually free to follow any course which might divert suspicions of disloyalty.

In Scotland the agent of the scheme was Esmé Stuart, who captured the confidence of the young king by professing to have been converted to Protestantism by his superhuman dialectical skill. But though Esmé Stuart was made Duke of Lennox and compassed the downfall and execution of Morton, there was no effective Romanist reaction ; and Scotland was not attracted into hostility to the English government.

In Ireland the flame was kindled by the Jesuit emissary Sandars, who arrived in the island as Papal Nuncio, and by Fitzmaurice, an exiled rebel who was Desmond's cousin. The murder of two English officers started the conflagration. Half Munster rose, and Desmond was drawn into assuming the leadership. Malby, the English president of Connaught, dashed into Munster, swept through it with fire and sword, and having, as he hoped, terrorised the province sufficiently, fell back into Connaught. The moment he was gone Desmond again issued from his fortress of Ashketyn, and recovered the mastery of Munster. For some time the war took the shape of a series of savage raids and counter-raids, till Elizabeth was at last driven to provide sufficient supplies. But just as it seemed that the insurrection would be stamped out, the Catholics in the Pale itself rose, and a force of Italian and Spanish adventurers landed in the south-west at Smerwick. The Deputy himself, Lord Grey de Wilton, met with a disastrous defeat among the mountains of Wicklow. The revival of the insurrection,

however, was brief. There was no organisation among the insurgents. In the late autumn Grey marched to the south and laid siege to Smerwick, supported by a squadron of English ships which had been despatched to his assistance. Smerwick was forced to surrender at discretion and the garrison were put to the sword. Its fall was practically decisive. A desultory struggle was still maintained, the English hanging and slaying ruthlessly wherever they met with resistance, while the Irish slaughtered the English whenever an opportunity occurred. A couple of years passed before the smoulderings of revolt were completely stamped out, but the Irish leaders had learnt that they were not strong enough to fight the English unaided and that active aid from Philip would not be forthcoming. He was willing to use them as catspaws, but would not commit himself on their behalf.

In England the papal mission was in the charge of Parsons and Campian. Campian was a single-minded enthusiast, ready for martyrdom in the holy cause of the Redemption of England; a man without guile and with no suspicion of the sinister purposes of which his own simplicity and enthusiasm were being made the instruments. It was his business to inspire religious zeal; it was that of his colleague to adapt that work to political ends—in other words, to foster treason. The country was flooded with Jesuit emissaries of both types. But they found their match in the



Francis Walsingham.

Secretary Francis Walsingham, who for some twenty years counteracted every conspiracy and plot that was concocted by a consummate system of espionage. Invariably at the critical moment Walsingham's hand fell. His methods were unscrupulous. His own hands were clean. He was absolutely incorruptible, absolutely devoted to the cause of his country and of Protestantism. He was the one minister who never hesitated to speak his mind to Elizabeth, the one man of whom she herself was afraid. But if his own hands were clean, he had no hesitation in employing the basest instruments and leaving them to employ the basest means in his warfare with enemies who, in his belief, could be fought effectively only with their own weapons. Walsingham was mainly responsible for the employment in England of torture, not as a form of punishment, but in order to extract evidence from reluctant witnesses. In his excuse it can only be urged that torture was universally employed outside of England, and was universally condoned by public opinion. It was now freely employed against the Jesuits, who displayed the same admirable constancy which is habitually shown by the martyrs of religious enthusiasm, whatever their creed.

Campion himself was one of the victims whose sufferings and death really furthered, instead of injuring, the cause for which they died.

But the cause against which Walsingham was fighting was ruined by the attendant disclosures, in spite of the aid it received from the blood of its martyrs. More than ever in the eyes of the public at large, as well as of statesmen, Romanism was identified with treason, and the Jesuit mission drove the parliament of 1581 to impose new penal laws upon the Catholics. Those who had remained loyal to the old faith were heavily penalised for celebrating the Roman Mass and for non-attendance at Anglican services. It was made treason to become a convert, or to attempt to make converts, to Rome. The lives of Catholics were made a burden to them, and the burden was not removed for generations.

In 1583 the Alençon farce came to an end. That contemptible prince entered on his own account upon a plot for the betrayal of the Netherlanders which was discovered and frustrated. From that moment his political career was at an end, and he vanished from the political stage on which he had played so prominent and so despicable a part. In the following year he died.

II

COMING TO THE GRIP

French policy was complicated by the fact that King Henry III. and the court party, while they would have liked to crush the Huguenot heresy, detested still more the political ascendancy of the Guise faction, which for family reasons ardently favoured the cause of Mary Stuart. Moreover the Guises and their extreme supporters were ready, in their religious fanaticism, to go so far as to seek, though not yet openly, an understanding with Spain. The criminal folly of Alençon strengthened the Guises. Hence developed the Throgmorton Plot, which as a matter of course was detected and dealt with at the beginning of 1584. The Guises, sundry English Catholics, and the Spanish ambassador in England, Mendoza, were involved in a scheme for a Guise invasion, of course with the object of setting Mary on the throne. As usual there was no definite proof produced of personal complicity on the part of the imprisoned queen. There was no possible reason why she should be dragged into it. But quite enough was revealed to intensify the common feeling that Elizabeth's security demanded Mary's death, and to warrant also redoubled severity in applying the penal laws ; while Mendoza was ordered to leave the country.

Alençon's death made the Huguenot Henry of Navarre heir-presumptive to the French throne, a prospect intolerable to the Guises, and to Henry III. only more tolerable than the Guise ascendancy. Hence France was practically barred from adopting any active foreign policy



Queen Elizabeth in Parliament, 1586.

[From a contemporary print].

whatever. On the other hand, the assassination of William of Orange, the great leader of the Dutch Protestants, threatened to destroy the Dutch resistance of which he had been both the soul and the brain, while it emphasised the unscrupulous methods of Philip of Spain. Manifestly the English people were ready to espouse the Dutch cause whole-heartedly ; had they been allowed to do so the French court party would probably have made common cause with them in association with the Huguenots. The restraining factor was Elizabeth herself, with her passion for abstaining from any course which so committed her that she could not withdraw. The grim unanimity of the nation found expression in the formation of "The Association," which might be called a voluntary league of Englishmen sworn to put to death any one concerned in any plot against the queen, and any one—meaning of course Queen Mary—in whose favour such a plot should be formed. Elizabeth herself, however, insisted that for such a person exclusion from the succession should be the penalty. At the same time, while the queen, then as always, refused to recognise any specified person as her heir, arrangements were made for carrying on the government in case of her sudden demise.

Now, however, the Guises openly proclaimed a Holy League, whose object was the exclusion of Henry of Navarre from the French succession. Henry the king, despairing of English support, joined hands with the League. Philip of Spain, reckoning that an Anglo-French alliance was now impossible, while Alexander of Parma was steadily and persistently pressing forward the subjugation of the Netherlands, sought to frighten England by the sudden seizure of all English ships upon his coasts. Instead of frightening England, he kindled thereby a sudden flame of passionate defiance. Elizabeth was obliged to give way to the national feeling, and openly to league herself with the United Provinces. By the end of the year the Dutch had placed four of their ports in her hands, and an English army under Leicester's command had been landed in the Netherlands.

Leicester and his troops were to render no great service to the Dutch cause ; but the declaration of war let Francis Drake loose against the Spaniards. On a private venture, though with government sanction, he sailed with a squadron first to the Spanish port of Vigo, captured some prizes, then betook himself to the West Indies, where he held first San Domingo and then Cartagena to ransom, and then returned home with an immense booty, having very efficiently demonstrated that English seamanship was fully competent to take the offensive against the might of Spain.

In the Netherlands, Leicester at the best was but an incompetent commander, and the English were really paralysed by the double dealing and contradictory instructions from the queen, which drove even Burleigh himself to threats of resignation. The one thing accomplished was a brilliant but perfectly useless feat of arms at the battle of Zutphen, where Philip Sidney fell, and dying, won immortal fame. Leicester himself was recalled before the end of the year (1586), because, in flat contradiction to

instructions, he accepted the formal governorship of the Netherlands, hoping thereby to restore in the Dutch the confidence which Elizabeth's suspected intrigues with Parma had destroyed.

Meanwhile events in England had been moving towards the consummation of the tragedy of Mary Stuart. Through the long years of her captivity, voluntarily or involuntarily, she had provided a focus for eternal



The Low Countries and Picardy in the 16th century.

plots and intrigues. Nearly all England believed that she had murdered Darnley to gratify her passion for Bothwell. Nearly all England believed that she was actively engaged in plotting for the assassination of Elizabeth and her own elevation to the throne. All England, with the exception of the extreme Catholics, viewed the possibility of her accession, whether as the result of conspiracy or in the natural course of events as the legitimate heir, with the gravest apprehension; and very nearly all England would at any time have learnt with relief that she was dead, or would have

welcomed her execution. But Elizabeth had stood in the way of the national feeling. In the first place, Mary, living, however dangerous, was a valuable diplomatic asset by means of which Scotland, if it turned restive, could always be coerced. In the second place, the sanctity of crowned heads was a cardinal article of the English queen's creed. The last thing she wished was to find herself compelled to sanction Mary's execution; and whatever conspiracies were detected, she resisted all pressure to proceed against Mary herself in respect of them. Ever since 1568, Mary had been kept in strict confinement in the charge of gaolers who could be trusted to show her no superfluous kindness; permitted the minimum of intercourse with the outside world, and perpetually conscious that her life would be forfeited so soon as the Queen of England might deem it to be in her own interest to strike.

Now the declaration of war between England and Spain changed the situation. Of necessity it made Spain the open instead of only the secret champion of Mary's cause. There was nothing to be feared from Scotland, where the attempt to create a Romanist reaction had failed absolutely. In France, nothing Elizabeth could do would increase the hostility of the Guises. The uses of Mary as a captive were over, while every argument for her removal had gathered rather than lost force. Elizabeth yielded to the pressure from Burleigh and Walsingham, which had behind it the whole weight of English public opinion, and Walsingham found himself free to adopt measures which should incriminate Mary in charges of compassing the queen's death.

Mary was removed to Chartley Manor, and was placed in charge of custodians officially less rigid than those who had hitherto been responsible for her. Walsingham was satisfied that, with increased facilities for outside communication, the captive queen and her supporters would commit some indiscretion which would place her in his power. His expectation was fully warranted. A plot of the usual kind was set on foot, in which the leading part, which included the assassination of Elizabeth, was assigned to a young enthusiast named Anthony Babington. The conspirators found it almost unexpectedly easy to open communications with Chartley Manor—one of the most active and apparently most zealous of their number being a traitor in Walsingham's pay. Correspondence passed in and out of Chartley Manor, but each letter passed *en route* through the hand of an agent of Walsingham, who took a copy of it before allowing it to proceed to its destination. But no one could condemn Mary for being privy to a plot for her own liberation, seeing that there was no kind of legal authority for her detention. It was some time before Walsingham's agent could produce a letter conclusively associating Mary with the plot as one for the assassination of Elizabeth. But with that letter in his hands Walsingham had all he wanted. The conspirators were arrested, tried, condemned; and a Commission was appointed for the trial of Mary herself.

Once again the decisive evidence against Mary was contained in a single letter. Without one particular letter of the Casket group, the positive evidence of her guilt in the Kirk o' Field affair broke down. Without one particular letter, the positive evidence of her guilt in connection with the Babington Conspiracy broke down; that is, there was no warrant for charging her with having actually given her sanction to assassination. In both cases the genuineness of the decisive document has been assailed. In neither case is it reasonably possible to maintain that the document was forged from beginning to end; in both it is possible to believe that the damning passages were forged interpolations. But in the one case the difficulties of forgery were enormous, in the other they were small. Mary's denials may have been worthless, but they were explicit and not incompatible with the rest of the evidence. Walsingham's answer to Mary's challenge was not explicit, "As I bear the place of a public person I have done nothing unworthy my place." There the matter stands and will stand till the Day of Judgment. No human being will ever know whether the technical evidence on which Mary was condemned to death was her genuine writing or a forgery. But of two things there can be no manner of doubt. Mary would have sanctioned and would have profited by Elizabeth's assassination without a qualm. Walsingham would have found some technical excuse for the destruction of the queen whose life, in common with three-fourths of the country, he regarded as an intolerable menace to the state. Whether he really discovered or invented it is a minor matter. Whether Mary was morally justified by Elizabeth's treatment in accepting any possible means for her own liberation is beside the question. No person in Mary's position in Mary's day would have refused on moral grounds to countenance Babington's plot; and no government in Europe would have hesitated to remove a person who was in Mary's position.

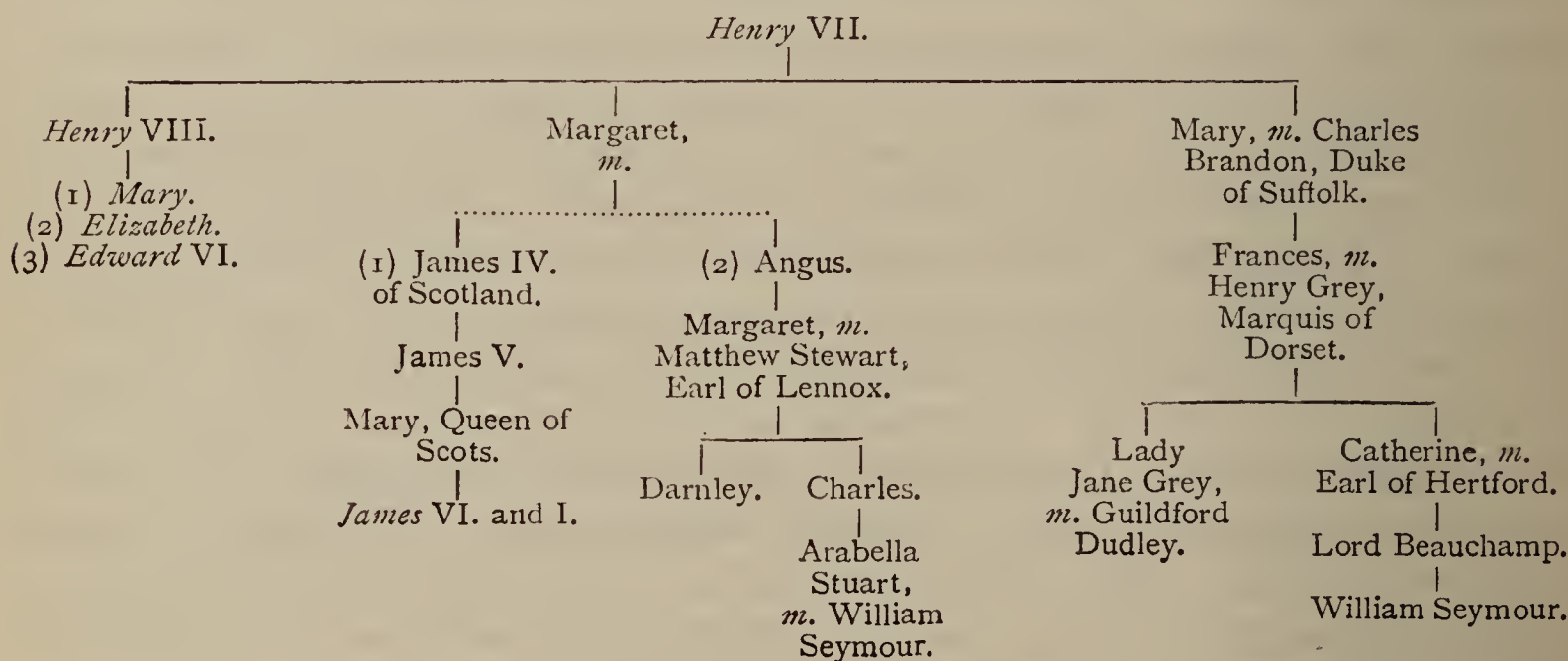
Mary was pronounced guilty, but her sentence was referred to parliament and the queen. Parliament forthwith demanded her execution. Still Elizabeth hesitated. Possibly she had qualms of conscience, certainly she shrank from the idea of slaying a crowned queen, and feared the tongues of men. She tried to shift the responsibility. She hinted to Mary's custodians that they should relieve her of it by taking the law into their own hands—to their extreme indignation. But at last she was induced to sign the warrant for Mary's death, which was brought before her by the Secretary Davison. The Council acted without a moment's delay, fearing that the warrant would be revoked. Royal to the last, never more royal than in the hour of her death, Mary Stuart ended her long captivity. Whatever the faults or follies of the House of Stuart, its sons and daughters, with rare exceptions, have at least known how to die.

III

THE ARMADA

By the death of Mary in February 1587 the situation was changed once more. The Romanists were without a candidate of their own faith who had any plausible title to the succession. The King of Scots was a Protestant; the family of the Earl of Hertford, who had married Catherine Grey, were Protestants. But Philip of Spain, like the Guises, had adopted the doctrine that heresy was itself a bar to royalty. Of the few English Romanist nobles who claimed a Plantagenet ancestry, none would become

DESCENDANTS OF HENRY VII.



a candidate for the crown. But Philip himself, through both father and mother, was descended from daughters of John of Gaunt. Moreover Mary, having very naturally quarrelled with her son, who was not distinguished for filial piety—after all he was Darnley's son as well as Mary's—had chosen on her own account to declare Philip her heir. On this decidedly flimsy basis Philip put forth his own claim not only to succeed Elizabeth, but to supplant the heretic queen on the throne of England; a claim which he transferred from himself to his daughter the Infanta Isabella. Nothing could have been more admirably calculated to ensure that wavering Romanists should choose patriotism in disregard of their allegiance to the papacy, since they were forced to make choice between the two. A popular error attributes to Elizabeth a magnanimous superiority to religious differences, and confidence in the loyalty of her Romanist subjects, because she chose the "Romanist" Lord Howard of Effingham to be admiral of the fleet in the great contest. Unfortunately, it is perfectly clear that Howard was not a Romanist at all. The English Catholics acted with a

loyalty most honourable to them, but without any encouragement from the government.

From the moment of Mary Stuart's death, however, it was manifest that a life and death struggle between England and Spain could not be deferred. Philip departed from his patient determination to grind the United Provinces into complete submission before extinguishing the power of England. His ports were filled with preparations for a mighty armada. The able Spanish admiral Santa Cruz was to be in command—so far as any servant of Philip II. could regard himself as in command, for Philip trusted no man. But Drake did not wait for the Armada.

As in 1586, so now, he sailed with a squadron to take the offensive, having slipped out of port in time to escape the counter-orders which he very accurately anticipated from the queen. He sailed to the great harbour of Cadiz, where he destroyed a vast quantity of shipping, completely spoiling the Armada's chance of sailing before the winter; and then, failing to entice the



An English ship in the Armada fight.

[From a contemporary engraving of one of the tapestries in the old House of Lords.]

main Spanish fleet out of the Tagus, contented himself with capturing a great Spanish treasure-ship, and so returned home.

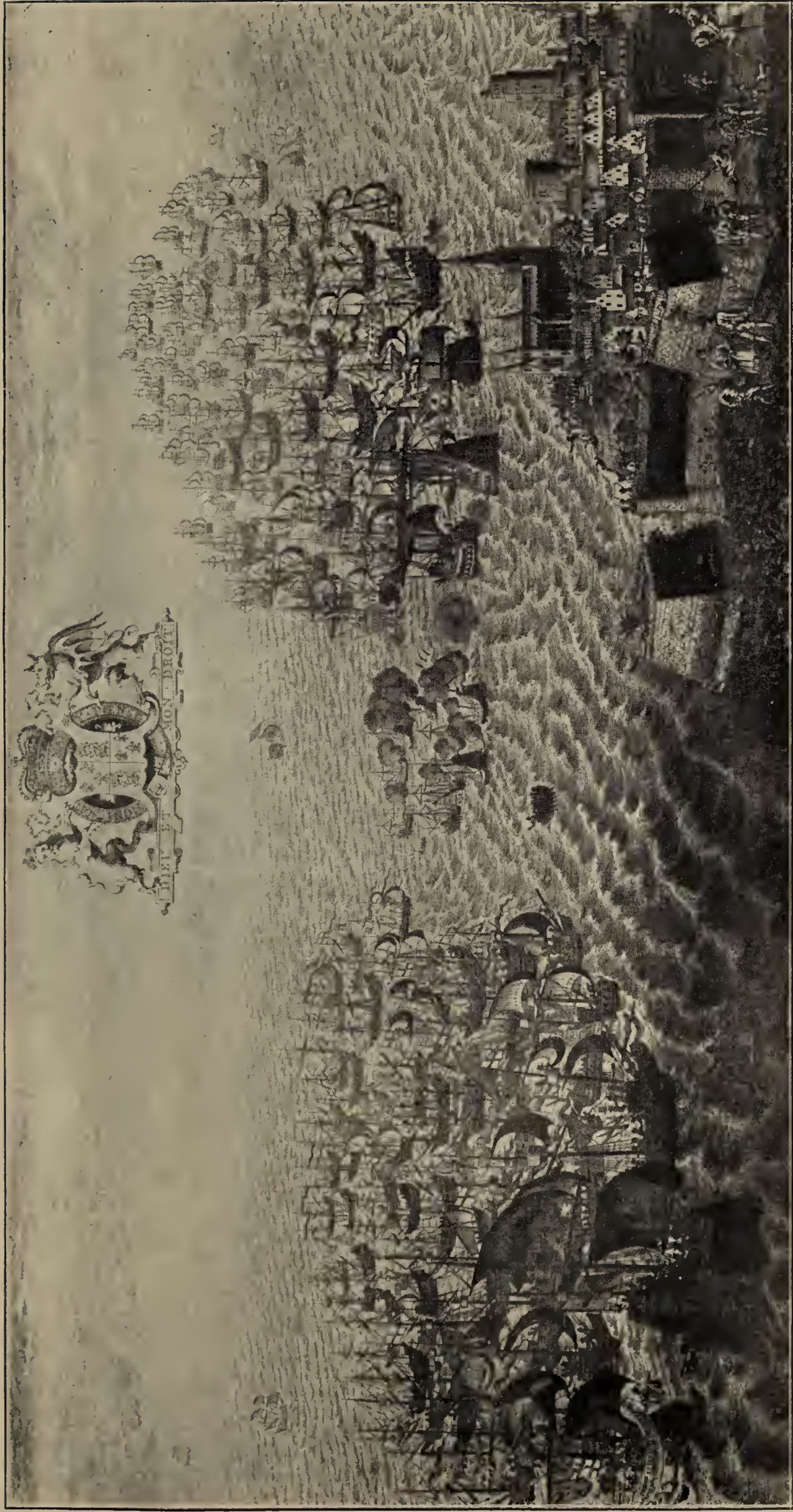
It was Philip's intention to despatch an invincible fleet which would sail up the Channel, take on board from the Netherlands Parma's veteran regiments, and proceed to the conquest of England. But Drake's operations of necessity postponed the sailing till the late autumn, and, when the late autumn came, Santa Cruz pronounced that winter storms would paralyse naval operations, even if they did not break up his fleet. With the new year Philip resolved to ignore his admiral's objections; but Santa Cruz's own death again necessitated postponement, and by this time the English fleet was in full fighting trim. During the whole year past Elizabeth had been pursuing her own exasperating policy of intriguing with Parma on the basis of proposals for the betrayal of the Dutch, filling her own ministers and sailors with acute apprehension and disgust. Yet it may be that she was only playing for time, since when the crucial point in the negotiations was reached, she declared that she could not think of surrendering the cautionary towns which she held until full effect had been given to

her own requirements ; whereas the surrender of the cautionary towns was from the Spanish point of view the necessary first step in the whole business. Every one appears to have believed that Elizabeth's negotiations were serious ; her ministers could only hope that they might be frustrated either by some fortunate accident or by Elizabeth's recovery of her moral equilibrium ; and as a matter of fact she extricated herself from the apparent *impasse* precisely as she had done half-a-dozen times before in similar cases. Philip, it may be remarked, went on patiently and laboriously as ever with his preparations, as though no negotiations had been in progress.

When the Armada was all over, English piety attributed its defeat to the special interposition of Providence on behalf of the Protestant faith. "*Dominus flavit et dissipati sunt*," "the Lord blew and they were scattered." As a matter of fact, they were not scattered by tempests until they were thoroughly shattered and beaten by superior tactics, superior gunnery, superior seamanship, and superior naval construction. There was never a shadow of a doubt in the minds of the English seamen that, if they were allowed a fair chance, Philip's Armada would prove his ruin. If Drake had been given his way, the Armada would never have sailed at all, because it would have been sunk or burnt in detail in the Spanish ports or at least in Spanish waters. The alarms of the landmen detained the English fleet in the narrow seas, and so the Armada had to be fought in force when it did come ; and even then, what surprised the seamen was not their ultimate success in destroying it, but the unexpected capacity for resistance which it displayed.

The actual number of the English vessels which took some sort of part in the long series of engagements was somewhat greater than that of the Spaniards, but a large number of these were small boats which did not count in serious work. In tonnage, in men, and in guns, the Spaniards doubled the English. But the big ships were much harder to manœuvre, the English gunners could fire three shots to the Spaniards' one, and make every shot tell, while most of the Spaniards' were harmless. The men on board the English ships were nearly all sailors, who were working the ships themselves as fighting machines ; while half the men on the Spanish ships were soldiers who were of no use at all until the ships grappled, whereas the English never grappled until the enemy was already disabled. In plain terms, the end of the Armada was practically a foregone conclusion from the outset. The English made one grave miscalculation, which alone saved the Armada from total annihilation at their hands. They had not reckoned upon the enormous and wholly unprecedented expenditure of ammunition, of which the supplies ran short in both fleets, with the result that the English had to give up the pursuit when the Spaniards were already in helpless and headlong flight.

The nucleus of the English fleet was the small but exceedingly efficient royal navy ; the majority of the vessels were privately owned or furnished by the seaports. The whole was under the general command of Lord



THE ENGLISH FIRE-SHIPS SENT INTO THE SPANISH ARMADA AT ANCHOR OFF CALAIS

From an engraving of one of the old House of Lords tapestries executed to commemorate the victory.

Howard of Effingham, with Drake, Frobisher, and Hawkins as subordinates; while Drake was the real head. The major part of the fleet was collected at Plymouth, while a squadron commanded by Wynter watched the Dutch ports to prevent any possibility of a surprise movement from that quarter. On July 19th the Armada was sighted off the Lizard, the ships massed in the form of a crescent. The English fleet had time to work out of Plymouth Sound, cross the front of the approaching foe, and lie to windward of the enemy's course so as to be able to attack or hold off at will. The Spaniards sailed in line abreast with a wide-spread front; the English attacked sailing in line ahead, that is to say in single file, ship following ship, passing the Spaniards and pouring in broadsides as they passed; while the Spaniards endeavoured to disable them by ineffective firing at their rigging.

As the great fleet moved up Channel no attempt was at first made to bring on a general engagement, but stragglers were cut off and an occasional Spaniard was disabled. On

the fourth day there was a sharper engagement off Portland, and another

on the sixth day off the Isle of Wight. So far the Spaniards had kept their formation and actually lost very few ships, but the fight off Portsmouth prevented their apparent design of securing a station in the Channel, and they proceeded to Calais. As they lay there on the ninth night, the English, now reinforced by Wynter's squadron, floated fire-ships down upon them before a favouring breeze. The Spaniards were seized with panic, cut their cables and made for the open sea. In the morning they were scattered far and wide. Off Gravelines the English fell upon them and destroyed them in detail. A fierce squall forced the English ships to draw off, and by the time it was over the Spaniards had begun their headlong flight up the North Sea. On the third day after Gravelines the pursuit ceased, partly from lack of ammunition, partly



The defeat of the Armada.

[From a broadside issued at the thanksgiving for the victory.]

from the supposed necessity of guarding the Channel in force in case Parma should still attempt an invasion. Of the fleet which escaped from the English shattered and crippled, one half was lost on the Scottish or Irish coasts, or foundered at sea. Only a battered and ruined remnant struggled home. In the whole series of engagements the English had lost one ship and less than a hundred men.

IV

AFTER THE ARMADA

What would have happened if the Spaniards had crippled the English fleet without getting crippled themselves? They would have convoyed to

the English shores from the Netherlands an army of invasion consisting partly of Parma's veterans, partly of the large reinforcements which the Armada was carrying from Spain, under the command of the ablest soldier living. They would have found awaiting them the English levies gathered at Tilbury, commanded nominally by the incompetent Leicester, but probably in actual fact by the experienced captain, Sir John Norreys; an army enthusiastic but untrained, though containing a leaven of men who had seen hard fighting as volunteers in the Low Countries, in the French Huguenot wars, and in Ireland. Parma's task would not have been an easy one, but the possibility that there would have been a Spanish conquest of England cannot be denied. After the defeat of the



Queen Elizabeth in her Armada Thanksgiving robes.

[From a miniature executed in 1616.]

Armada, however, no invasion was possible, and had it been possible, the invading force would have been isolated in England, completely cut off from supplies or reinforcements. As matters stood, the dominion of the seas, hitherto claimed by Spain, had passed completely out of her hands, and the destruction of the Armada secured the deliverance of the United Provinces as well as that of England herself. From that time forward, Spaniards and Englishmen met on the seas with a perfect confidence that if the Spaniards were only three to one they had no chance of victory.

The fear of Spain had passed. England was no longer on the defensive. The party of aggression would have set themselves to the annihilation of the Spanish power, the complete destruction of Spanish fleets, the seizure of the Spanish dominion in America, the separation of Spain from Portugal,

whose crown Philip had appropriated eight years before, claiming through his mother Isabella, the sister of the two last kings, both of whom died childless. To that party belonged Drake among the seamen, Walsingham among statesmen, and Walter Raleigh, who was courtier, statesman, soldier, and seaman by turns. But Elizabeth and Burleigh were not of the party of aggression. Politically, they did not desire the destruction of Spain, fearing the aggrandisement of France thereby. Nor were they moved, like Raleigh, by great conceptions of England's expansion in America. They wanted a Spain powerless to hurt England directly, but able to serve as a counterpoise to France. Burleigh had strong Protestant sympathies, but they were subordinated to his ideas of political expediency. Elizabeth had no Protestant sympathies, and only championed Protestantism with reluctance and for exclusively political ends. The majority of the nation at large did not look beyond making the maximum of personal profit out of the weakness of Spain. Spain was to be smitten hip and thigh, and the Egyptians were to be thoroughly spoiled; but their spoiling, not their destruction, was the end in view, though there was no desire to preserve them from destruction.

Elizabeth perceived that she could give rein to this popular demand without detriment to her own policy. But Drake was the hero of the hour, and there must be an appearance of giving Drake his way. In the process the now inconvenient admiral should be discredited; and she would be able to carry out her own plan of continuing to humble Spain without reducing her to entire impotence. A better title than Philip's own to Portugal was possessed by his cousins of the house of Braganza. A more useful pretender, however, was found in the person of an illegitimate cousin known as Don Antonio. The aggressive school saw the chance of dealing a heavy blow to Spain by setting Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal. With this end in view Drake was sent forth on his ill-starred Lisbon expedition. We need not accuse Elizabeth of deliberately planning to ruin that venture; but she did in fact so interfere with and modify Drake's own scheme of operations that the expedition entirely failed of its object. It was indeed demonstrated that Spain was open to attack on her own soil. Corunna and Vigo were very severely handled, and a number of store ships were captured. But the attack on Lisbon failed, several ships were lost in a storm, and Drake returned home with a damaged reputation—though the blame did not really rest on his shoulders—which made it comparatively easy to displace his naval policy by that of his only less famous cousin, John Hawkins. That great seaman was content with merely applying on a big scale the old principles of his private feud with the Spaniards. English squadrons sallied forth to lie in wait on the trade routes for Spanish ships and fleets laden with treasure or merchandise, without devoting themselves to any persistent destruction of the arsenals and warships by the construction of which Philip hoped to redress the balance.

The policy was satisfactory enough to English adventurers, who had a free hand to raid Spanish commerce, and to it we owe that famous sea fight which stands beside the battle of Thermopylæ and the charge of Balaclava in its glorious futility. Futility, that is, as concerns tangible results; for the moral effect of such deeds is not to be measured. Sir Richard Grenville on the *Revenge*, Drake's ship when the Armada came, was with a small English squadron off the Azores, awaiting a Spanish treasure-fleet, when news came of the approach of fifty-three Spanish war-ships—an illustration, by the way, of the stolid determination with which Philip set about the reconstruction of the Spanish navy. Grenville deliberately allowed his own ship to be cut off by the great Spanish fleet, which he then fought single-handed for fifteen hours. The issue of such a fight could of course never have been in question. But it taught Englishmen, though they hardly needed the lesson, that to consider the odds against them when they fought the Spaniards was almost superfluous.

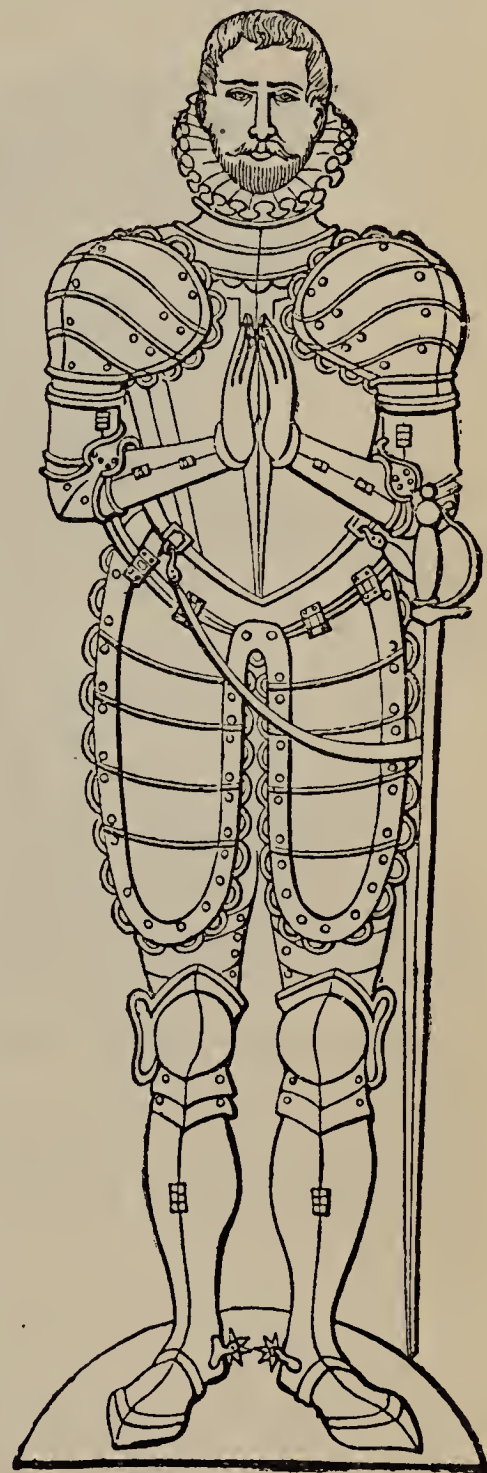
The fact however remained that, while English raiding crippled Spanish commerce and diverted quantities of treasure from Spain to England, Spain was stolidly reconstructing and reorganising her navy. Philip's chances would have been better if he had devoted himself with a single mind to this object, and to the completion of the conquest of the Netherlands. But Parma was perpetually crippled by want of supplies, besides being hampered by being called upon at critical moments to turn aside and intervene in France. There Henry III. had first tried to rid himself of the Guise domination by assassinating the Duke of Guise, and had then himself been assassinated, leaving the Holy League and Henry of Navarre to fight out their quarrel. Elizabeth lent Henry occasional assistance, just as in the past she had helped William of Orange. Philip allied himself with the Guises; and his daughter Isabella, niece of the last three French kings, was put forward as the true, because the orthodox, heir to the throne. Henry IV. was able to pose as a patriot, and to accuse the Guise faction of aiming at the subjection of France to Spanish control. But the scale was decisively turned in his favour when he formally reconciled himself to the Church of Rome while still asserting the principles of religious toleration.

The signs of Spanish recovery, however, were sufficiently ominous to induce Elizabeth to give the more aggressive war party a freer rein. Drake and Hawkins were despatched on an expedition to the West Indies, there to discover that the Spaniards had learnt many lessons since Drake's last visit to those regions. Not much was effected, and both the great seamen died before the expedition returned home. But in the following year, 1596, a severe blow was struck when a force under command of Lord Howard, the Queen's latest favourite the Earl of Essex, and Walter Raleigh, fell upon the port of Cadiz, sank or burnt a vast quantity of shipping, and extracted a substantial ransom from Cadiz itself. Even after this, later in the year, Philip was able to despatch a new Armada, though it was actually

shattered by winds and waves and was never subjected to the tender mercies of the English seamen.

In 1598 both Philip of Spain and Lord Burleigh died, almost at the moment when a general European peace was restored by the treaty of Vervins. Walsingham had preceded them by nine years. Elizabeth had been fortunate in her great antagonist and doubly fortunate in her ministers. For forty years Philip had dominated Europe. When he came to the throne, Spain and the Netherlands were his, much of Italy, the inheritance of the New World, the lordship of the seas. The one recognised maritime rival was Portugal, and in the course of his reign he absorbed Portugal and the Portuguese empire under his own sway. He made pretension to the Crown of England; for his daughter, the child of a French princess, he made pretension to the Crown of France. He was the avowed champion of the Church against heretics, though he was by no means ready to recognise the authority of the Pope over himself. For forty years Philip's shadow lay upon Europe; but during the last ten years of his life, though he never knew it himself, the substance of his dominion had passed from him. The most patient, the most industrious, the most obstinate, and the most ambitious of men, he trusted no man; and by his distrust he spoilt the work of every man who served him. He conceived of himself as a sort of Fate, moving slowly, steadily, irresistibly, grinding to powder his own foes and the foes of his faith; a Fate which would smite in its own good time. Unfortunately for Philip, he always deferred the moment for striking till it was too late. He could never grasp the possibility that his intended victim might strike first and do so with effect. Self-confidence is a supremely valuable quality when it is not misplaced; when it is misplaced it is apt to prove fatal.

In caution, in patience, and in industry, Philip was matched by Lord Burleigh, whose main defect as a statesman was a prosaic lack of idealism, which, as well as a still more penetrating intelligence, was supplied by his colleague Walsingham. The conjunction of those two great men was precisely what was needed to counteract and supplement the erratic ingenuity and selfwill of their mistress, to show her the path she ought



Elizabethan armour.

[From an effigy at Wrentham Church, Suffolk.]

to tread—and always at the critical moment did tread, though not as a rule until her capriciousness had driven both of them to the verge of despair. They were the pilots who steered the ship of state, or rather the navigators who set the course which the actual pilot, the queen, followed after her own devious fashion, evading by the merest hair's breadth the rocks and shoals of which they warned her. The passage had already

been accomplished when Walsingham passed to his grave; one whose loyal service to England left him a poor man at the last. Burleigh was already not far short of seventy when the Armada came, and his personal activity was less in the last years of his life.

Younger men were coming to the front: Burleigh's second son Robert, the heir of his policy; the brilliant but little trusted Raleigh; Essex, showy but unbalanced, the queen's personal favourite, though her reliance was reposed rather on the younger Cecil. Less prominent, but intellectually above them all, even above Raleigh, was Francis Bacon, Burleigh's nephew by marriage, son of the Lord Keeper Nicholas Bacon who, through the first



Sir Walter Raleigh.

half of the reign, had been one of the pillars of Elizabeth's government. These were the men who played the leading parts in the last wintry years of the great queen's life, when her own contemporaries, the men who most had helped to make her great, had passed before and left her in dreary solitude.

V

SCOTLAND

While England was waging her great struggle with Spain, James VI. in Scotland was becoming an adept in the arts of what he was pleased to call "king-craft." When Morton resigned the regency in 1578 the boy was not yet twelve years old. Morton owed his power to the fact that he was very much the ablest and one of the least scrupulous among the Scottish nobility. He represented that school of statesmen which for some forty years past had definitely regarded union with England on satisfactory terms for Scotland as the goal to be aimed at. In common with Moray and Maitland of Lethington, he believed that that goal was to be achieved on the basis of the common Protestantism of the two nations, though Maitland's

tortuous mind had led him in his last days to seek the union through the restoration of Queen Mary. But Morton's Protestantism was of a political and Erastian character; that is to say, religion in his view was entirely subordinate to politics, whereas the Scottish preachers, from John Knox downwards, treated politics as subordinate to religion; they looked upon secular policy as a means to establishing their own conception of a theocracy, which meant in effect government by the clergy, who were to stand to the civil power as Samuel stood to Saul. The mantle of John Knox, who died in 1572, had fallen upon the shoulders of Andrew Melville, who was as rigidly uncompromising in his demands for clerical supremacy as a Gregory, an Innocent, or a Boniface. But Morton was stronger than the preachers, and he forced upon the reluctant Calvinists the semblance of an episcopal organisation of the Church. His bishops, however, existed merely that their official revenues might be transferred to the coffers of others, whereby they were given the mocking nick-name of "Tulchan" Bishops—the *tulchan* being a dummy calf which facilitated the process of extracting milk from reluctant kine; the Church in this case being Morton's milch cow.

Morton's power was broken by the appearance in Scotland of Esmé Stuart, who was made Duke of Lennox, and of another James Stewart, not a member of the royal family at all, who acquired an ascendancy over the mind of the boy king and was raised to the vacant earldom of Arran. Arran and Lennox, acting in conjunction, destroyed Morton; who was executed on the charge of complicity in Darnley's murder. On this there followed a duel between the Romanising Lennox and Arran on one side, and on the other the preachers, who relied upon what was then the most representative body in Scotland—not the parliament, but the General Assembly of the Church, a gathering of laymen as well as of clergy. The General Assembly in 1581 succeeded in definitely introducing a Presbyterian organisation, based upon that of the French Huguenots, into the Church of Scotland. This was only a beginning; for Lennox and Arran still retained their ascendancy over the king. But among the magnates, though in general they had no love for the preachers, there was a party which had still less love for Lennox. A "band" between them brought about what was called the Raid of Ruthven, the conspirators capturing the person of the young king. The capture checkmated Lennox, who



James Douglas, Earl of Morton, Regent of Scotland, 1572-1578.

was obliged to leave the country and died soon after ; but Arran still remained ; and in 1583 James escaped from his captors and Arran once more ruled the country, from which the nobles who had shared in the Ruthven raid were expelled.

A Scottish parliament at this time was not unlike an English parliament when the War of the Roses was going on ; that is, it was usually attended only by the supporters of the existing government, who carried out the behests of their leaders. So the Scottish parliament of 1584 repressed the preachers. It declared General Assemblies to be illegal except when they met under the royal authority, and it reconstituted an episcopate appointed by the Crown, through whom the Crown would be able to control the Church. Just after this, however, Elizabeth was forced to commit herself to the war with Spain and to a more aggressive championship of Protestantism. As matters stood she regarded the banished lords with more favour than Arran. Pressure from her brought about the restoration of the exiles and the fall of Arran from power.

The result was a government passable though not too efficient, sufficiently subservient to Elizabeth to content itself with feeble protests when the captive Queen of Scots was put to death. The most prominent events were still those which marked a victory either for the preachers or for the king in the contest for effective supremacy. The parliament of 1592 reversed the proceedings of that of 1584, and promulgated the Presbyterian constitution of the Scottish Church. The contest between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy was not on the face of it a question of theology but of Church government, although the one system attracted Calvinists, and the other Anglicans whose doctrines were less antagonistic to those of Rome. The Presbytery was Democratic in its structure and was a complete departure from the old organisation. Episcopacy preserved the old organisation in a slightly modified form, but when separated from allegiance to the papacy became inevitably allied with the monarchy. Hence both in England and in Scotland the Crown was antagonistic to Presbyterianism. Episcopacy, the effective control of the Church through bishops nominated by the Crown, requires no explanation for English readers ; but in England Presbyterianism, after the Stuart restoration in 1660, fell into such a subordinate position that the system which triumphed north of the Tweed is not commonly understood in the southern country, although there was a time when there also it came near to capturing the establishment.

The Presbyterian system is pyramidal. The constitution obtained in Scotland in 1592 made the base of the pyramid the Kirk Session, the governing body of each parish or congregation, consisting of the minister and presbyters or "elders" appointed by the congregation. Next came the Presbytery or assembly of the ministers and elders of a group of congregations. Then came the Synod, or assembly of a group of Presbyteries ; and finally, the General Assembly of the Church, the ultimate controlling authority. But in the General Assembly the Crown was also

to be represented either by the king in person or by a commissioner. The fundamental fact however remained, that the General Assembly was very thoroughly representative of popular feeling, while it considered itself warranted in dealing with all which could conceivably be regarded as entering the sphere of religion. Moreover within each congregation and each larger or smaller group of congregations the different bodies from the Kirk Sessions upwards possessed, in the name of ecclesiastical discipline, very extensive powers of interference with and control over the private life and conduct of every individual.

To the king himself such a system was intolerable. It made every minister the most powerful man in his own parish. It did not, like the Church as conceived by Hildebrand, claim from National Churches allegiance to a foreign potentate of higher authority than their own temporal rulers; but in effect it claimed that higher authority for the ministers of the National Church itself, collectively and individually. The position was expressed by Andrew Melville when he told King James that the King of Scotland was God's "silly" (that is, weak) "vassal," to be obeyed only as an official of his Divine Sovereign of Whose will the ministers were the interpreters.

But the lay magnates of the country were as little disposed as the king to be held in bondage under the preachers. The General Assembly, representative though it was, had not the secular authority of parliament, in which the Church was not represented. An arrangement was now made by which fifty-one representatives of the Church, nominated partly by the Crown and partly by the Church, should sit and vote in parliament; and the Estates also pronounced that if the king should nominate bishops, they should sit of right in parliament as in the past. The next step was the transfer to the king of the exclusive right of nominating the Church representatives, although he could only select them from lists submitted to him. And finally, in virtue of the powers granted by the Estates, James in 1600 actually appointed three bishops, of Ross, Aberdeen, and Caithness. The wedge was fairly inserted for the complete restoration of the Episcopate.

VI

WINTER

The last years of Elizabeth's reign are occupied largely by the antagonisms and intrigues of rival politicians and parties and possible candidates for the throne. Most prominent is the tragedy of the Earl of Essex, and the story of Essex is inextricably bound up with that of Ireland. The scene yields no great actors; for even the men who had in them real elements of greatness, Raleigh and Bacon, played parts which were far from being great. In Europe two men stand out far above their contemporaries,

Henry IV. of France and Maurice of Nassau, the son of William of Orange, a worthy successor of his father in the leadership of the United Provinces. But these two enter little into specifically English history.

Elizabeth until her last hour would never definitely acknowledge any particular person as her successor. So far as legitimacy was concerned, there was no possibility of questioning the title of James VI. of Scotland; but political reasons were likely to weigh more than mere legitimacy. The



Robert Cecil.

[From the engraving by Elstrak.]

Greys were represented by Lord Beauchamp, son of Catherine Grey and the Earl of Hertford, and by his son William Seymour. Margaret Tudor was represented not only by James VI. but by her great-granddaughter, Arabella Stuart of the house of Lennox. The line of the Poles, descending from George Duke of Clarence, was represented by the Earl of Huntingdon. And the ultra-Romanists at least fixed their hopes on Isabella of Spain, the sister of the reigning King Philip III. Nor was Isabella now an entirely impossible candidate, because Philip II.

had conferred upon her the sovereignty of the Netherlands, parting it from the Spanish monarchy. Isabella of Burgundy, with an Austrian archduke for a husband, might mean, not the subjection of England to Spanish control, but the union of England with an independent Burgundy, in which quite conceivably the United Provinces might be included. Isabella's claim rested on the fact that she was the only pronounced Catholic with Plantagenet blood in her veins who was a candidate at all.

There were many of the English, especially among the nobility, with leanings to the old religion, and in common with many of the professed Romanists they might be expected to accept with equal readiness a Roman Catholic ruler pledged to tolerate Anglicanism or a Protestant ruler pledged to tolerate Romanism. Hence there was a very wide field for plotting and counter-plotting, especially in view of the possibility of a marriage between

Arabella Stuart and either Lord Beauchamp or his son. Of the English plotters, by far the most subtle was Robert Cecil, who intrigued with all parties, but with the ultimate intention of securing the throne for James VI. and recognition for himself as the man to whom the Scots king owed the success of his candidature. Incidentally it was of primary importance to Cecil to ruin his leading rival, the Earl of Essex, who was identified with the anti-Spanish war-party and the more aggressive Protestants, and was bound to champion the cause of James VI., although the Romanists cherished vain hopes that either James or Arabella Stuart might be won over to their own cause. We must be content with this indication of the nature of the plotting and counter-plotting that went on, without attempting the long task of unravelling the intricate details.

The ruin of Essex was accomplished through Ireland. Power of resistance in that unhappy country had been broken by the Smerwick campaign and the subsequent merciless treatment of the Irish. The north had not taken part, however, in Desmond's rebellion; the O'Neills in Ulster and the O'Donnells of Tyrconnel, in the north-west, had remained loyal; Hugh O'Neill, the young Earl of Tyrone, had enjoyed an English training and was a professed supporter of English rule. In the south Ormond was at least convinced that English tyranny was preferable to the wild anarchy which seemed the only alternative. But Tyrone was not content; and he brought to bear upon the problem a subtlety of brain and a power of organisation unprecedented among the Irish leaders.

The Armada came and passed without stirring up any movement in Ireland; but not long afterwards the north-west was again in a state of ferment. The government, always kept with insufficient funds, except at the moment of some supreme crisis, could only deal with the insurgents after the usual ineffective fashion. Tyrone posed as the pacificator, exerting his influence to quiet the disturbances; his attitude and all his overt actions were irreproachably loyal; yet the English officials were convinced that he was merely masking disloyal intrigues. In fact, five years after the Armada, he was in communication with Philip of Spain, and Ireland was at least in part the objective of that second Armada of Philip's which collapsed so ignominiously in 1596. Yet, whatever Tyrone had been doing, nothing could be brought home to him; and after this demonstration of the futility of trusting to Spain, he succeeded in making his peace with the English government, while he continued to weave his intrigues and to organise his own effective ascendancy. In 1598 the English government resolved to deal with him with a strong hand, but only to meet with a disastrous defeat on the Blackwater near Armagh. Still Tyrone did not follow up his victory, though if he had done so half Ireland would probably have risen. He still chose to maintain his professions of loyalty, and to declare that the misguided government was attacking an innocent man.

This was the situation which brought about the downfall of Essex. He clamoured at the council-board against the inefficiency of the Irish

administration ; his tirades were answered by the offer of the deputyship for himself. He declared himself ready to undertake the task of bringing Ireland to order upon conditions—conditions which would place under his control a force dangerously large for a man of overweening ambition. The conditions were granted, and he departed to Ireland. But Essex in Ireland could not exercise his personal fascination upon the queen. His absence left the field clear to his antagonists, and his own proceedings in Ireland did not improve his position. He exceeded even the exceptionally full powers which had been conferred on him, acting in direct defiance of instructions, and wrote violent letters of complaint at the treatment which he was receiving. He paraded through Ireland instead of marching in force against Tyrone ; and when at last peremptory orders did compel him to march, he negotiated and made terms instead of striking, and, to the consternation of his supporters in England, retired without a blow. What actually passed is unknown ; but, on the whole, the presumption is that he made a private bargain with Tyrone, which was to secure the succession of James VI. in England and the ascendancy of the two earls in England and Ireland respectively.

The outraged queen expressed her resentment against her favourite in unmeasured terms ; whereupon in a moment of madness he threw up his post, hurried to England, rode post-haste to Greenwich, and flung himself in most unseemly guise into the presence of his royal mistress, trusting to recover his ascendancy with her. But the outrage was too gross. The queen banished him from her presence, and the same day he was arrested and placed in prison.

For nearly a year Essex was kept in ward, while Tyrone in Ireland opened fresh communications with Philip III., and the game of intrigue went merrily forward in England, always to the advantage of Cecil. Essex on his release found himself powerless, and made frantic efforts to recover ground as a popular champion and a patriot, to the entire satisfaction of his rival. When he had been given sufficient rope, Cecil struck. Essex was summoned to appear before the Council. The earl made a desperate attempt to appeal to the London mob, which failed completely. He was arrested, tried for treason before his peers, and executed. Passionately as Elizabeth was attached to him, pardon was impossible ; but, with his death, all happiness went out of the old queen's life.

Montjoy, an able commander, was sent to take the place of Essex in Ireland ; but even the exceptionally large forces placed at his disposal did not suffice him to make an immediate end of Tyrone. Philip III. of Spain made a last effort, and the insurgents in the south were reinforced by troops from Spain. Here, however, Montjoy succeeded in crushing the enemy before Tyrone could come to their assistance. Of the insurgent chiefs, some were captured and others fled the country. Tyrone displayed his own diplomatic abilities by making satisfactory terms for himself, and the rebellion was at an end.

With the fall of Essex, Cecil's most dangerous rival had vanished. Raleigh, with all his abilities, was better skilled in making enemies than friends, in politics at least. Elizabeth never trusted him, and he lacked both the craft and the self-control which distinguished the son of Lord Burleigh. That astute politician knew exactly what every one was doing or trying to do, and half the plotters looked to him for a lead while he manipulated the game to suit his own ends. When Elizabeth was stricken down with mortal illness, all his plans were in perfect order for securing the succession of James the moment the throne should be vacant. Troops and fleets were under the command of his partisans; virtually none but adherents of his own had access to the dying queen. Only at the very last, when speech had actually left her, the spectators averred that she signed her acquiescence, when asked if she recognised James as her heir. No one was ready to come forward



The funeral hearse of Queen Elizabeth.

[Taken from a contemporary drawing of the funeral ceremonies by William Camden, Clarencieux King-at-Arms.]

on the spot as champion of any of the rival candidates; and no hand or voice was raised in opposition when James VI. of Scotland was proclaimed James I. of England. Cecil had won, and there was no question at all that he would be all-powerful with the new monarch.

Mournful was the deathbed of the great queen, the most triumphant of all English rulers; mournful, because her own delight in life had departed from her, and of all those who still flattered her and bowed to her imperious will there was none who loved her, none whom she loved. In the heart of the nation she has been enshrined as "Good Queen Bess," the princess who flung defiance at the might of Spain and raised England to the highest pinnacle of power, the queen in whose reign English seamen won for England her proud position as mistress of the seas, and English poets matched the triumphs of the Athenian stage. What England owes to the Elizabethan age, Englishmen feel that they owe to Elizabeth herself. All other personalities are dominated by hers. And yet it is one of the most

amazing of paradoxes that such a woman as Elizabeth should stand out emphatically as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of all English monarchs. Trickery was the breath of her nostrils ; an insatiable vanity, for which no flattery was too grotesque, was, superficially, her most prominent characteristic. She deliberately assumed her right to display, in an exaggerated degree, every foible which the misogynist attributes to her sex. She was as ready to make a scapegoat of the innocent as her father before her ; her treatment of Davison the Secretary, who obtained her signature to Mary Stuart's death warrant, was not less base than Henry's treatment of Wolsey and Cromwell. And yet her greatness remains. Beneath the trickery and meanness and vanity lay a deep-rooted love of her country ; a mighty resolve to make that country great. Perhaps she never loved any man save Essex, the darling of her old age ; but she loved her people. And behind the mask of feminine caprice there worked a brain, cold, calculating, unemotional, which gauged chances to a hair's breadth, knew exactly how far it was safe to go on any particular course, never failed to provide a means of escape from every apparent *impasse*. "Dux femina facti" was the legend on the medals to commemorate the Armada. "Under a woman's captaincy," England won for ever her place among the nations.

CHAPTER XIV

UNDER THE TUDORS

I

THE STATE

BROADLY speaking, the Tudor period falls into two parts, the pre-Elizabethan and the Elizabethan. The first is a time of transition, partly constructive but mainly destructive. The second is a time of reconstruction. On the ruin of the baronage, completed by the earlier Tudors, the monarchy took a new shape perfected under Elizabeth. On the ruin of the old ecclesiastical system accomplished under her predecessors, Elizabeth constructed a new ecclesiastical system. Out of the rural and commercial revolution which had been in progress for seventy years, the Elizabethans built up a new industrial social order. Out of the maritime activity of the first period arose the maritime supremacy which was established and the oceanic commerce which was inaugurated in the second; and from the revival of intellectual activity which practically began in the reign of Henry VII. burst the blaze of literary splendour which glorified the closing years of the period. The narrative has enabled us only in part to watch these movements, which will now demand our closer attention.

Through the medieval period the power of the Crown was limited in various degrees by three forces: the fear of excommunication by the Church, the danger of armed coercion by the baronage, and, as the expenses of government grew, the power of the Commons to withhold supplies. Arbitrary action by the Crown—action, that is, which did not clearly rest upon precedent—was invariably challenged by the application of one or other of these forces, unless the approval of the three estates had first been secured; and these three estates or parliament obtained an effective control over legislation and a degree of control over administration.

Of the three forces, the fear of ecclesiastical censure was habitually of least account; but it could not be altogether ignored, as King John in particular found to his cost. It remained, however, for Henry VIII. to bid successful defiance to the thunders of the Church and to destroy its capacity for hampering the action of the Crown.

The War of the Roses broke up the second limiting force. When Henry VII. took possession of the Crown the remnant of the old baronage, together with the new baronage, were no longer able to make head against the

monarchy. The complete subversion of the baronial power was decisively demonstrated when the peers unanimously condemned the Duke of Buckingham, the greatest noble in the realm, at the implied behest of King Henry VIII., in spite of the absence of any evidence that he was cherishing treasonable designs. The demonstration was repeated at intervals throughout the reign; the nobility at all-times showed an entire



Armour presented to Henry VIII. by the Emperor Maximilian.

[In the Tower of London.]

subservience to the Crown, as they also did in the reign of Queen Mary. Apart from Northumberland's abortive conspiracy, which was formulated with the sanction of the reigning king, and from the rising in the north in 1569, every revolt during the sixteenth century was a rising not of the barons but of the commons. In that year the revolt of the northern earls was the last futile attempt at coercing government by a baronial insurrection. The depression of the nobility was effected partly by the enforcement of the laws against maintenance and livery through courts which

were not amenable to coercion, partly by systematic fines and confiscations, partly by the merciless application of the laws against treason, reinforced by the Treasons Act of Thomas Cromwell.

There remained the third force, the power of the Commons to cut off the supplies. The time had gone by when a king could attempt to act except under colour of law. The Crown could not emancipate itself from such control as the Commons possessed, so long as it was dependent on the goodwill of the Commons for the supplies necessary for carrying out its policy. The ingenuity of Henry VII. almost attained the desired end by the accumulation of a hoard which made appeals to the Commons for financial assistance superfluous. But the extravagance of his son

dissipated the hoard; and in the course of the French war he and his minister Wolsey were quite emphatically taught that a policy opposed by the popular will was impracticable if it involved heavy expenditure. There was no battle for the principle that the Commons had a right to direct policy; there was merely a demonstration that in practice an expensive policy required the acquiescence of parliament. Cromwell tried to effect an emancipation by sweeping the vast wealth of the Church into the Treasury; but the intention was frustrated again by the reckless dissipation of the wealth acquired by the spoliation. In Henry's last

years, the Crown, to avoid appeals for intolerable taxation, was driven to the miserable expedient of debasing the currency and repudiating debts. By the time of Elizabeth's accession the Crown was as dependent as it had ever been on the goodwill of the Commons. There was no new mine of wealth to replace the hoards of Henry VII. or the spoils of the monasteries, nor had the Crown succeeded in asserting any fresh claim to impose taxation



The *Harry Grace à Dieu*, built by Henry VIII. in 1513.

[From a drawing in the Pepysian Library, Cambridge.]

on its own authority, except for some slight alterations in the customs duties which were made in Mary's reign without exciting protest.

Subserviency, it may be said, would have served the purposes of the monarchy as well as goodwill; and we are told that the Tudor parliaments were subservient. That is a view hardly warranted by the facts. Within certain limits the Commons could be relied upon to carry out the wishes of the Crown. The nobility were beyond question subservient, and great nobles controlled the return of a good many members of the Commons' House. Mary too erected into boroughs sundry towns where local sentiment supported her views, just as afterwards Elizabeth created boroughs in the south-west country where her own nominees were secure. Much energy was occasionally expended on the packing of parliament, but not always with success. Constituencies occasionally refused point-blank to accept the nominees sent down by the agents of the Crown. Mary's

parliament in the spring of 1554 stopped very far short of endorsing the programme laid before it. When Henry VIII. intended to proceed against Thomas More by bill of attainder, he was wise in time and withdrew More's name from the bill in the face of unmistakable indications that otherwise if it were pressed forward it would be thrown out. The Reformation parliament itself rejected the Bill of Wards in spite of blustering threats on Henry's part. The House of Commons refused to discuss a money bill at all until Cardinal Wolsey withdrew from the precincts. The right to the utmost freedom of debate was cherished and exercised. When their pockets were touched at least, Tudor parliaments quite refused to be browbeaten. Even when money was not in question, Tudor governments did not impose legislation to which they compelled assent; they could only do their best or worst by packing or otherwise to secure a house which was likely to support the measures they intended



An Elizabethan family.

[From a brass of 1584.]

to introduce. And they could not secure such parliaments unless there was a very substantial body of popular feeling in their favour.

The Tudors, then, did not tyrannise over their parliaments, but on the other hand the parliaments did not assert new claims to control. They asserted successfully the right to discuss with entire freedom questions of policy, questions of administration, questions of religion, personal questions such as royal marriages, the right to petition the Crown, to exhibit grievances, to recommend measures, to refuse measures submitted to them, to control supply absolutely. But they did not claim the right to dictate policy. They claimed only the veto in the last resort through the refusal of supply; but this was an extreme measure, to be called into play only when there was a point-blank collision between the will of the Crown and the wish of parliament. Such a collision the Tudors were always wise enough to avoid; being happily endowed with a singular skill in retiring gracefully from an untenable position, and with an unfailing capacity for recognising the moment when a position had become untenable. Elizabeth frequently resented the freedom claimed by her parliaments, and rated them furiously

for discussing matters which were no concern of theirs ; but they went on with their discussions ; and if, as seldom happened until the very end of her life, she found herself arousing a real resentment, she was a consummate mistress of the art of beating a retreat. As a rule, however, the Commons were content to express their opinion and leave her to go her own way, which she was always careful in the long run to keep sufficiently in harmony with their wishes.

So long as harmony prevailed this was a sound working system. The brief triumph of legalised absolutism, when an Act of parliament practically bestowed on Henry VIII. unlimited powers, would at once have become intolerable if the Crown had employed those powers so as to arouse popular resentment. The Royal Proclamations Act was cancelled in the next reign. The system under Elizabeth was essentially one of partnership, in which the queen was the senior partner and manager, and parliament was the junior partner and critic. But a partnership must mean a divided authority, a possible clashing of authorities. So long as both partners are of one mind, or so long as one cheerfully accepts the subordinate position, all may go well. English institutions have existed and flourished very largely because rival authorities prefer compromise over points of difference to battles for supremacy. When differences become too acute for compromise and one side or the other must give way, the situation may be saved by the timely surrender of one or the other ; but, if it is not so saved, no alternative remains but a fight. And this is precisely what happened in the time of the Stuarts. The differences between Crown and parliament became too acute for compromise, neither would give way, and the stakes of the fight ceased to be the particular questions at issue and became the larger question of the permanent supremacy of the one or the other of the partners. Even in Elizabeth's last years there were indications of very acute friction, though a direct contest was averted partly by Elizabeth's diplomatic withdrawal and partly by the inclination of parliament to defer a serious struggle till after the old queen's death. The Crown and the people had been loyal to each other so long, and through a crisis so tremendous, that neither could willingly contemplate an open rupture.

II

THE CHURCH

The Reformation in England was primarily the handiwork of Henry VIII. ; its completion was the logical outcome of Henry VIII.'s policy, though it was by no means what that king himself contemplated. What Henry himself carried out was a revolution, not doctrinal nor moral but political. When he came to the throne, Western Christendom formed one single spiritual organisation. The Church was co-extensive not with the State

but with Christendom ; since Eastern Christianity, the " orthodoxy " of the Greek, not the Roman Church, was in the Western view outside the pale, not pagan but heretical. Within the Western area all Christians belonged to that one organisation, and the only non-Christians tolerated were the Jews. Within the Church, so far as doctrine and practice were defined, no diversities were permitted ; nor did the State sanction the existence of Christian sects external to the Church. It followed that all individuals owed a double allegiance, to the Universal Church and to the particular State. The essential feature of Henry's Reformation was the repudiation by the State of the existence of any such double allegiance. The citizen owed allegiance to the State alone, or to the Church only subject to the



A cut from the Great Bible of 1539.

State's sanction. It did not follow of necessity that the State would sanction one Church only. It might sanction one or many or none at all. The authority of the State might be repudiated, but it could and would enforce its *de facto* supremacy.

It was not a matter of necessity, but it was practically a matter of course, that the State should sanction in these circumstances one

Church coterminous with itself. In effect it treated the Church in England as the Church of England, the ecclesiastical expression of the State, though it did not quarrel with the liberty of churchmen to regard themselves still as members of the Universal Church, provided that they remained in practice obedient to the State control ; and explicitly from Henry's point of view the State in this connection meant the Crown. In the theory of the State, there was no real change ; the State merely asserted the authority which it had always possessed. Such changes as were made were not organic, but were simply administrative modifications. And this view that the Church retained its identity was made possible of acceptance by the Church itself, by the retention of the Ordination which gave continuity to the priesthood. Thus spiritually in the eyes of the Church, and legally in the eyes of the State, the continuity of the Church was preserved.

But diversity was contemplated no more than in the past. No one was to be permitted to separate himself from the Church ; there were to be no external sects. Yet in the general intellectual ferment of Europe, immense uncertainties had arisen as to what doctrines and practices were positively enjoined, what were permitted, what were sanctioned as mere matter of convenience, what were immutable by the sanction of Divine law. Definition was necessary or there would be chaos within the Church. Rome

established her own definitions by the Council of Trent. England established hers by formularies prepared mainly by clerical commissions and sanctioned by the Crown and parliament. Of these formularies, the first was the Ten Articles of Henry VIII. and the last the Thirty-nine Articles incorporated in the Prayer Book during the reign of Elizabeth. Between these two stages there were violent fluctuations. But throughout the root principle remained the same ; the definitions laid down with the sanction of the State must be accepted by all ; departure from them subjected the recalcitrant to penalties which ranged from burning down to fines or disability to discharge public functions. Definitions might be rigid or loose, penalties might be mild or severe, but within the scope of the definitions uniformity was to be enforced. Toleration in the sense that men were



The two Shepherds.

[From a drawing by Hans Sachs, about 1525.]

at liberty to follow the dictates of their own conscience was hardly dreamed of. But the characteristic of the formularies of Elizabeth, to whom it fell to make a finally acceptable settlement, was a wide latitude which admitted within the pale on the one hand followers of John Knox, and on the other men whom many Calvinists regarded as no better than Papists.

The State demanded from the laity only outward conformity, a decent observance of practices enjoined, abstention from practices forbidden. Privately a man might hold what opinions he liked, so long as those opinions did not materialise into actions or language subversive of the authorised institutions and doctrines. For some time even disobedience, unless thrust upon the notice of the authorities, was to a great extent winked at. Neither Romanist nor Protestant sectarians were much interfered with, unless they chose to be aggressive, until first the papal bull of deposition

and then the Jesuit propaganda of Parsons and Campian brought Romanism under suspicion of treason, stiffened the enforcement of conformity, and brought all kinds of overt nonconformity under the ban.

Now Elizabeth herself was not a woman of strong religious feeling like her sister Mary. Her religion was in the main dictated by politics. Probably if she had been circumstanced like Henry IV. of France, she, like him, would have considered that the Crown was "worth a Mass," although, not being similarly circumstanced, she expressed much righteous indignation when he acted upon that view. But her intellectual sympathies were on the side of the conservative element in the Church, the element which desired the least possible departure from the old practices and doctrines. A substantial proportion of the nobility, especially of what remained of the old nobility, was on the same side, and also perhaps of the old gentry. The north, too, was conservative, as it had been in her father's time, though in this respect the south-west had undergone a transformation. Hence enthusiastic Romanists perpetually suffered from a conviction that the country would welcome the restoration of Romanism.

On the other hand, however, the parliaments were very emphatically Protestant, more Protestant than Elizabeth's government; and every one of Elizabeth's ministers, though in somewhat varying degrees, leaned in the same direction. It is hardly to be imagined that this would have been the case if popular sentiment had been with the reactionaries. At all times parliament was ready, even eager, to go further than the queen in favouring the puritan element in the Church, repressing Romanism, attacking Mary Stuart, and adopting an aggressively Protestant attitude towards the European Powers. The English people have never, like the Scots, taken a keen delight in metaphysical and logical arguments or troubled themselves greatly with dogmatic subtleties. But a great many of them connected Romanism with the fires of Smithfield, the brutalities of Alva in the Netherlands, and the tortures of the Spanish Inquisition, or still more luridly after 1572 with the Paris massacre. Romanists might indeed retort upon Protestants a few years later by pointing to Jesuit martyrs and to the sufferings of the Irish; but the English had then already learnt to look upon the Jesuits as traitors and upon the Irish as wild beasts, so that the retort fell flat. Nowhere outside of the northern counties was there ever the slightest sign that the mass of the people was Romanist in its sympathies.

In fact, the question of the future was not whether England would revert to Rome, but whether Calvinism would dominate the Church in England as it very emphatically did in Scotland. In both countries, the secular government was antagonistic to Calvinism, and to the conceptions of Church government and of the relations of Church and State associated with the Calvinistic creed. On the other hand, intense hostility to Rome and to the active champions of Rome tended of itself to generate

Calvinism, simply because Calvinism was the form of Protestantism which was most palpably irreconcilable to Romanism.

After the Bull of Deposition and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, active hostility to Rome increased and Calvinism in England became more aggressive. In part it merely took the shape of what was called Nonconformity, the demand for the abolition of ceremonial observances which were looked upon as papistical, or at least for permission to dispense with them. But then there arose the demand for a change in the form of Church government on Presbyterian lines. This called for active repression, for the Crown held the doctrine, summarised in a favourite phrase of James VI., after he became King of England, "No bishop, no king." Even within the Church organisation, certain of the advanced clergy constructed a Presbyterian organisation. Presbyterianism was to the full as rigid in its demand for uniformity as was the State itself, and sought to impose its own particular views on the whole body. It had no sympathy with the audacious individualism of the group who at this time began to be known as Brownists, and subsequently became exceedingly formidable under the name of Independents; a group which claimed freedom of conscience for each separate congregation, the right of each congregation to worship unmolested after its own fashion. In the sixteenth century, at least, such an idea appeared to be hopelessly anarchical, subversive alike of State and Church.

Now Elizabeth's first Archbishop of Canterbury was the typical moderate Matthew Parker; and Parker was succeeded by Grindal, whose sympathies were entirely with that party which in modern phraseology would be termed Evangelical. Thus at the time when he was succeeded in 1583 by Archbishop Whitgift, the Evangelicals were exceedingly active in the Church, while the tide of severe repression against the Romanists had just set in, in consequence of the great Jesuit mission. It appeared that credit for impartial justice would be the more readily obtained if Protestant indiscipline were sternly dealt with at the same time with Romanism. Whitgift was not so much a High Churchman as a rigorous disciplinarian, and his primacy was signalised by the establishment of the Court of High Commission for dealing with ecclesiastical causes, which had been sanctioned by the Act of Uniformity a score of years earlier, though it had never been actually constituted. The Court's methods were inquisitorial and arbitrary, and were clearly disapproved by Lord Burleigh. It enforced uniformity very much more rigidly than had been done in the past, with the effect of intensifying the hostility of the advanced school to the episcopal system as an instrument of tyranny. Thence there issued a violent and unseemly onslaught on that system by the publication of a series of tracts signed Martin Mar-Prelate, in the year following the Armada.

The violence of the pamphleteers created a certain reaction, and this, coupled with the actual and fancied existence of all manner of Romanist plots, led in turn to increasingly severe legislation in 1593, directed against

the Romanists on one side and the Nonconformists on the other. It should, however, be remarked in passing, that the Nonconformists did not seek to separate themselves from the Church, but remained professedly within it, while protesting against certain doctrines and practices ; even as Cranmer had remained Archbishop of Canterbury while avowing to the king, at serious risk to himself, his personal adherence to views condemned by the Six Articles. These measures now resulted in the expulsion or emigration, chiefly to Holland, of the determined Brownists. The bulk of the Nonconformists, however, preferred obedience under protest to exile, and the Church parties became more and more differentiated as High Churchmen and Puritans, the names which afterwards came to be generally adopted to distinguish them. At the same time what may be called Liberal churchmanship was finding admirable expression in what is perhaps the first monumental work of English prose, the *Ecclesiastical Polity* of Richard Hooker, which exemplifies the attitude of all the greater minds of the day in England.

III

ECONOMIC PROGRESS

The Tudors inaugurated the great period of English commercial expansion. Henry VII. made the development of the national wealth an explicit object of policy, the State operating by means of commercial treaties, although he did not hesitate to employ commercial wars as a means to securing quite other political ends. The root principle of the politico-economic theory known as Mercantilism was already being formulated, namely, that wealth is to be sought as a means to national power. It was not assumed that wealth is convertible into power as a matter of course ; on the contrary, it was frequently assumed that wealth might be accumulated at the expense of power ; it did not follow that the course which was economically the best was politically the best.

On this theory, then, trades and employments should be encouraged which tended to develop national strength ; trade which enriched another nation was to be discouraged ; the prosperity of a neighbour probably, of a rival certainly, was looked upon as injurious. The importance to the State of possessing a large amount of gold and silver gave rise to the doctrine that a trade which exchanged treasure for goods was bad for the country, but that one which exchanged goods for treasure was beneficial. It became, therefore, the duty of the State to control commerce, to encourage or discourage it actively, with a view to maintaining the "balance of trade"—that is, of securing an inflow of treasure greater than the outflow—the artificial development of industries regarded as beneficial, as, for instance, the manufacture of gunpowder and ordnance, and in particular the in-

crease of shipping, which the England of the sixteenth century was learning to look upon as of quite vital importance.

The principal means to the encouragement of shipping was found in the Navigation Acts, favouring goods exported or imported in English bottoms ; and to these must be added the post-Reformation ordinances insisting on the Lenten fast—issued by Protestant governments even while they repudiated fasting on religious grounds as a papistical superstition—because employment was given thereby to the deep-sea fishermen and sailors, and so shipbuilding and the mariner's art were fostered. But the State left it to private enterprise to turn maritime energy to commercial account. After the first start, sailors and explorers owed nothing to the State, although Elizabeth personally speculated in some of their ventures on terms exceedingly profitable to herself.

Perhaps, however, we should qualify the statement that private enterprise was unaided. The government con-

tinued on an extended scale to employ the old method of granting monopolies in order to extend trade. Of these monopolies there were two types, those which were granted to mercantile companies, and those which were granted to individuals. In the past the great examples of monopolist Companies had been the Merchants of the Staple and the Merchant Adventurers, who had exclusive rights of trading in certain classes of goods in Western Europe. Such monopolies were in fact a condition of the progress of trade, or at least appeared to be so. Other states practically excluded the foreign private trader, as did the English themselves. The trader was admitted only if he was an enrolled member of a Company which was responsible for his good behaviour and could be penalised if its members set rules and regulations at nought. To



At the market, 1603.

[From a broadside.]

a Company which was under control privileges might be conceded. A Company to which authority had been granted could control its members, but unless the grant conveyed also a monopoly, it would have no control over traders who were not members. It could not protect itself against the misconduct of such persons, while they, on the other hand, would have the utmost difficulty, acting as private individuals, in enforcing for themselves such rights as the law might concede to them. Provided that the monopolist Company was open to all would-be traders on reasonable terms, it was ordinarily to the advantage of the private individual to trade under its ægis; while the Company itself was liable to suffer damage from illegitimate practices, if non-members were permitted to trade within its area. Commercial treaties were effective under the Company system, but would have been a dead letter without it.



Weaving in the 16th century.
[From Erasmus, "In Praise of Folly."]

That was a state of things which passed away in Western Europe as the ordinary machinery of the law became sufficient to protect the community against the unprincipled "free trader," the trader who was not a member of a Company, and to secure the individual in his rights even when there was no organised Company at his back to help him. But the maritime expansion of the sixteenth century opened up new markets or new fields of enterprise, where the economic arguments which had warranted

the old monopolies were more effective than ever. The great bar to enterprise was insecurity, and a chartered Company could give a comparative security to its members. But the chances of profit were too precarious, unless the Company itself could protect itself from the reckless competition of the free-trading adventurer; in other words, unless it had a legal monopoly. So in Elizabeth's reign there began a multiplication of chartered Companies for trading in the more remote and less civilised portions of the globe. Thus the Eastern or Prussian Company was established for trading with the Baltic, the Muscovy Company for the Russian trade, the Levant Company, and, finally, on the last day of the year 1600, the East India Company.

Analogous to these were the patents granted for colonisation to Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh in America. These were the men who first conceived the mighty vision of a new England beyond the ocean, where Englishmen should find a new home. The Spaniard had secured the treasure-regions of the south, and Englishmen were eager enough to break through the Spanish monopoly, to join on their own account in the hunt for Eldorado; but Gilbert and Raleigh dreamed of

something far different, something which was realised in those colonies which have developed into the United States of America. To neither of them was it given to realise the dream. Gilbert tried vainly to plant a colony in the vague northern region known as Norumbega, but his ship foundered at sea when he was returning to England. After him his half-brother Raleigh spent wealth and brains and energy in the attempt to plant his colony of Virginia, whither he sent expeditions year after year, only to find each time that the last group of settlers had been wiped out. Only in the next reign, when Raleigh was eating his heart out in the Tower, was the colony of Virginia really created ; the child of a commercial chartered Company.

Somewhat different was the basis on which trading monopolies were granted to private individuals. In theory, at least, the monopoly was granted in such cases with the direct object of creating industries which could only be nursed into life, industries in which the financial risks were too serious unless they were protected from competition, or which required the granting of special powers such as those which, in the nineteenth century, it was necessary to confer upon railway companies. In practice, the system became liable to serious abuse, and occasionally, at least, the Crown conferred monopolies for the enrichment of private individuals where there was no adequate excuse for prohibiting competition. At the end of Elizabeth's reign the grievance had become sufficiently serious to threaten a rupture between the Crown and parliament ; a rupture which was averted by the tactful skill with which Elizabeth promised to withdraw and prohibit obnoxious monopolies, although the promise was not in fact observed.

The State sought to encourage new industries, as it sought to encourage commercial enterprise, by granting monopolies to the pioneers, but also by the introduction of foreign craftsmen. In particular, privileges were granted to refugees from Alva's persecution in the Low Countries, where textile arts in especial were practised which had not yet been taken up in England, in spite of the great development of the cloth manufacture. It is probable that refugees from Antwerp introduced the cotton industry, although its great development was deferred for a couple of centuries.

We have already described the depression of the rural population, which reached its climax in the middle years of the century. The process of enclosure appears to have come to an end quite early in Elizabeth's reign with the disappearance of the immense disparity between the profits of wool-growing and of tillage. The constant displacement of labour ceased, and the problem was reduced to that of finding employment for those already displaced, of whom a large proportion were willing enough to work if they could get work to do upon reasonable terms. The system of apprenticeship controlled by the guilds had in the past shut this displaced labour out of employment in the trading and manufacturing industries ; but the expansion of trade, and the multiplication of minor industries which were not subject

to gild regulations, now began to provide employment for this surplus working population.

The Statute of Apprentices, an Act passed quite early in the reign of Elizabeth, did much towards the settling of industrial conditions. In spite of the fact that there was manifestly a good deal of wealth in the country, though Henry VIII.'s depredations and the financial chaos of the two next reigns were extremely unsettling, the chartered towns throughout the Tudor period, until the accession of Elizabeth, were losing their old prosperity, which was already to some extent falling off in the fifteenth century. They were responsible for their own misfortunes, which were largely the outcome



Eastcheap market about 1598.

[From a drawing in the British Museum.]

of the self-protective policy of the gilds, which tried to make a close preserve of their trades. They forbade the practice of a trade by any one who had not qualified by a stated term of apprenticeship, the numbers of apprentices were limited, and apprenticeship itself was open only to the children of

the comparatively prosperous. Theoretically, these rules were enforced in order to maintain a high standard of efficiency, though it is safe to suppose that the desire to restrict competition was really a more active motive with the gild councils. But the actual effect was to drive would-be competitors out of the chartered towns into the unchartered market-towns, where there was no authority to enforce gild regulations. The high standards were, perhaps, not maintained, but production was cheaper, and the market towns attracted the custom which before had been concentrated in the chartered towns. By the Statute of Apprentices uniformity was introduced. It ceased to be the business of the local authority to make the regulations, which were laid down by law; the local authority becoming the machinery through which the law was enforced. Seven years' apprenticeship was required before any one could set up in trade on his own account in the then recognised trades, and the whole country was covered by the regulations, instead of only the chartered towns, while the conditions of admission to apprenticeship were made less rigorous in the latter. In what were regarded as superior trades, a property qualification for the parents of apprentices was preserved, so that their social status was maintained. These trades presented no opening for the unemployed rural population, but in minor trades the property qualification

was reduced or abolished. Moreover, the statute only applied to the existing trades which were scheduled in the Act, so that the new trades which sprang up during the reign were outside its operation. From this period dates the development of spinning and weaving in particular, as occupations engaging the rural population, in addition to agricultural labour. No apprenticeship was required, and the industry could be made supplementary to field work, besides giving employment to women and children.

The enclosures had been responsible for bringing into prominence a problem which had not been aggressively noticeable in the Middle Ages; the double problem, it may be called, of helpless poverty and wilful vagrancy. Both were further intensified by the dissolution of the monasteries, which, on the one hand, was followed by an increase of enclosure, while, on the other hand, it abolished the one institution which admitted a sort of professional responsibility for the care of the indigent. Whatever the sins of the monks may have been, the monasteries, in fact, did a good deal towards clothing the naked and feeding the hungry, though their methods probably encouraged those who preferred idle beggary to laborious poverty. But when the monasteries were dissolved, no one admitted responsibility for maintaining the indigent, and the number of sturdy vagabonds was multiplied.

Then some town corporations experimented on their own account, and Elizabeth's exceedingly practical ministers extended the experiments. The object was to differentiate between the wilfully idle and the poor who were either incapable of work or were idle only because they could find no work to do. The failure of appeals for voluntary contributions led to the levying of compulsory contributions for the maintenance of the impotent poor, and the results of forty years of experimentation were formulated in the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601, which continued in force with little modification for nearly two centuries. The law established a poor-rate in every parish, and workhouses; where relief was given to those who were unable to work, and work was given to those who applied for relief because they were unable to find employment, while those who declined to work and preferred to beg were severely penalised. As a general rule, there was now a sufficiency of employment for those who were willing to work;



16th century mendicants.

[From Barclay's "Ship of Fools."]

the parish provided relief for those who were actually incapable ; the wilful vagrant was marked off from the man who was willing to work ; and throughout a very long period the problems of pauperism and unemployment again dropped into the background.

IV

LITERATURE

Until the age of Chaucer, at the close of the fourteenth century, England had produced nothing which could enable her to rank among the literary peoples. Before the accession of Henry VII. Wiclif's Bible, Langland's *Piers Plowman*, the works of Chaucer himself, and the *Morte d'Arthur* of Mallory, were the only works in the English tongue which could in any sense be held to rank as classics. In the reigns of Edward IV. and of Henry VII. the intellectual movement was at last beginning to take hold of the English. Education and liberal studies received a strong stimulus, but still an English literature was unborn. Sir Thomas More's native humour combined with his Platonism to produce the *Utopia* before Martin Luther had flung down his challenge to the papacy ; but the *Utopia* was written in Latin, not in English. Literary energy was almost entirely absorbed in pamphleteering and theological controversy, and of poetry there was none in England until the latter years of Henry VIII. ; unless we dignify by the name of poetry the satires of John Skelton, whose doggerel rhymes have at least immortalised his name. Scotland, on the other hand, produced William Dunbar, who may in some sort be regarded as the remote progenitor of Robert Burns ; and in Bishop Gavin Douglas and Sir David Lindsay, the northern poets maintained their claim to have carried on the Chaucerian tradition much more successfully than their southern neighbours. The capacities of English prose found their best expression in the great translations of the Bible by William Tyndale and others, of which our own "authorised version" is a modification, in the music of the new English Church Services, and in the racy rhetoric of Hugh Latimer's Sermons. Still, before Henry VIII. was dead, Surrey and Wyatt, harbingers of the coming dawn, were weaving dainty fancies into dainty verse, learnt mainly from Italian models, piping a delicate prelude to the glorious outburst of Elizabethan song.

Yet fully twenty years of Elizabeth's own reign were past before any sign appeared that the poets were to share with the sailors the glories of her reign. Only in translation had it been shown that English prose could be made an instrument of artistic expression, though Foxe in the work commonly called the *Book of Martyrs*, and John Knox in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, had proved its capacity for vigorous narrative. The

year which signalises the birth of a new era is 1579, the year in which appeared the *Shepherd's Calendar* of Edmund Spenser, and that very amazing work the *Euphues* of John Lyly.

The one great original work of the early Tudor period was More's *Utopia*. Himself no mean scholar, and the intimate friend of all the best scholars of his time, the son of a judge, and bred up in part in the household of Cardinal Morton, More as a young man was strongly drawn towards entering the religious life. But something withheld him. He became an active man of affairs, and a somewhat unwilling favourite of Henry VIII.

He was Speaker in the House of Commons which declined to be brow-beaten by Cardinal Wolsey, whom he succeeded as Chancellor. He resigned the Chancellorship on a point of conscience, because he would not admit that a secular authority could be supreme in matters spiritual; and he cheerfully chose to

be beheaded as a traitor when he was offered his choice between acknowledging the royal supremacy over the Church and losing his head. Such was the man who, in his imaginary Commonwealth, depicted by contrast the social and political conditions of his time as he saw them, with a satire none the less penetrating for its kindliness. His ideal Commonwealth is an anticipation of modern socialistic dreams; dreams, that is, of a Christian socialism, resting not upon economic but upon moral foundations, and reaching back to the communistic doctrines of Plato's Republic.

Euphuism has been held up to our ridicule, but *Euphues* is very far from being altogether ridiculous. It is full of an extravagant pedantry, an exaggerated foppery of phraseology, a fantastic playing upon words, which at first invite burlesque emulation but very soon become inexpressibly tedious. But *Euphues* meant something serious. Admirable moral aims, indeed, are not a passport to Helicon; the significance of the work lies in the fact that it was a deliberate attempt to create a style, a conscious effort to give prose composition a decorative value, to apply to prose the idea of artistic selection in the use of words. The actual result was fantastic enough, and fantastical conversation modelled upon it became the fashion in polite society; the wits played with Euphuism, and if Shakespeare burlesqued it, its influence is also nevertheless apparent in many passages

Februarie.



A cut from the rare first edition of Spenser's "*Shepherd's Calendar*."

which have no savour of parody. English style we may say for the first time became self-conscious in John Lyly's work, which is thereby rendered significant; it became absurd chiefly because it had not learnt to conceal its self-consciousness and to produce the impression of spontaneity.

At the same time Spenser, in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, achieved, in what we call minor poetry, a standard which decisively proved the effectiveness of the English tongue in that field. It was not till ten years later, when the Armada had come and gone, that the first book of the *Faërie Queene* definitely enriched the literature of the world. Had the age of Elizabeth produced no other poet than Spenser it would still have been glorious in the annals of poetry.

But it was in another field that the mightiest triumph was to come. The poetic glory of ancient Athens had lain in her drama, and the drama had retained its place in the front rank as a form of literary expression until Christianity dominated the Roman Empire. The Church prohibited it, but could not prohibit the instinct for dramatic representation. Therefore it turned that instinct to its own uses, sanctioning only the Miracle plays, Mysteries, and Moralities, which were intended allegorically to impress on the vulgar mind the superiority of virtue over vice. But in this medieval substituted for drama, the essential matter was the pantomime, the dialogue was merely an accompaniment. In the early sixteenth century, when the ecclesiastical conventions were losing their authority, the Moralities were supplemented on the one hand by masques and pageants, which gratified the popular taste for gorgeous display, and on the other hand by a development of buffoonery, which the Church, in its consideration for the weakness of the flesh, had allowed as an accompaniment of its Sermons in Pantomime.

But at the same time, the revived study of the ancient literatures and of the new literature to which it had given birth in Italy began to awaken an imitative tendency. The first English play was a comedy constructed by the schoolmaster Nicholas Udall for his boys to perform, adapted from a classic model, in the reign of Queen Mary; the first blank-verse tragedy, *Gorboduc*, was acted some three years after Elizabeth's accession. Companies of strolling players began to perambulate the country, though of the nature and quality of the plays they performed we have practically no knowledge. The performances generally took place in a nobleman's hall or the yard of an inn, and some twenty years after Elizabeth's accession they had already become so popular as to seduce the errant youth of the metropolis from the due observance of their religious duties. The performers were expelled from the city, and, perhaps for this reason, began to localise themselves in permanent centres, and to construct playhouses. Peele, Greene, and others, for the most part undisciplined young men who had enjoyed a university education, began to write for the players dramas of a higher literary standard; and in 1587 young Christopher Marlowe's terrific melodrama, *Tamburlaine*, was presented on the boards.

Tamburlaine does not itself rank as a great tragedy. Marlowe was but three-and-twenty, the same age as William Shakespeare. The only known canons of the tragic art were those laid down nearly two thousand years before by Aristotle. The English tragedians had still to arrive at canons of their own. But *Tamburlaine* was the work of one who, though he died before he was thirty, killed it is said in a tavern brawl, lived long enough to prove that his tragic genius was unsurpassed, though not long enough to consummate his artistic method. In the year of Marlowe's death Shakespeare himself was certainly writing for the stage, and from that date, 1593, onwards, through the last ten years of Elizabeth's reign and through many years of that of her successor, there was no year which did not witness the production of a masterpiece, either of comedy or of tragedy.

We speak of the Elizabethan literature; but we do not generally realise that not one line of the great literature associated with her reign was published until after the Armada. Until then Spenser and Marlowe had done only apprentice work. It would seem as if, down to that tremendous crisis, men's hearts and brains were absorbed in action. The fame

of nearly all the great men of action of the reign had reached or was reaching its zenith in 1588; but if none of the English poets whom we call Elizabethans had survived that year, Spenser alone would be remembered to-day, and he only as an attractive minor poet. Even so in Athens of old, after the tremendous crisis of the Persian War, the triumphs of Marathon and Salamis were matched by the triumphs of Æschylus and Sophocles; they were the triumphs of the generation which was only maturing at the moment of the great crisis of national liberty. Of the great group of dramatists among whom Shakespeare stands supreme, some were altogether unknown until after Elizabeth's death; excepting Marlowe, none was heard of before 1593, and all lived far into the reign of James. Yet they are rightly termed Elizabethans, since they were all the offspring of the great outburst of national vitality in Elizabeth's reign.



Shakespeare.

[The Droeshout portrait.]

Amongst Elizabethans must also be ranked Richard Hooker, whose *Ecclesiastical Polity* was mentioned in connection with the religious movements. An Elizabethan too was Francis Bacon, in genius second only to Shakespeare, to whom he was slightly senior. But the product of Bacon's powers belongs almost entirely to the following reign; before then he had only given the world a taste of his quality by the publication of his essays; and although he himself was a product of the Elizabethan spirit, he was in many respects rather the forerunner of the scientific age which was dawning than the glory of the poetic age in which he was bred.

BOOK IV

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER XV

RIGHT DIVINE

I

THE SPRING OF TROUBLES

THE accession of James VI. of Scotland to the throne of England as the legitimate heir of Henry VII. and his wife united at last the Crowns of the two kingdoms, which for centuries had looked upon each other as foes even when their relations were formally friendly. Technically under the will of Henry VIII., which had never been formally set aside, Lord Beauchamp, the son of Catherine Grey and of the Earl of Hertford, was the heir, because Henry had postponed claims through his elder sister Margaret to claims through his younger sister Mary. James I., like Henry VIII. and Edward VI., could definitely claim to represent by seniority of descent the house of Plantagenet. That was a claim which neither Henry VII. nor Richard III., nor any member of the house of Lancaster had been able to assert. Nor could the title be challenged on the ground that descent through females was invalid, because there was no one living who could profess descent in unbroken male line from the royal house.

The English people could no doubt assert that they had never recognised an indefeasible title to the throne on the part of a monarch, and had always claimed the right to divert the line of succession ; but it remained open to James to assert that all such diversions had been *de jure* invalid. He had become king *de facto* by consent of the nation ; no one else could claim to be king *de jure* on any principles whatever ; but he could also claim to be king *de jure*, irrespective of national consent, by the immutable law of succession by Divine right, as the lineal descendant of William the Conqueror and the lineal representative of the house of Cerdic. Hitherto the royal authority had been content to rest itself upon human law and precedent ; it remained for the Stuarts to find for it a sanction in

a Divine law higher than human law and precedent, the recognition of which would set the king himself above all human law and precedent. The assumption was harmless, so long as the king in practice consented to be bound by law and precedent; the trouble arose when kings refused to be so bound. The theory of Divine Right was for the first time asserted by James, but he did not carry his insistence upon it to the extreme point in practice. Hence the great collision between Crown and parliament was

deferred to the reign of his successor. Nevertheless, it was James who set the ball rolling. The claim that the Crown was bound by precedent not of right, but only of grace, entailed not only the stubborn assertion by parliament of the contrary principle but also its interpretation of precedents in a sense which would have been emphatically repudiated by the Tudors; with the result that royal prerogatives hitherto unquestioned were challenged and abolished, and finally the succession was diverted into a new line which could not pretend to rule by any higher title than the national consent.

The British people is not given to concerning itself greatly with abstract theories until they are applied to practical questions in a tangible manner. On the basis of the new theory the Crown sought to assert rights of arbitrary taxation, arbitrary control of religion, and arbitrary imposition of penalties. By exceeding its prerogative, or powers established by precedent, it caused those prerogatives to be challenged. Hence it became clear that they must either be extended so as



A musketeer of 1603.
[From Skelton's "Armour."]

to make the Crown decisively predominant over parliament, or curtailed so as to make parliament decisively predominant over the Crown. The battle cost Charles I. his head; but the republic which replaced the monarchy took the form of a Military Dictatorship as arbitrary as any monarchy. The monarchy was restored with the royal prerogatives curtailed; but the renewed attempt to establish absolutism brought about the expulsion of the Stuarts and the retention of a monarchy under conditions which precluded the possibility of a revival of the claims of the Crown.

The history of the Stuarts down to what the Whigs called the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 is not concerned exclusively with this great constitutional struggle; but that struggle entirely occupies the foreground. The first great phase of it extends over the whole period from 1603 to 1640, and accordingly it will be here treated continuously in a single chapter

instead of being arbitrarily divided at the moment of the accession of Charles I. As a preliminary we shall review the conditions out of which the contest arose, and by which it was affected.

We shall find that the antagonism between Crown and parliament arose primarily out of two questions, taxation and religion. The religious question was the outcome of the growth of what is called Puritanism in England, and the question of taxation was made acute by the foreign policy of the Crown. We shall therefore in the first place outline the European conditions which indirectly helped to force on the constitutional struggle.

When Elizabeth died the ruler of Spain was Philip III., the son of Elizabeth's great antagonist. In France Henry IV. had established a substantial degree of religious toleration by the Edict of Nantes, which conceded freedom of worship to the Huguenots, although the Government was officially Catholic. In Germany for half a century the principle had been broadly recognised that in each principality the prince recognised that form of religion which was acceptable to himself. None of the emperors had professed Protestantism, but they had not pressed forward the papal cause against the reformed religion. On the other hand, the reformed states were divided between Calvinists and Lutherans, who were hardly less hostile to each other than to the papacy. In the Netherlands the contest with Spain had reached the stage at which it was all but certain that the Northern Protestant United Provinces would secure their independence, while the Southern Catholic Provinces would remain attached to the Spanish dominion. Spain was still looked upon as the aggressive champion of Catholicism, and neither she nor the world had yet realised her fundamental weakness or awakened to the fact that the Austrian, not the Spanish, Hapsburgs constituted the real menace to Protestantism. The keen political instinct of Henry IV. did indeed recognise the growing danger to Europe of a coalition between the two branches of the house of Hapsburg; but his schemes for an opposition League were destroyed by his assassination in 1610, the year following the formal suspension of hostilities between Spain and Holland. The recognition of Ferdinand of Styria as heir to the Emperor marked the approach of an aggressive Catholic policy. The kingdom of Bohemia, which for some time past had been attached to the house of Austria, claimed that its monarchy was elective and chose for its king the Protestant Elector Palatine Frederick, instead of Ferdinand. Ferdinand asserted his own claim, and so in 1618 began the Thirty Years' War, a struggle mainly between the Protestant and Catholic states of the Empire, in which the Scandinavian Powers also became involved, Spain, too, intervening on behalf of the Hapsburgs. In France the accession of a child, Louis XIII., had put the government into the hands of a regency, and that country became entirely absorbed in party factions and intrigues among the nobles, until the young king assumed the reins of government, and called to his aid the great minister Cardinal Richelieu, whose ascendancy dates from 1621. It became Richelieu's business to carry on the suspended

work of Henry IV. by establishing the supremacy of the Crown over the nobles in France, and directing an anti-Hapsburg foreign policy. As matters stood, the most troublesome of the nobles were also Huguenots ; and thus the civil broils in France assumed superficially the appearance of a religious struggle, although in essence it was political. The relations of England with Spain, France, and the Palatinate, between 1618 and 1630, were the main cause of the financial difficulties which, along with the religious difficulty, brought Crown and parliament in England into direct hostility. After that date the domestic discords practically prevented England from taking any part in Continental affairs until after the Commonwealth was established.

II

PURITANS, ROMANISTS, AND THE IMPOSITIONS

The accession in England of the King of Scotland was marked by the discovery of two conspiracies known respectively as the Main and Bye plots. The object of the Bye plot was to capture the person of the new king and compel him to make concessions to the Romanists. The object of the Main plot was apparently to substitute Arabella Stuart for her cousin. Neither could ever have had the remotest chance of success, and the real interest of the Main plot lies in the fact that Cecil succeeded in procuring Walter Raleigh's condemnation as a participator in it. That crafty politician had not openly been on hostile terms with Raleigh, but feared his rivalry, and therefore compassed his removal from the political world. Raleigh was reprieved at the last moment, and was shut up for a dozen years in the Tower ; where he passed his time writing a *History of the World*, making chemical experiments, and dreaming of Eldorado. Cecil was comfortably secured as the king's right-hand man.

James was the more readily accepted in England, because each of the religious sections hoped for alliance with him. As King of Scotland he had indubitably intrigued with the Catholics abroad, and the Romanists hoped that when he was secure upon the throne the penal laws would at least be relaxed, even if the king remained professedly a Protestant. On the other hand, James had been brought up by teachers of the school of John Knox ; and English Nonconformists dreamed that he would sympathise with their grievances. They had not realised his conviction that "Presbyterianism consorteth with monarchy as well as God with the Devil."

Both Nonconformists and Romanists were promptly disillusioned. During his progress from the North James was presented with what was called the Millenary Petition, signed by a thousand of the clergy, praying for a relaxation of the ecclesiastical rules as to vestments and ceremonies,

in favour of the Nonconformist views. The petition was answered by the calling of the Hampton Court Conference. In effect the king presided over an assembly of bishops to whom four of the Nonconformist clergy were permitted to present their case. In all but minor points the Conference, and the king personally, flatly rejected the Nonconformist petition. New canons were promulgated which enforced the regulations upon the clergy more strictly than before, and some hundreds were driven to resign their livings; although the great majority were able to reconcile their consciences to the practices enjoined, such as the use of the Sign of the Cross in Baptism and of the ring in the Marriage Service. The vehemence of the language of the king, who had not forgotten how Andrew Melville had addressed him as "God's silly vassal," was a warning to the Puritans that they had nothing to hope for from the new régime even more emphatic than the formal results of the Conference. Nevertheless, when Parliament met, it was obvious that the sympathies of the representative chamber were with the Puritans.

On the other hand, James had many reasons for wishing to conciliate the Romanists. He was not only sensibly anxious to terminate the perpetually hostile relations with Spain, but was possessed with a fear of that Power very much greater than the circumstances at all warranted. Moreover, the penal legislation of Elizabeth's later years was of an extremely oppressive character, excusable only on the plea that Romanism was an insidious political danger. Unfortunately, colour was perpetually given to the popular suspicion of the Romanists by reports of plots, sometimes fictitious but sometimes real, for which not the body of Roman Catholics but a few zealots were responsible. The Main and Bye plots upset the



James I.

[From a contemporary engraving.]

king's pacific intentions ; and before he had been a year on the throne all Romanist priests were banished from the kingdom. The relaxation of the fines imposed on the laity for absenting themselves from the English church service led to a great increase in this practice, which was known as Recusancy ; whereby so much uneasiness was caused that after another twelve months the laws were again enforced with their old rigour. Again the zealots plunged into a crazy scheme for blowing up the king and the Houses of Parliament and raising the country. At the moment when the execution of the plot was at hand, one of the conspirators gave a hint to a kinsman of his who was a peer ; and he also conveyed to his fellow-conspirators a warning to escape while there was yet time. The hint was



The Gunpowder Plot: the Conspirators.

[From a contemporary print now in the National Portrait Gallery.]

taken, but the warning was not acted upon. The authorities caught Guy Fawkes in the cellars under the Houses of Parliament surrounded by barrels of gunpowder. The rest of the plotters were also captured and killed. Nothing could have happened more fatal to the cause of the Romanists. Popular terror and hatred were roused to the utmost pitch by the unparalleled nature of the crime which had been contemplated ; and for a century to come, even for two centuries, a rumour of a "popish plot" was all that was required to create a popular frenzy. And every government which displayed a disposition to relax the attitude of suspicious severity towards Romanist practices itself became the object of acute popular suspicion if not of angry hostility.

King Henry of France is credited with having summarised the character of King James of England by describing him as "the wisest fool in Christendom." He was well versed in political theory, and was particularly

well informed as to European affairs, besides being endowed with a very subtle intellect. Unfortunately, he was in love with his own subtlety, and his passion for craftiness habitually prevented him from thinking or acting straightforwardly ; while he was wholly deficient in that supreme quality of the Tudors, the capacity for gauging other men's brains and characters, and for reading the temper of the people over whom he ruled. The aims that James set before himself were often wise, but in his methods he neglected to take count of popular feeling. With an unbounded belief in his own intellectual capacity, he was extremely opinionated and at the same time very easily led ; while those by whom he was led were, at least after Robert Cecil's death, the very worst type of advisers—not statesmen but personal favourites. Hence everything he attempted to do was spoilt in the execution.

If Romanists and Puritans were both grievously disappointed in King James, he himself had just reason for disappointment in the reception of his own ideas for the union of his two kingdoms. In both England and Scotland there had in the past been statesmen who realised that the incorporation of the two in a single State would be an achievement from which both would benefit. The Union of the Crowns was merely a step to that achievement, making it impossible for the two nations to pursue hostile foreign policies. The foreign policy of the State could only be the foreign policy of its king. Scotland and England could not fight each other, except on the hypothesis that one or other was in a state of rebellion against the king. This in itself was a great gain, but was very far from uniting the two States into one political community with common interests. That was the consummation desired by the king, but the nations were not yet ready for it. The Scots were afraid of being subordinated to the English, and the English were in no hurry to admit the Scots to full English citizenship. The countries remained separate and under separate governments. Scotsmen indeed planted themselves in England and prospered greatly, to the disgust of Englishmen ; but practically the only step towards a closer union was the dictum of the judges, that persons born after the Union were naturalised subjects on the soil of that country in which they had not been born ; that a Scot who transferred himself to England had all the rights of an English citizen, and an Englishman transferring himself to Scotland had the same rights as if he had been born a Scot. In practice Englishmen did not migrate to Scotland, whereas Scots did migrate to England in considerable numbers, but the Union hardly tended to increase mutual goodwill. The visitors from the North came to exploit England for their own benefit, and their success in so doing was not popular.

In Ireland it may be claimed that matters went better than under the Tudors. Although Tyrone had come to terms with the English government, his character and ambitions made it impossible to depend on his loyalty. With a man of his type there were two alternatives ; either he must be treated as Henry VII. had treated the old Earl of Kildare, and be practically

constituted viceroy of Ireland, or he must be completely suppressed. The Government was saved from the dilemma by the great Earl's flight from the country, which left no chief powerful enough to threaten rebellion, especially as Tyrconnell also fled. Both were held guilty of treason, and there were extensive forfeitures of territories in the North. This was the origin of that great plantation of Scots in Ulster which did so much to give the greater part of that province its distinctive character, intensified by the Cromwellian settlement half a century later.

From the very outset of his reign James showed his inability to grasp the ideas of government which had become ingrained in the English people—ideas which were thoroughly understood by the Tudors and which none of them would ever have been tactless enough to ignore. The axioms of English constitutionalism had never so much as presented themselves to the mind of the Scottish king, because they had no counterpart in the country where he had been bred. In England the supremacy of law was fundamental, whereas in Scotland arbitrary jurisdictions were the rule. Even on his first passage through the northern counties James had horrified his new subjects by proposing to hang a pickpocket, taken in the act, out of hand, without trial. In somewhat similar fashion he came into collision with his first parliament. A constituency returned as one of its members one Goodwin, who had been outlawed. The election would have been annulled by parliament; but parliament protested against the infringement of its privileges when the king took upon himself to declare the election void—all election disputes lay in their right to settle. When the king aired his theory of Divine Right and pronounced that they had no rights at all except by the king's grace, they replied that if he thought that was the case in England, he had been "misinformed." This privilege of the Commons was not in fact again brought in question; but the incident illustrated the character of the approaching contest between the Crown and parliament. The two parties had respectively assumed two different theories of the relation between Crown and parliament which could by no means be reconciled, although so long as compromises were possible between the will of the king and the will of the parliament a violent collision might be deferred.

Now a situation had been reached in which the normal expenditure of the Crown largely exceeded the normal revenue. The Crown had to face the painful truth that it could not afford to set parliament at defiance unless it could obtain additional revenue without appealing to the Commons for supplies. James resorted to a precedent which had actually been set in the reign of Queen Mary. A new "book of rates" was issued, adding to the duties at the ports so as to increase the revenue. A merchant named Bate refused to pay the new rates on the ground that they were illegal, but the judges pronounced that the "Impositions" as they were called were within the royal prerogative. The Commons passed a resolution traversing the decision of the judges, but a resolution of the House of Commons is merely

an expression of opinion having no legal force; an Act of parliament, not a resolution of one House, is required to invalidate the judgment of the courts; and until such an Act were passed, or the courts reversed their own judgment, the decision in Bate's case established the legal right of the Crown to vary the customs duties without sanction of parliament. Thus a serious constitutional danger was revealed. The judges held office by grace of the Crown; they were appointed and might be removed at the will of the Crown; and so long as this should be the case there was obviously a strong presumption, without imputing wilful dishonesty to the judges, that their decisions would be biassed in favour of the Crown. As concerned the particular question, the extent to which the king might add to the Impositions was limited only by the endurance of the House and of popular feeling; he had the law on his side, but if he strained the law the consequences might be disastrous.

Cecil, who was now Earl of Salisbury, sought to devise a remedy by a settlement which was called the Great Contract. A number of the king's technically valid claims, which were perpetual sources of irritation and friction, were to be commuted for a fixed annual revenue, these claims including the Impositions and a variety of feudal dues. The scheme seemed likely to go through, but unfortunately, while it was under consideration, both sides stiffened in their demands, and the Great Contract was dropped, since neither would give way.

The result was that for many years James made shift to carry on the government without additional supplies from parliament. During these years the Houses were only once summoned, to meet in what was called the "Addled Parliament," because it was dissolved again without accomplishing anything whatever. James had to content himself with employing every colourable legal device for raising money, including a large extension of the practice of granting monopolies or exclusive rights of production and sale of particular articles. One ingenious scheme deserves special notice. In connection with the colonisation of Ulster, and with a scheme for planting Scottish colonists in the district of North America, to which the name of Nova Scotia or New Scotland was given, the king created a new order of "baronets," bearers of a hereditary dignity which did not entitle them to rank with the peers of the realm, while it carried precedence over knights. But the new dignity was conferred not as a reward for services, but in exchange for hard cash.

III

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF JAMES I.

The king's foreign policy was dominated by a fear of Spain which was not shared by the English people. The strife which had continued through the last years of Elizabeth was terminated sensibly enough by a peace

almost immediately after James's accession. But James was possessed by an extravagant obsequiousness to Spain, which led to one of the most shameful incidents of the reign. To gratify Spain he deliberately sacrificed Sir Walter Raleigh. Raleigh was liberated from the Tower with a permission to seek and take possession of a hidden land of gold mines, of whose existence he had heard on the famous expedition to the Orinoco which he had undertaken in Elizabeth's reign. But he had strict orders to avoid a collision with the Spaniards. Every one concerned was perfectly well aware that a collision with the Spaniards would be absolutely



Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, died 1612.

[From Drayton's "Polyolbion."]

inevitable. Raleigh's expedition was a failure, and the inevitable collision took place. On his return he was arrested, and, to gratify the Spaniards, was executed on the strength of his ancient condemnation for complicity in the Main plot. At the time of Elizabeth's death Raleigh had perhaps been the best hated man in the kingdom; but the circumstances of his trial had caused a revulsion of sentiment in his favour; he remained the incarnation of the old popular feeling of undying hostility to Spain; and, by sacrificing him to Spain, James turned him into a popular hero.

James in fact wished to keep on good terms with both Catholics and Protestants on the Continent. He could not realise how completely the Spanish Government regarded itself as the agent of Heaven for the sup-

pression of heresy, nor the intensity of religious antagonisms, and he wanted himself to be regarded as a Solomon whom every one would willingly invite to arbitrate upon their differences. So he married his daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, to Frederick the elector palatine, the head of the Calvinistic princes of Germany. He would have tried to marry his own heir-apparent, Prince Henry, to a Spanish princess, but Henry had made to himself a hero of Raleigh, who was then in the Tower, and would have nothing to say to a marriage with any Romanist, least of all a Spaniard. The prince's premature death in 1612 made the king's second son, Charles, heir to the throne, and presently James revived the idea of a Spanish match, which was one of his motives for the destruction of Raleigh. He left out of consideration that, on the one hand, Spain cared nothing for the match, except as a means to restoring Romanist predominance in England, and, on the other, that the English people detested

the idea even more fervently than in the days of Queen Mary. These, he held, were high matters of State on which the people had no right to an opinion. As for Spain, he deluded himself with the belief that she would be quite satisfied with liberty of conscience for Spaniards in England, and some relaxation of the pressure of the penal laws upon English Catholics.

Now matters became alarmingly complicated when James's son-in-law, the elector palatine, accepted the crown of Bohemia, which was claimed by Ferdinand, the emperor-elect. The action of the Bohemian nobles and of Frederick was exceedingly questionable, since the Bohemians had actually pledged themselves to accept Ferdinand, and had broken that pledge, though not without some excuse, in offering their allegiance to Frederick. But there was the plain fact that the son-in-law of the King of England was plunged into a war with the head of the Austrian Hapsburgs, that the Spanish Hapsburgs were



European Powers in 1610.

in alliance with their cousins, and that there was every prospect that Frederick, instead of winning the Bohemian crown, would be deprived of the Palatinate. There was also a further probability that this would be only a step to an onslaught on the Protestant princes of Germany, who had not the wisdom to suppress their own quarrels and present a united front to the impending danger. James hated war, and flattered himself that he could detach Spain from the alliance by pressing forward a Spanish marriage. A vigorous interposition might have effected something, but nothing whatever was to be hoped from a diplomacy which did not rely upon armed intervention as its ultimate argument. Frederick's forces met with a severe defeat at the White Mountain, in Bohemia, and Spanish troops from the Netherlands marched into the Palatinate.

If James was to save his son-in-law from complete ruin, it was quite clear that he must arm ; and he could not possibly arm without assembling a parliament and obtaining supplies. So in 1621 parliament was summoned ; its last predecessor had been the Addled Parliament of 1614. As matters stood there were two possible war-policies ; one was to take an energetic part in the war in Germany, the other was to attack Spain. The country was quite willing to attack Spain. It knew little and cared not much more about Germany ; it took no interest in the king's German connections. But if there was going to be a stand-up fight between Rome and Protestantism, the traditional course for England was to fasten itself upon Rome's traditional champion, Spain ; and war with Spain brought compensation to adventurers, apart from the comfortable sense that it was a smiting of the Amalekites by the chosen people.

Parliament, however, had not yet reached the stage of claiming to dictate the particular course to be followed. The programme set before it was negotiation, and war if negotiation failed. It professed enthusiastic acceptance of the programme, especially the second part of it, but voted by no means as much money as the king wanted, being very far from confident that the subsidies would be expended to its satisfaction. Having voted the money, it turned to accumulated grievances—it had been practically silenced for ten years, and since the death of Salisbury in 1612 the conduct of the administration had not commended itself to public favour.

Fortune had set beside the king a counsellor who understood the Tudor principles of statesmanship. But King James was far too sure of his own supreme wisdom to allow himself to be guided by the wisdom of Francis Bacon, while he allowed himself to be tricked and cajoled by favourites, to whom statesmanship meant nothing but personal intriguing for wealth and power. Youthful good looks provided a ready passport to the royal favour. Cecil had known how to keep such *protégés* from becoming too influential ; the man who had destroyed Essex and ruined Raleigh knew how to secure his own ascendancy. But after Cecil's death, he who desired the king's favour required first the favour of the king's favourites. The first of these was Robert Kerr, created Earl of Somerset, who was fortunately ruined by the discovery that his wife, with his own connivance, had procured the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, who had stood in the way of her divorce from the Earl of Essex, which had been a necessary preliminary to her marriage with Kerr. Somerset's successor, with all his faults, remains a figure with a certain splendid fascination if only by reason of his magnificent arrogance. George Villiers, famous as the Duke of Buckingham, won the affection first of the king and then of his son Charles by his personal beauty and charm. Fearless, confident, and entirely self-centred, he never dreamed of doubting his own supreme capacity as a statesman and as a soldier ; though politics in his eyes meant the punishment of people who had offended him, and he realised no difference between the art of the strategist and that of the duellist.

But the country had not yet realised that Buckingham was the king's evil genius. It did realise that corruption was rampant. It fastened upon monopolies as the great means of corruption, and the Commons attacked them so fiercely that Buckingham made a virtue of resigning those which he held himself, and inducing the king to bow to the storm and abolish them. But the attack went further. If corruption was to be effectively dealt with, the highest game should be aimed at. Francis Bacon, Lord St. Alban, was the Lord Chancellor, the head of the judicial administration, and the Commons were angrily confident that the whole judicial administration was corrupt. According to the exceedingly pernicious practice of the time, every judge was in the habit of accepting gifts from the suitors on both sides. The obvious inference was that their decisions were likely to be influenced by the relative value of the gifts. In the same way, it may be remarked, all through the Tudor period, English statesmen and persons of influence, from Wolsey down, were in the habit of receiving gifts and honours from European potentates; and although the thing was done openly, and implied nothing in the nature of a bargain, there was an obvious danger that the system would be utilised for purposes of corruption. Bacon then was made the scapegoat of the system by the House of Commons. The Lord Chancellor was impeached and condemned,



Sir Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban.
[From the engraving by William Marshall.]

although there was no evidence that he had ever allowed his decisions to be affected by the presents which he received. There is no ground whatever for supposing that he was a corrupt judge; but he lent himself to a system which tended to corruption and maladministration of justice, although he recognised himself that a high standard of duty would have required him to set his face against it. He admitted the justice of his own punishment, while claiming that he had himself been the most just of judges since his father's time. His fall has brought unmerited obloquy upon his name, but it greatly served the cause of justice generally. Its effect may be measured by the fact that since his day no judge has ever laid himself open to the charge of receiving bribes.

Bacon's impeachment revived a practice which had fallen into complete abeyance ever since the beginning of the War of the Roses. From the impeachment of Lord Latimer, in 1376, to the impeachment of Suffolk, in 1450, the Commons had employed this method of attacking ministers, because the Commons were pressing their own right to control administration. The revival of impeachment meant that the Commons were once

more imbued with a determination to enforce that right ; and the practice was actively continued until the right itself had become thoroughly established in the eighteenth century.

When parliament was prorogued in the summer, it was still hoped that the negotiations would be sufficiently fortified by the proceedings in the House to make actual war unnecessary. But matters went so badly for Frederick that the prospect of persuading his enemies to come to terms vanished ; and at the end of the year parliament was again summoned in a hurry to vote supplies. But James was still devoted to his scheme of detaching Spain and inducing her to join England in bringing pressure to bear on the Emperor and his supporters. The Commons detested the idea of the Spanish marriage, had no belief in the possibility of detaching Spain, and were extremely averse from flinging themselves into the war on German soil instead of devoting the country's energies to a maritime attack on the traditional enemy. In their view it was England's business to stand forth uncompromisingly as the leader of the Protestant Powers in resistance to the Catholic attack. The Commons told the king their mind, and James wrathfully told them in return to attend to the business for which they had been summoned, instead of expressing opinions upon matters which were too high for them. They replied that they were entitled to discuss whatsoever matters they thought fit. James with his own hands tore the record of their resolution out of the journals of the House, and dissolved the parliament.

Again James had to fall back on such shifts for raising money as had been declared legal by the Crown lawyers. He reverted to a demand for benevolences, concerning which they had pronounced that the request might legally be made although it could not be legally enforced. But he could not in this fashion furnish forth an army which could save his son-in-law. He devised instead the farcical scheme of despatching the Prince of Wales incognito, accompanied by Buckingham, with false beards and other simple devices for concealing their identity, to Spain, that the Prince might woo the Infanta in person. Thus would the King of Spain and the Infanta be so charmed that they would willingly concede every request of the gallant wooer. Success did not attend this ingenious introduction of comic opera into high politics. The prince and the duke got themselves to Spain and were politely welcomed. The Infanta was terrified at the idea of marrying a heretic ; Charles was totally unfitted for playing the part of a romantic adorer, and Buckingham's arrogance enraged the entire Spanish court. The conditions of the marriage proposed from England were ridiculous from the Spanish point of view, and the Spanish conditions were intolerable from the English point of view. Prince and duke returned from Spain full of fury and burning for war. For the only time in his life Buckingham became popular.

Now, although James had gone hopelessly astray in imagining that Spain could be detached from the Catholic combination, he understood the situa-

tion better than his subjects. Either the Hapsburg Catholic combination must be split up or a powerful anti-Hapsburg league must be formed, strong enough to beat it. The English parliament did not realise the necessity ; it thought only of applying the old Elizabethan method of sending supports to the United Provinces, which were now fighting the Spaniards again, and of renewing the maritime war upon Spain. James then turned to the policy of a French alliance and a French marriage, since the Spanish alliance and the Spanish marriage had been put out of court. But the French marriage also involved that toleration for Romanists in England which was an abomination in the sight of English Puritanism. Parliament, summoned again, though ready for a Spanish war, viewed the proposals for a French marriage with extreme suspicion ; and was not at all inclined to vote the huge supplies necessary for a great German campaign, and for providing the subsidies which were needed to induce the Lutheran princes of Germany to take the part of the Calvinist elector palatine. The supplies voted were insufficient ; and when parliament had been prorogued, the proposed marriage was negotiated between Charles and the French King's sister Henrietta Maria. But to carry through the negotiations, Buckingham made concessions on the Catholic question which rendered it impossible for him to face parliament again with demands for more money. Parliament was not again summoned, and, although there was no money, Buckingham promised it right and left and plunged into war without the means to carry it on. There was just enough in the treasury to pay for raising and despatching to Holland a force of a few thousand men ; but when they got there they were left to starve. In a few weeks three-fourths of them were dead or dying from starvation, cold, or pestilence. Just at this point the old king died. For some time past, however, he had been entirely in Buckingham's hands, and Buckingham was no less omnipotent with the ill-fated Prince of Wales, who now ascended the throne as Charles I.

IV

BUCKINGHAM

The situation was an awkward one for the new king. He was on the point of marrying his French bride, and his subjects had still to learn how pledges made to them had been traversed by the promises made to the French king. He was in desperate need of money to carry on the war in which Buckingham had involved the country, and the last incident of the war had been an ugly disaster brought about by the grossest mismanagement. An appeal to parliament could not be long deferred, and parliament was absolutely certain, when called, to make itself unpleasant about the duke. The duke might despise it, but it held the purse-strings.

The king did not summon parliament till his marriage was an accom-

plished fact. He would have to break some promises, whether those made to England or those made to France; but Henrietta Maria was irrevocably his wife, though it was an ill day for England that had made her queen to succeed Buckingham as the king's evil genius. Parliament met, angry and suspicious. It had separated a twelvemonth before, expecting to be summoned in the winter to provide for a campaign in the direction of which it would have a considerable voice. It had not been summoned, and Buckingham wrought irremediable mischief, with no one to criticise or



George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628).

[After the painting by Mierevelt.]

denounce. Criticism and denunciation were forthcoming now. The war was there, and the war must go on, but not under Buckingham's direction; it would be preposterous to vote huge sums of money and see them recklessly squandered with no results. Until the Commons saw their way and knew what was to be done, until Buckingham ceased to dominate the stage, they would only vote just enough money for safety. They would grant two subsidies, that is to say, £140,000. When Buckingham was removed, they would consider further supplies, but not till then. The king was indignant. What right had the Commons to dictate to him the ministers in whom he was to trust? He trusted Buckingham, and would not dismiss him. Instead he dissolved parliament; at worst he had the two subsidies to go on

with, besides tonnage and poundage which had been granted for a year.

With the money in hand, Buckingham organised an expedition, not to Holland, but against Spain. At Cadiz, Drake had "sing'd the king of Spain's beard"; at Cadiz, Raleigh and Essex had again dealt Spain a crushing blow; Cadiz was to be the scene of another glorious triumph. But Buckingham had no Raleighs or Drakes to do his work. While he went off to Holland to negotiate with German princes, his expedition went to Cadiz with crews collected by pressgangs, and captains who knew nothing of their business. Having gone to Cadiz, they came home again ignominiously, having escaped worse disaster chiefly because they had not attempted to do any fighting. It seemed more evident than ever that nothing could be done until parliament could be cajoled out of supplies. A second parliament was summoned; Charles hoped to make it amenable



CHARLES I

From the original painting by Van Dyck at Windsor.

by making sheriffs of the most prominent leaders of the opposition to Buckingham, and thereby disqualifying them for election. Their absence only gave a greater prominence and a wider influence for a more pure-souled patriot than any of them, Sir John Eliot. The new parliament refused to discuss supplies until grievances had been redressed. Charles had no talent for cajolery or conciliation; he replied by threats. The Commons retorted by resolving to impeach Buckingham. The peers were no friends to the duke, and Charles was driven to quash the proceedings by dissolving parliament.

But how was Charles to raise money? Buckingham was now athirst for military glory, and war is an expensive pastime;—not the less expensive when the policy of its managers varies from month to month. However, the resources, as it seemed, had not been exhausted. The king had a right to levy tonnage and poundage; at least it had been granted for life to every other king for two hundred years past, although Charles's own first parliament had granted it only for a year and the second parliament had been dissolved without granting anything at all. Benevolences were illegal; at least in their legal non-compulsory form they were non-productive. Still, compulsory loans might be demanded, and the demand would be difficult to resist. So it proved; but when the demand came before the Chief Justice he pronounced it illegal; whereupon he was removed from office.

Meanwhile Buckingham had been demonstrating afresh his lack of the elements of statesmanship. England had no conceivable justification for going to war at all with anybody, except in defence of the king's brother-in-law, which was excusable for family reasons, or in the championship of Protestantism against aggressive Romanism, the deliverance of Europe from a threatened Hapsburg domination. There was one Power, France, which could not indeed be naturally drawn into a Protestant league as such, but whose interests were entirely opposed to Hapsburg aggression. There was every possible reason for preserving at the very least friendly relations with France. But Buckingham chose to quarrel with France, where Richelieu's government was embarrassed by the semi-religious civil war brought on by the antagonism between the Crown and the Huguenot nobility. The seaport of La Rochelle had always been a Huguenot stronghold of the first importance. It was now undergoing a siege. Buckingham, neglectful alike of Spain and the Palatinate, resolved to intervene in France with a personally conducted expedition, which was to relieve La Rochelle by capturing the Isle of Rhé. The duke was no better fitted to command than to organise a great military expedition. The Isle of Rhé venture was merely a variation on the two previous ventures which had collapsed so ignominiously. Half the expeditionary force died, and the rest came home again defeated and savage.

But the whole business was something more than another military failure to be added to Buckingham's account. It had been made possible only by the forced loans for pronouncing which illegal Chief Justice Crewe had

been removed from his office. Men of position who refused to pay had been arbitrarily imprisoned by the Council ; poor men who refused to pay had been forced to serve in the expedition. Grumblers had been penalised by having troops billeted upon them, and, wherever troops were concerned, martial law was allowed to supersede civil law. Among the men who had been thrown into prison, five knights had demanded a writ of Habeas Corpus, requiring that they should be brought up for trial ; but the writ had been refused, the judges declaring that the king had power to refuse a trial.

The circumstances were not favourable for the summoning of a parliament, yet the king dared no longer to struggle on without the substantial supplies which it was impossible to obtain without a parliamentary grant. Charles summoned his third parliament, and it met in angry mood. The solid ranks of the opposition were led by the dark figure of Thomas Wentworth, by Sir John Eliot, the fiery and single-minded champion of liberty, and by John Pym, clear-headed, unimpassioned, but immovable as Wentworth himself. For the moment the attack was not directed against Buckingham. Personal questions were to be subordinated to a direct and decisive assertion of fundamental principles.

According to the now accepted practice, the presentation of grievances preceded the discussion of supply. The Commons formulated their demand in the Petition of Right. There was to be no martial law in time of peace. Soldiers were not to be miscellaneously billeted, and wherever they were quartered they must pay their way. No man was to be compelled to make or yield any "gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or suchlike charge" without

common consent by Act of parliament. No freeman was to be imprisoned except on cause shown, or was to be detained in prison without trial. If these principles were established by Statute, it seemed to the leaders of the Commons that the endangered liberties of the nation would be safeguarded. With that security they were prepared to vote as much as five subsidies, or £350,000.

The questions of billeting and martial law presented no serious difficulties to the mind of the king. There were loopholes in the clause concerning taxation, which it was rather his business to avoid pointing out, so that it would be wise to accept that clause without too much demur ; but he was exceedingly reluctant to give way on the point of arbitrary imprisonment. The *Lettre de Cachet* was being used by Richelieu



A Cavalier of 1620.
[From Skelton's "Armour."]

in France as a very powerful instrument for the repression of the nobility, and the concentration of power in the hands of the Crown. In England the judges had just affirmed that it was within the royal prerogative to order the imprisonment of the king's subjects without stating any charge against them. If a charge were stated they could demand to be tried on that charge; if no charge were stated they could claim neither trial nor release. The principle at stake was absolutely vital. The Lords supported the Commons, and the king found himself obliged to give way. The Petition of Right took its place in the Statute Book, the subsidies were voted, bonfires blazed, and joybells pealed. England imagined that the victory of the Commons was won.

England was mistaken. The battle was but just joined. Charles had given way for the moment in order to get his subsidies; means would be found for making the Petition of Right a dead letter or something very near it. At the moment, however, the Commons proceeded to the serious business of attacking Buckingham, which had only been postponed because the assertion of principles demanded the leading place. A Remonstrance was drawn up which was in fact a detailed indictment of the duke and a demand for his removal. But Charles was amenable only so long as his treasury was empty. He met the Remonstrance by proroguing parliament, and ostentatiously displaying his confidence in the duke. A new expedition was already in preparation for the relief of La Rochelle, and Buckingham was sent down to Portsmouth to take command of the fleet. The Petition of Right received the royal assent on June 7th, the subsidies were voted on the 12th, and on the 26th parliament was prorogued.

In the interval between these two latter dates the fact that peace had not been achieved became manifest. Parliament proceeded with the deferred attack upon Buckingham by drawing up its Remonstrance, and it also proceeded with a bill to grant the king tonnage and poundage for one year. Now in this lay the crux of the financial question. Was it or was it not within the king's right to levy that impost? Parliament assumed that it was not. The king assumed that it was. Hitherto he had acted on that assumption throughout his reign. The claim of the Commons was an exceedingly doubtful one. In the first place, for two hundred years the grant had been made as a matter of form at the beginning of every reign for the whole period of the reign. Even if it were assumed that the Commons had never technically surrendered their right to withhold that grant, the attempt to exercise a technical right which had been in abeyance for two hundred years was doubtfully constitutional. Further, the Law Courts were the appointed authority for interpreting the law; in *Bate's* case the judges' decision for the Crown covered tonnage and poundage. The Commons had indeed passed a traversing resolution, but the resolution of one chamber could not override the authority of the Courts. Thirdly, when the Commons in 1625 had departed from precedent and made the

grant for one year only, the Lords had rejected the bill because of the unconstitutional limitation. Obviously then the king had an exceedingly strong case for his view. Further, if tonnage and poundage fell within the prerogative before the Petition of Right, no difference was made by the Statute; because according to the king's argument, and according to the claim of the Commons in presenting the petition, it deprived the king of no existing prerogatives, but was an Act declaratory of the existing law.



An Infantryman of 1625.
[From Skelton's "Armour."]

No mention had been made in the petition itself of indirect taxes, but only of specified forms of taxation against which the Commons had an adequate case as being opposed to constitutional practice. The only possible retort for the Commons was that the phrase "or other such charge" was intended to cover indirect taxation; that the king was perfectly well aware that this was the meaning of the Commons; and that in assenting to the petition he was accepting the doctrine of the Commons that the legal decision in Bate's case had been wrong and that the practice of two hundred years had not deprived the House of a right which it had always held in reserve. To the plain man the plain fact would appear to be that both the Crown and the Commons shirked the issue in the Petition of Right, and left the taxation clauses intentionally indefinite, because each party intended to insist on its own interpretation of the indefinite phrase as part and parcel of the terms on which the subsidies had been granted.

Each hoped indirectly to score the victory on the vital point which both thoroughly recognised. The king would be completely under the financial control of the Commons if he had annually to obtain their authority for levying indirect taxes; which was precisely what the Commons were bent on securing and the king was bent on avoiding.

Such, then, was the position of affairs when the House of Commons sent up its Tonnage and Poundage Bill accompanied by a declaration that the levying of the impost without parliamentary authority had been illegal. The king met the Commons with a flat refusal to accept the bill, or to surrender his constitutional right to levy tonnage and poundage without parliament's consent. He was able to do so, because the subsidies were already secured. The weight of opinion undoubtedly favours the view that Charles was technically in the right,

and that on this question the Commons were the innovators, not the Crown.

Nor was this the only blow suffered by parliament in the month of June 1628. Both in the first and in this, the third, parliament of the reign, the foremost champion of the Commons and the foremost enemy of Buckingham had been Thomas Wentworth. A week after the Petition of Right became law, Wentworth's colleagues, comrades, and followers learnt with dismay and alarm that he had been created a baron, which could only mean that he had left the leadership of the Commons to enter the service of the Crown. The moment when he resolved on the momentous change, and his motives for making it, are so obscure that they present an almost insoluble riddle. The leading champion of popular liberties, the most implacable foe of the Buckingham régime, the man most feared by the court, was suddenly transformed into the most relentless champion of the royal power since Thomas Cromwell, and the most contemptuous of parliamentary rights. And the change took place, not after Buckingham's fall, but at the moment when he was in the zenith of his power. No explanation at all is even plausible, unless we assume that Wentworth had convinced himself that Buckingham's fall was imminent; for it was equally impossible that he should have hoped to supplant Buckingham in the king's favour by his own influence, or that he should have been prepared to act either as the subordinate or the colleague of the duke; nor is it less impossible that a man of his character could have been bribed by a title to change sides. He must have reckoned that the combination of arrogance and incompetence in the duke were making his fall daily more inevitable. He must have been confident that he himself would secure the position of the supreme minister. We may, then, adopt the view of his old comrades and colleagues, that if he had any principles he sank them to gratify personal ambition, seeing himself a mightier man as the king's minister, without a rival among the minions of the Court, than as sharing the leadership of the people with Eliot and Pym. We may, as an alternative, believe that Wentworth was a patriot who, coming to man's estate in the year of the Addled Parliament, became firmly convinced that the increasing claims of the Crown must be curbed; that he held to that conviction, and strove his hardest for the legitimate authority of parliament until the full claims for liberty were formulated in the Petition of Right. Just at this stage he realised that a balance of parliamentary and royal powers was unattainable; that the hot-headed Eliot and the cold-hearted Pym would end by creating a parliamentary tyranny; that the one chance for the country was for a strong man to come to the support of the Crown, to render it absolute, and to provide the brain and hand which, when the Crown was once made absolute, should render despotism beneficent. There is, in fact, nothing incredible about the development, in a statesman of the first rank, of a change from a democratic to an absolutist attitude, of a gradual passage from one political pole to the other. The amazing thing about

Wentworth is that the change of attitude was made in a week, and the change was to all appearance a total reversal. But finally, it is conceivable that Wentworth took the same view of the Petition of Right itself as the king, that he never intended a further limitation of the prerogative, and that the attitude of his colleagues on the Tonnage and Poundage Bill not only failed to command his adherence, but drove him into the opposite camp. Whatever explanation we may adopt of Wentworth's conduct, the fact remained that he aroused in his old colleagues an overwhelming intensity of hatred as the supreme traitor and apostate. "You have left us," said Pym to him—so runs the story—some four months later; "we will never leave you while your head is on your shoulders."

Not perhaps in the fashion that Wentworth had anticipated the blow fell which hurled Buckingham out of his path. A certain John Felton had served as a lieutenant in the Cadiz Expedition. When Buckingham's force went to the Isle of Rhé, he had asked for a captaincy, which the duke scornfully refused him. Thence he had returned to England brooding over his personal wrongs, sick at heart, and savage, like all his comrades, over the sufferings and the disgrace in which the whole force had been involved. Touched with religious mania, he became possessed with the idea that he was the appointed destroyer of the detested enemy of the people. At Portsmouth he succeeded in making his way into Buckingham's apartments and, as the duke stepped out of his room, stabbed him to the heart. The assassin was seized and haled away to his doom; he had done his work of deliverance, and it was nothing to him that his own life was forfeit; nay, it was his privilege to have smitten down the tyrant and the oppressor, and for that his own life was a light enough price to pay. All over England the news of his deed was hailed with an outburst of savage jubilation which was never forgotten or forgiven by the king who had loved his splendid favourite as he never loved another man.

V

PURITANISM

On the question of arbitrary imprisonment it appeared that the Commons had won their battle. On the question of taxation, it was made abundantly clear at the moment of the prorogation that they had not won. But there was a third question with regard to which there had not as yet been a violent collision between the Crown and the Commons, but which nevertheless had been for some time past fermenting in men's minds, and was now about to be placed in the forefront of dispute. This was the religious question. And here, as in the question of taxation, we have to realise that the quarrel arose because the Crown strained, in defiance of popular sentiment, powers which the Tudors had exercised almost without

question, because both Henry VIII. and Elizabeth had been careful not to go beyond the limits of popular acquiescence. And in this respect James I. had on the whole followed the example of his predecessors.

In England the country, in the reign of Henry VIII., had accepted the general principles that uniformity of religion was to be enforced, that the formulæ of uniformity must have the sanction of the State, and that the supreme ecclesiastical authority of the State was the Crown. The Crown preserved the old episcopal organisation of church government as a matter of course. The uniformity which was insisted on permitted of a wide latitude of doctrine and of an appreciable variety in ceremonial. With this the mass of the people had been content. The limit of latitude in the direction of Roman doctrine was set primarily by the antagonism to the assertion of any claim to authority within the realm by any external potentate, whether spiritual or secular. When the popular mind learnt to associate particular doctrines or practices with allegiance to the pope, it became hotly antagonistic to those doctrines and practices. In the other direction, the popular mind was generally disposed to resent an attitude which challenged lawful authority. Popular sentiment sympathised with demands for increased latitude, but not with their aggressive expression, and so long as Nonconformity was unaggressive, popular sentiment was opposed to its aggressive repression.



Charles I.

[From a miniature drawing by Matthew Snelling, 1647.]

Now popular opinion had approved or acquiesced in the rigorous repressive action of the State in the reign of Elizabeth at the time of the Martin Mar-Prelate pamphlets, when Nonconformity adopted a violently aggressive attitude and thereby lost the popular sympathy which was being drawn to it in reaction against the arbitrary methods of Whitgift and the Court of High Commission. The Hampton Court Conference on the other hand, with its immediate results, made the set of popular feeling favourable to the Nonconformists. Gunpowder Plot, the Catholic marriage projects, and the attempts to relax the penal laws against Romanists, all tended to foster and intensify the alarmed hatred of Romanism and the unpopularity of the specific doctrines and practices which were looked upon as akin to those of Rome. But what King James cared about most was insistence on the authority of an episcopate intimately associated with the monarchy; and during the greater part of his reign bishops as a body were rather Calvinistic in their theology, and were not irritatingly strict in their insistence on unpopular details of ceremonial.

Thus circumstances combined to develop Puritanism. Now the essential characteristic of Puritanism is the vivid consciousness of an immediate personal relation between the individual and his Maker, which recognises no mediator between God and man except the Son of God, who is both God and man. No Church, no hierarchy of saints, can be interposed between the soul and God. There is no ordained channel for the Divine Grace, which must be sought directly by prayer and the study of God's Word, God revealed in the Scriptures. Of that Word there is no infallible interpreter; the only interpreter is the individual himself, guided by the Spirit of God. The individual, therefore, must in all things be guided by the inward monitor. Puritanism is, in short, the principle of individualism carried to its highest pitch in matters of religion.

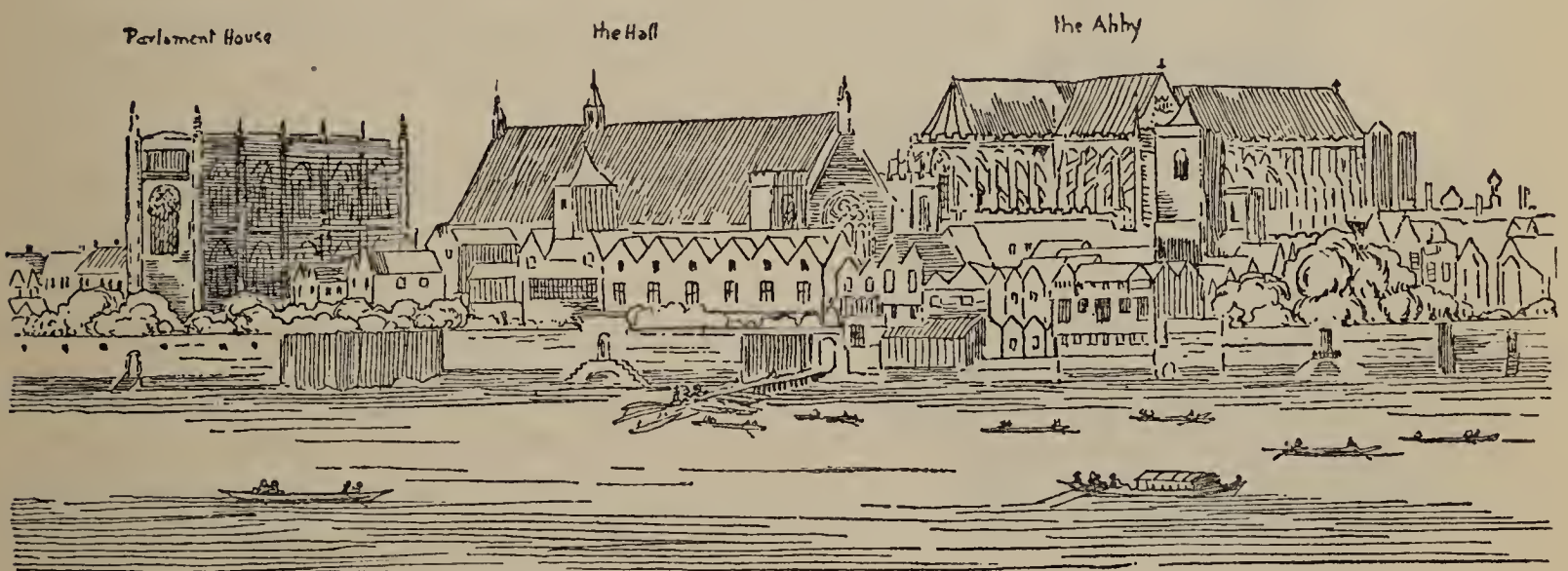
But Puritanism in the seventeenth century, when it searched the Scriptures, turned to the Old Testament rather than the New. It believed very emphatically in prophets, and its prophet *par excellence* was Calvin. Its primary dogma was that of Predestination, a grim creed which tends to make its adherents absolutely fearless of what man can do to them, but, while it fills them with the fear of God, does not greatly tend to inspire them with a love of His creatures. So Puritanism dwells upon the Power of an offended God and the Righteousness of His Judgments rather than upon His Love and His Mercy. And an Old Testament Puritanism contained a grave element of political danger to monarchy; since neither the institution of monarchy among the Hebrews nor its persistence, nor the attitude of the Prophets to the Kings, suggest a high conception of royalty.

Logically it would appear that Puritanism ought to be tolerant. If there is no authority except Scripture, and no interpreter of Scripture except the individual, there can be no arbiter between individuals, no one who can impose his own judgment upon his neighbour, and every man must be left to follow his own conscience. Accordingly it was among the Puritans that the doctrine of toleration was first maintained as distinct from the doctrine of comprehension. Unqualified toleration leaves opinion absolutely free. A qualified toleration may repress the expression of opinions, not on the ground that they are false, but because their dissemination is injurious to public order; on the ground, that is, not of religious truth but of political expediency. Comprehension, on the other hand, draws a distinction between things fundamental and things indifferent, and is under no obligation to tolerate variations of opinion with regard to fundamentals. Comprehension, not toleration, is the normal attitude of a State Church. But the Puritan may interpret his position in two ways. If he admits his own fallibility, he is logically bound to leave to his neighbour the same right of private judgment which he claims for himself. Yet the Puritan may claim infallibility for himself, having assurance of the direct guidance of the Spirit. It follows, then, that any one who thinks differently from himself is not under the guidance of the Spirit, and therefore has no

claim to toleration. Hence Puritanism could also display a supreme intolerance, rendered additionally offensive by its egotism. Again, Puritanism is not essentially connected with any particular form of ecclesiastical organisation. It is perfectly compatible with an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, or a Congregational system. It can accept creeds infinitely various.

We may then sum up the Puritanism of the seventeenth century by saying that it was predestinarian in its creed, that it drew its public morals from the Old Testament, that its personal morals were of an extreme austerity, and that it identified the Papacy with the Scarlet Woman of the Apocalypse. It was disposed to be anti-prelatical, partly because it regarded the old system as being too nearly akin to that of Rome, partly because the Episcopate was presented as a means of subjecting the things of the Spirit

Civitatis Westmonasteriensis pars



Westminster in the time of Charles I.

[From a print by Hollar.]

to the arm of the flesh ; whereas the Puritan advocates of Presbyterianism regarded that system as a means of subjecting the arm of the flesh to spiritual control. But Puritanism was not to be identified with Presbyterianism, nor did it become definitely antagonistic in England to the episcopal system until the Episcopate itself took on a new colour in the reign of Charles I.

The head and front of the movement in the Church which aroused the bitter hostility of Puritanism was William Laud, who was raised to his first bishopric, that of St. Davids, by James I. under pressure from Buckingham and the Prince of Wales. The old king yielded to the young men, but not without a warning grumble that trouble would come of it, not in his day but in theirs. Just so also he warned them against their folly in encouraging the impeachment of Middlesex, the Treasurer, who was opposed to the war with Spain on which the duke and the prince as well as the Commons had set their hearts. They would find they had more than enough of impeachments without going out of their way to encourage them.

The old king's warning came true. In his time Puritanism in general acquiesced sombrely while appointments were given to prelates with Puritan sympathies. A few of that sect who called themselves Independents demanded a liberty of worship which they could only obtain by migrating to Holland or Denmark, and when a band of them, joined by some associates from England, sailed in the *Mayflower* and set up in North America that community which became the nucleus of the New England States, they were readily granted a charter, as having provided an outlet for a class of persons who were rather troublesome to the authorities ; but a more active

interference with the liberty of worship was required at home before a demand for greater freedom gave a strong impulse to emigration. The pressure came when Charles ascended the throne and the higher ecclesiastical appointments were habitually appropriated to the disciples of that school of which Laud was the leader.

The laxity of discipline prevalent under King James disappeared. The lower clergy took their tone from the fathers of the Church. Breaches of the law were no longer overlooked or condoned. Unfamiliar doctrines were heard from the pulpits. Sermons became expositions of the divine authority of kings. The accustomed dogma of predestination began to be displaced in the pulpits by those less rigid views which are called



Archbishop Laud.

[After the portrait by Vandyck.]

Arminian from their great exponent the Dutch Doctor "Arminius." The new school, while repudiating the Roman authority, emphasised the claim of the Church in England to be a branch of the Catholic Church, while denying that title to those Churches which had not maintained the continuity of episcopal ordination. They emphasised tradition, the authority of the early fathers, and the rulings of the four first General Councils. To the Puritans all these things were the inventions of priestcraft, innovations, insidious methods by which English Protestantism was to be seduced into the snares of Rome. Each one of Charles's parliaments lifted up its voice against the new teachers, and still while old Archbishop Abbott remained the Primate the Crown seemed likely to be restrained from using the Church as its own instrument. But in 1628 control over the licensing of publications was transferred from the archbishop to a commission which was practically managed by Laud, who was made Bishop of London. An attack in the Commons upon Mainwaring and Montague, two of the clergy who had just identified themselves with the most extreme doctrines of Absolutism as a part of the Divine

Order, was followed by the promotion of both. The king had made the Church his ally in the constitutional struggle, while parliament and Puritanism were ranged together in antagonism to the Crown and to the authority of the bishops represented by Laud.

VI

RULE WITHOUT PARLIAMENT

The prorogued parliament assembled again early in 1629. Buckingham was dead, but Wentworth was already a minister of the Crown, having been appointed to the Presidency of the Council of the North. Montague, censured by the Commons, had been preferred to the Bishopric of Chichester. Laud's activities as the new Bishop of London were in full play. The king had been levying tonnage and poundage as in the past; the goods of sundry merchants had been seized on their refusal to pay the duty, and among them was a member of parliament, John Rolles. In the existing state of tension it was easy enough for the Commons to believe that they had been tricked and betrayed by the king. The king had a still better right to declare that his own conduct had been unimpeachable, and that the attitude of the Commons was wholly unconstitutional.



A lady in her chair.

[From a MS. (1603-1638) in the Sloane Collection, British Museum.]

The elasticity of an unwritten constitution enables the machinery to work with an admirable ease so long as mutual understanding, good temper, and the spirit of accommodation prevail. But now questions had come to the front with regard to which the respective powers of the Crown and the parliament were debatable, each side being determined to push its own claim to the utmost. Instead of mutual understanding there was mutual distrust, and both sides were irritated and out of temper. As a matter of fact, the king was more disposed to accommodation than the exasperated Commons, who adopted a directly provocative course; and both Commons and king went on to set the conventions of the constitution at naught.

The Commons opened by declaring themselves to be in effect the judges of what was or was not orthodox in religion, and attacked the "innovations" of the clergy who had reverted to customs which were

looked upon as papistical. They summoned the innovators to give an account of themselves before the House, and in the meantime turned their attention to tonnage and poundage. The king had made the offer, reasonable enough in itself, that if the Commons would act according to precedent and vote him the duties for the term of the reign, he would waive the question of right. This was, in fact, the vital question, and it was the issue on which Pym wished to fight; for, unless the Commons could recover that control over tonnage and poundage which had been in abeyance for two hundred years, the king would be able to command a sufficient revenue to carry on the government after a fashion without appealing to parliament for aid. But Pym was overruled by Eliot, and the Commons elected to fight on the question of privilege involved by the seizure of the goods of a member of parliament. The officers who had seized the goods were summoned to the bar of the House; the king forbade them to obey the summons, since they had only acted in obedience to his orders. He ordered the House to adjourn till March 2nd. In the interval he endeavoured to negotiate with leading members. The negotiations failed. When the House met, Eliot moved three resolutions: against innovations in religion and the introduction of unorthodox opinion; against all persons who should be concerned in the levying of tonnage and poundage without direct parliamentary sanction; against all persons who should pay tonnage and poundage if it should be so demanded. All such persons were declared to be enemies of the king. Before the resolution could be moved the Speaker, Finch, announced that he had orders to adjourn the House again. But two of the members held him forcibly in the chair. The House broke out into wild disorder; one of the members locked the door and put the key in his pocket. When comparative calm had been restored, the Speaker refused to put the resolutions to the House. The king's troops were approaching to compel the assembly to disperse. While the Speaker was held in the chair, Holles, a member, read the resolutions. They were carried by acclamation. Then the doors were unlocked and the members poured out. Their dispersion was followed by the announcement that the parliament was dissolved.

Eleven years passed before another parliament met. The king took his stand upon his legal rights. The Petition of Right did not bar him from exercising to the full the statutory powers of the arbitrary Courts which could override the Common Law—the Courts of Star Chamber, of High Commission, and of the Councils of the North and of Wales. These Courts were in effect ready to do the Royal bidding. For the punishment of Eliot and his most prominent supporters it was unnecessary to appeal even to those Courts. They were charged in the King's Bench with riot and sedition. They pleaded privilege of parliament, declaring that the House alone had jurisdiction with regard to matters which took place in parliament. The objection was overruled on the ground that riot and sedition could not be a part of parliamentary proceedings. Eliot refused to admit the juris-

diction, and was thrown into prison, where he was shamefully treated, and died after three years.

The resolutions of the House of Commons could not touch the actual legality of the levying of tonnage and poundage, and the Courts maintained that the Petition of Right covered only those forms of direct taxation which were specifically enumerated therein. The king then could carry on his government after a fashion, by straining to the utmost every right which the Courts would maintain, but only with a strictly economical expenditure. To carry on Buckingham's French war was impossible, and terms of peace were soon arrived at, since the war itself was a quite unjustifiable intervention on the part of England in French affairs. Richelieu was victorious over the Huguenots, but he used his victory with unexpected moderation, maintaining the principle of toleration. English Protestantism was therefore not irritated by the peace. Intervention in Germany was also not possible, but this mattered the less, because in 1630 Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, the greatest soldier of the day, threw his sword into the Protestant scale. Thenceforth England and Scotland were affected by the Thirty Years' War only because a large number of adventurers, principally Scots, learnt the art of war as mercenaries in the armies of the Swedish king.

For the first few years of his government without parliament Charles was indebted to the ingenious financial management of his Treasurer, Weston, who discovered fresh legal devices for procuring funds, and successfully prevented the king from plunging into impossible expenditure. Weston was the useful man of business who found the supplies for carrying on the king's government; the government itself was carried on mainly by Wentworth and Laud.

The Council of the North had been established in the time of Henry VIII. to replace the old system of government of the Border Counties—in other words, of England north of the Humber. Its institution had been the outcome of the Pilgrimage of Grace. It had been endowed with large arbitrary powers, and the sway of its president was now almost despotic. Wentworth was a despot who ruled without fear or favour, but crushed all opposition with an iron hand. As between subjects, he enforced law untouched by considerations of the wealth, power, or influence of the persons concerned. As between the Crown and the subject, he enforced



The Old "Star Chamber."

[Pulled down after the burning of old Houses of Parliament.]

the will of the government without any respect to law at all. Between subjects, stern impartial justice was to be dealt out ; between Crown and the subject, justice was not in question ; all that the subject received was by grace of the Crown. In the north of England, however, Wentworth's rule was brief ; in 1633 he was transferred to Ireland.

In Ireland Wentworth played the despot very much to the benefit of the country in which he ruled. Comparative peace had indeed descended on the land since the stormy days of Elizabeth ; but it was an ill ordered peace. In Wentworth's view, what the country needed was a ruler with an iron will and an efficient army to enforce that will. Resistance was to be paralysed, and justice was to be dealt out on the lines already described. Disorder and violence, except violence in the king's service or by the king's servants, was to be sharply repressed and punished. Magnates were to find no favour merely because they were magnates. The great lesson to be inculcated was that of obedience to the supreme authority. Wentworth could not dispense with the Irish Parliament, but he could make it subservient. He got from it the money which enabled him to muster and train a disciplined army. Competent men were appointed to administrative offices ; under the Deputy's fostering care industry and commerce began to flourish as they had never flourished before ; in particular the Irish linen manufacture began to achieve that pre-eminence which it has maintained ever since.



A Pikeman, 1635.

[From Skelton's "Armour."]

But the fatal flaw in Wentworth's system lay in his principle that neither law nor promises were binding on the Crown. What Wentworth thought good to do, that he did, though it might involve the breaking of solemn pledges. The general result was that Wentworth made himself absolute master in Ireland, and had in his own hands probably the most efficient military force in the three kingdoms. The Ireland over which he ruled was rapidly achieving a material prosperity for which there was no precedent ; but it was an Ireland which felt itself to be enslaved, and the greater part of Ireland preferred its accustomed anarchy to a prosperous slavery.

While the one strong man on the king's side was ruling in Ireland on the principles which he called by the name of "Thorough," an obstinate man was controlling the king's ecclesiastical counsels in England, also on the principles of Thorough. Laud, who became archbishop at about the time when Wentworth went to Ireland, was bent on establishing the

supremacy of his own ecclesiastical views, views which were detestable in the eyes of the whole body of Puritans. While he was Bishop of London he had been content to enforce a strict conformity throughout his own diocese, while his power was otherwise felt chiefly through the supreme influence which he exercised in the control of ecclesiastical preferments which were confined to the men of his own school. As archbishop he exercised to the full the authority of the Primate of England. The clergy were required to encourage the treatment of Sunday as a Feast Day, which to the Puritan was scandalous. The Communion Table of the Puritan churches again acquired the character of an Altar. Every detail of the ritual which Laud himself loved was forced upon the Puritan clergy, and those who were recalcitrant were fined or deprived. Quite erroneously, belief gathered ground that Laud was preparing the way for a reunion with Rome. True, he had rejected the cardinal's hat which had twice been offered to him, but the popular mind seized upon the fact, not that it had been rejected but that it had been offered. The conventional English Puritanism was based upon what may be called the No Popery sentiment more than upon any reasoned theological convictions, and nothing was more certain to arouse popular hostility than an alarm of Popery. The conventional Puritanism had not yet assumed the garb of ascetic austerity; there had been no demonstrations when John Prynne was first penalised for making a violent attack upon the stage and all its works; but now when he and two other Puritans were set in the pillory for writing violent pamphlets against the Church Government, the victims of the Court of High Commission received a popular ovation. Laud's innovations or revivals had set the Puritan tide flowing.

Weston's financial devices were impolitic, mainly because they were palpable tricks which happened to touch in an irritating manner classes of the community whose goodwill the king would have done well to cultivate. Thus he had enraged the whole group of moderate landowners by discovering that all who had a £40 holding had been legally bound to take up knighthood at the king's coronation, and were technically liable to a heavy fine (which was now enforced) if they had neglected to do so. But Weston's methods were strictly within the letter of the law; no one could claim that they were illegal. Now, although there was peace with France there were some alarms lest the peace should not last, and the Government became anxious to strengthen the fleet for coast defence. All precedent warranted the issuing of an order to the ports to provide ships, or a cash equivalent for ships, for this purpose, when war was in progress or was imminent. Ship-money, therefore, was levied on the ports in accordance with precedent. But Weston died in 1635, and the counsellors about the king's person were mere courtiers. The king wanted more money and more ships, and an order was issued contrary to all precedent requiring inland towns to pay ship-money. There was no answer to the argument that naval defence ought to be paid for by inland towns just as much as

by seaports ; but there was also no answer to the other argument, that no law or precedent could be found for imposing this particular tax. The demand was immediately challenged ; the king obtained from the judges a decision in his favour, the weight of which was materially diminished by the fact that in the course of the reign three judges had been suspended or dismissed for giving decisions adverse to the king. The pronouncement, however, was published all over the country, but the authority for collecting the levy was directly challenged by John Hampden, who carried the case before the Court of Exchequer. Of the twelve judges, five supported



Cheapside and the Cross in 1638.

[From a contemporary account of the entry of Marie of Medici, mother of Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I., into London.]

Hampden, but of the five, three did so on purely technical grounds. Seven maintained the claim of the Crown, on the express ground that the Crown had the right to demand whatever money was required for the defence of the realm, and that it lay with the Crown to judge what money was required for that purpose. It was palpable that if that judgment held good there was no limit to the amount of money that Charles

could raise on the pretext that it was required for the defence of the realm. Yet the nation could only rage in silence ; it had no mouthpiece, for it had no parliament.

But we must turn now to those complications in the northern kingdom of Scotland which at last drove Charles once more to summon an English parliament.

VII

SCOTLAND

In England the system of government was fixed partly by statutes explicitly defining the respective powers of the Crown and of the Estates or parliament, and partly upon conventions. There was no question in the mind of any man that the explicit provisions of the statutes *must*

not be over-ridden ; there was no question that an established convention *ought* not to be over-ridden. A constitutional problem was presented only when the real bearings of the convention were a matter of doubt, when the Crown exercised in defiance of the popular will powers which had hitherto been exercised in conformity with the popular will. The system, that is, worked satisfactorily so long as Crown and parliament were in agreement ; when they were in disagreement disputes arose as to the actual extent of the powers which the conventions conveyed to one party or the other. But in England there existed in parliament a definite body which was the legal mouthpiece of public sentiment ; a body moreover which could compel the Crown to give at least a degree of consideration to popular sentiment through its power of withholding additional supplies, of which the Crown habitually stood in need over and above its normal revenue.

Now in Scotland there was no such balance of constitutional powers ; parliamentary institutions were undeveloped. There was a parliament, but in practice it had become a body merely for registering the decrees of the Government. The Government itself was conducted through the committees which had been known as the Lords of the Articles, whose composition was very largely controlled by the faction among the nobles which was for the time being in the ascendant. The dissensions and rivalries of the magnates had then enabled the "kingcraft" of King James VI. to convert the governing body into a privy council of the Crown's own nominees. The parliament was practically powerless, because the small public expenditure made the Crown virtually independent of the control exercised in England by a body which could refuse supplies until grievances were considered. The body most nearly representative of popular feeling was the General Assembly of the Kirk, which possessed neither legislative nor financial powers. The weak point in the absolutism of the Crown lay in the difficulty of enforcing its will upon defiant or reluctant magnates who could not easily be crushed by force, or upon a population with whom magnates were disposed to make common cause. So long as the magnates were in tolerable accord with each other and with the Crown, the Crown could take its own course.

In England the State control over religion was not in question ; the question we have seen coming to the fore was whether that control should be exercised by the Crown or by parliament ; and the Episcopal system went far to ensure that it should be exercised by the Crown. In Scotland, however, the Reformation had taken a different course. It had been forced upon the Crown by the people instead of being imposed on a not unwilling people by the Crown, as had been the case in England. The system adopted was rooted in Calvinism, and demanded "spiritual independence." It produced a Presbyterian system and a Presbyterian ministry who claimed an authority in things spiritual free from State control, and sought to extend spiritual dominion into the political sphere ; whereas in England

Calvinism was merely a graft, hitherto admitted only so far as it was content to recognise the controlling authority of the State, in practice at least if not in theory. These claims the kingcraft of James VI. had enabled him to combat effectually. Before he became King of England as well as of Scotland he had succeeded in establishing the Royal authority within the General Assembly itself and in regrafting Episcopacy upon the Presbyterian system. He had succeeded, because the magnates were with him in opposition to the claims of the Presbyterian ministry, and because in his campaign against the preachers he had been careful not to

run counter to the interests of the magnates.

This policy James maintained throughout his reign. It was his persistent aim to recast the Scottish Ecclesiastical polity on Prelatical lines, and to assimilate the Church in Scotland to the Church in England. He was wise enough not to go so fast as to arouse violent popular hostility, while taking advantage of the sub-



Plan and view of Edinburgh in the early 17th century.

[From a contemporary print.]

sidence of popular passion in connection with the subject. But he went to the utmost limits of safety, if he did not actually transgress them ; and in Scotland as in England those bounds were passed by his son.

According to the last phase before the Union of the Crowns, it was exceedingly doubtful whether a General Assembly could legally be convened without the authority of the Crown. In 1604 and 1605 James refused to call one, and in the latter year a number of ministers met at Aberdeen, claiming to be the legal General Assembly. Several of those who had attended were punished, but the amount of sympathy they received made James hesitate to adopt extreme measures. He tried unsuccessfully to convert some of the leaders to his own views by bringing them up to London to consort with the English bishops, but he gained little by this beyond keeping Andrew Melville permanently out of the country. Then the king summoned an informal convention of ministers and laymen, to whom he propounded a scheme for providing each presbytery with a permanent "moderator" or president. From this he advanced to making the moderators of the Provincial Synods also permanent, each bishop being moderator

of his own presbytery and his own synod, and an *ex officio* representative in the General Assembly. The permanent moderators in general provided an obvious step towards the development of episcopal government ; while Church lands appropriated by the Crown were restored to the Church in order to make provision for an enlarged episcopate. Popular irritation was soothed by the professed application of the funds to the enforcement of the penal laws against Romanism. But the practical outcome was that when a regular Assembly was held in 1610 it was dominated by the Crown, admitted that no Assembly could be held without the Royal authority, and assented to the extension of the episcopate and of an episcopal authority of a more comprehensive and penetrating character than had been granted when bishops were first introduced. An important detail was added when three of the bishops were regularly ordained by bishops in England, thus reviving the apostolic succession which, in the Anglican view, constituted the difference between an unrecognised sect and a branch of the Catholic Church. These proceedings were ratified with some further modifications by a parliament in 1612. As yet, however, no changes were made in the accustomed ritual and liturgy of the Church, which still in general retained its Presbyterian organisation.

The next move was made in a General Assembly in 1616. Proposals were made, after some order had been taken for the further repression of Popery, to introduce a revised liturgy, confession of faith, and catechism. It must be remembered that at this time the Presbyterians had not developed their later objection to a stereotyped form of service. The proposals were carried, and James then resolved to introduce further alterations after the Anglican model. He had avoided the mistake, in Scotland as in England, of appointing bishops of the High Anglican School. Hence it was with extreme reluctance, and against their own judgment, that they endorsed the innovations embodied in the Five Articles of Perth, which were adopted by the General Assembly held in that city in 1618. These Articles required the observation of certain Church Festivals, and admitted the private administration of the Sacrament under special circumstances. But the Article which seriously alarmed the Calvinistic conscience was that which required kneeling at Communion, since this was regarded as implying the act of Adoration. The practice had been retained in England through the firm resistance offered by Cranmer and Ridley to the pressure of Knox and Hooper when the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. was authorised. Alarm and resentment were now aroused ; and it was not without difficulty that the ratification of parliament was obtained three years later, while popular sentiment encouraged the clergy to ignore the new regulations.

James, then, had carried matters at least as far as it was safe to venture. But when Charles I. ascended the throne he was guided in Scotland as in England by considerations which left popular feeling out of account. It was enough for him to believe that he was acting within his rights ; whether

in so doing and enforcing his own will he was serving the people's interests, it was for him and not for them to judge. His own religious convictions were deep and sincere, and he had no qualms about compelling his people, whether in England or in Scotland, to conform to them. Moreover, he had the singularly unfortunate habit of forgetting that, if he wished to enforce unpopular measures, it was at least advisable to seek means of conciliation instead of accumulating causes of irritation; that if he was bent on alienating one section of the community, it would be politic to secure support in other quarters.

The religious innovations under James VI. had been possible because the old king had kept on good terms with the magnates. The one thing wanting to combine the whole country in a solid opposition to the Royal policy was a quarrel between the magnates and the Crown. A means of irritating the magnates lay ready to the king's hand; having discovered his opportunity, he did not neglect to seize it. Since the party of the Reformation had triumphed in Scotland, quantities of Church lands had been granted away; every great landowner and many of the small ones had profited thereby. Charles was no sooner on the throne than he issued an Act of Revocation, resuming for the Crown all grants of land made since the death of James V. in 1542. The Revocations were not intended to be pure confiscations; the holders were to receive compensation assessed by a commission. But as a matter of course the assessment was more than sufficiently adverse to the holders to create in them a rankling sense of injustice. It was part of Charles's scheme to appropriate a portion of the revenues accruing to make provision for the clergy. What are called in England "tithes" and in Scotland "teinds" had in the course of the Reformation passed into the hands of miscellaneous laymen who had no other connection with the lands. When the arrangements for the Revocation were completed, a process which occupied some five years, the landowners were enabled to recover the teinds at a low price, a portion only being appropriated to the ministerial stipends. The clergy benefited and the Crown benefited; but the "Titulars of Teind," as the holders had been called, got only about two years' purchase by way of compensation, and the landowners got only ten years' purchase. Thus both these bodies were driven into an attitude of angry hostility to the Crown, while, in the eyes of the clergy, the financial benefits they received were by no means an equivalent for the increased control of the Crown over the Church. And now when the clergy kicked against the pricks, the sympathies of every nobleman and every laird or landowner were on their side instead of on the king's. And as in the case of ship-money in England, human nature ignored the honest intention behind the arbitrary act, and assumed that the whole thing had been done in order to increase the power of the Crown.

Having thus combined a united opposition where his father had been careful to preserve for himself powerful sectional support, Charles pro-

ceeded with that ecclesiastical reconstruction which James had carried as far as he dared, thereby also attracting the sympathies of Puritan England, already sufficiently alarmed and irritated, to the cause of the Scottish Presbyterians. Scottish Presbyterianism too had already felt its sympathies aroused for the English parliament, both on account of its Puritanism, and because of the alarm generated by the Catholic successes on the Continent and the failures of Buckingham's administration.

In 1633, the year in which Wentworth was to go to Ireland and Laud was to become Archbishop of Canterbury, Charles visited his northern kingdom in company with Laud. He had already entered on the dangerous course of appointing Laudian bishops. The ritual of the services attended by the King of Scotland was alarming to Scottish Protestantism. The parliament summoned at Edinburgh was hardly permitted to express its antagonism to the bills laid before it by the Lords of the Articles, who in the nature of things were practically all king's men ; moreover, it was placed in a difficulty by being required to reject or to pass the whole series *en bloc*.

Even under these conditions the bills were passed with difficulty, though Charles may have been unaware of the intensity of the antagonism which they aroused. In the main, they were confirmations of the Acts of the last reign and of the Act of Revocation. Soon after Charles left Scotland a widely-signed protest was drawn up by Lord Balmerino ; whereupon he was prosecuted for treason, though the only punishment inflicted was a short imprisonment. For the first time since the Reformation a bishop was appointed to the Chancellorship—a fresh grievance to the nobles, and a fresh ground of hostility towards the bishops at large.

In 1636 a Book of Canons, or Ecclesiastical Regulations, was issued, with no warrant save that of the royal authority, in which the Presbyterian constitution of the Church was ignored ; and in the following year was issued a new Service Book, which differed from that used in England only in some details which rendered it more anti-Calvinistic. It was assumed that Laud was responsible ; erroneously, as it happened, because the most objectionable details had been introduced against his judgment at the instance of certain Scottish bishops, who were more Laudian than Laud himself.

A mere perusal of the new Service Book was all that was needed to drive the still existing moderate party into full opposition. On the first attempt to read the new service in St. Giles's in Edinburgh, an unseemly riot broke out ; tradition affirms that it was opened by a woman named Jenny Geddes, who flung her stool at the head of the officiating Dean. Popular feeling was overwhelmingly on the side of the rioters, whom the magistrates did not dare to punish. All over the country, it became manifest that half the ministers would refuse on their own account to use the Service Book in spite of the Royal injunction, and the other half would not be allowed to use it by their congregations.

Petitions poured in against the innovations. A vast gathering of protestors was resolved into a group of elected committees known as the

“Tables,” who acted practically as if they had been a legally assembled parliament of the nation. The Tables formulated the National League and Covenant for the defence of religion, and in March 1638 the whole Scottish nation was signing it. The document was based upon a Covenant of 1581 “against popery,” which had been signed by King James himself ; but it was accompanied by explanatory clauses explicitly condemning recent innovations. It was expressly and even fervently loyal to the Crown, but it was an emphatic refusal on the part of the whole nation to have forced upon it a form of religion which it regarded as intolerable, though it did not actually denounce Episcopacy.

Faced with such a unanimous resistance the king sent the Marquis of Hamilton to negotiate, with full powers, while Puritan England looked on and sympathised with the Scots. The Scots insisted on a free parliament, a free General Assembly, and the revocation of the new Service Book and the Book of Canons ; and they would not listen to the king’s demand that the National Covenant should itself be withdrawn. Charles was obliged to give way. At the end of the year a General Assembly met ; the bishops refused to recognise its authority over them. The Assembly insisted ; when Hamilton dissolved it, it paid no attention, but continued to act on its own responsibility, deposed the bishops, and abolished the Episcopate.

VIII

THE BISHOPS’ WARS

It was not possible to pretend that the action of the General Assembly was legal. In plain terms, a crisis had arrived in which the will of the king and the will of the nation were in flat opposition, and the constitution provided the nation with no legal means of resisting the Crown. The General Assembly, in fact, constituted itself the governing body of the nation, and it did so with the approval of probably at least nine-tenths of the population. The Scots were well aware that they might be compelled to resort to maintaining the popular liberties in arms, and they had been making preparations for that possibility. They had been collecting subscriptions which were virtually compulsory though nominally voluntary. They now chose officers ; troops were being drilled on all hands, and there were in the country experienced veterans who had fought under Gustavus Adolphus—soldiers who understood discipline, and captains competent to hold high command, of whom the chief was Alexander Leslie.

Charles, on his side, appeared to have no other alternatives before him than complete surrender or successful coercion, since the Royal authority had been practically defied. But he could not coerce Scotland with Scottish troops, for, apart from the remoter highlands and islands, the immense majority of the fighting men were on the side of the Covenant.

To coerce Scotland he must have an English army. He could rely on the loyalty of the Marquis of Huntly in the north, and of the city of Aberdeen ; elsewhere he could hope for very little support. In the spring of 1639 Montrose, for the Covenant, captured Aberdeen, and Leslie secured Edinburgh Castle. As General-in-Chief of the self-constituted government, Leslie, then, with a considerable force, proceeded to Dunselaw, in the neighbourhood of Berwick. Charles had succeeded in collecting some levies in England, and faced the covenanting force ; but his troops were untrained, his officers without experience, and the men were at the best half-hearted and quite unfitted to do battle with Leslie. The Scots had no desire for war, and Charles came to terms, which merely postponed the conflict, which is known as the Bishops' war. Under the terms of the treaty, both sides were to disband their forces, and a free Assembly and Parliament were promised. Assembly and Parliament met in August only to confirm the proceedings of the previous Assembly, and to order a universal signing of the Covenant.

For ten years, as we have seen, it had been possible to carry on the king's government in England without an appeal to parliament for further funds. But without further funds the organisation of an army competent to coerce Scotland was not possible. Wentworth, now raised to the earldom of Strafford, advised the step of calling a parliament. The voice of opposition had been so long silenced that the Deputy, long absent in Ireland, may well have imagined that a new parliament might be coerced or cajoled into satisfying the king's demand. If so he was mistaken. The assembly known as the Short Parliament met in April 1640, only to demand that grievances should be dealt with before supply. Strafford's Deputyship had carried him out of touch alike with England and Scotland ; and it is evident that he completely misjudged the temper of both peoples. His recommendations for a northern campaign had been based on the assumption that the Scottish resistance was merely superficial ; and even now he seems to have been under the illusion that in this emergency the English people would rally to the Crown.

But the Short Parliament would not grant the king the twelve subsidies for which he asked, even though he had offered to withdraw the claim to ship-money as the price. The king, certainly not by Strafford's advice, was unwise enough to reject the proposal put forward by the moderate party in the House of Commons, that the sense of the House should be taken on the question of granting a supply without committing them to any specific amount. It was tolerably certain that parliament would not grant all that he asked ; and, choosing to have either all or nothing, he dissolved the parliament when it had been sitting for only three weeks.

A considerable war-fund was raised by contributions which were strictly voluntary. Again Charles marched to the North, where he was joined by Strafford, who had in the meanwhile been back in Ireland arranging for the organisation of a force. But before his arrival the Scots had already crossed into England, easily routing the English at

Newburn; for the king's army was no better than it had been in the previous year. The Scots came, declaring themselves to be in no way hostile to the English. To fight under the existing conditions would have been mere folly. Again the king entered on negotiations, and withdrew to the South; leaving Northumberland and Durham in the hands of the Scots as security for the payment of their expenses. It was clear that without vigorous support from England the king would be compelled to concede to the subjects of his northern kingdom whatever they might demand. Without aid from an English parliament Charles was paralysed; and in the desperate hope that such aid might after all be forthcoming, the assembly known as the Long Parliament was summoned in November.

CHAPTER XVI

THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY

I

THE LONG PARLIAMENT

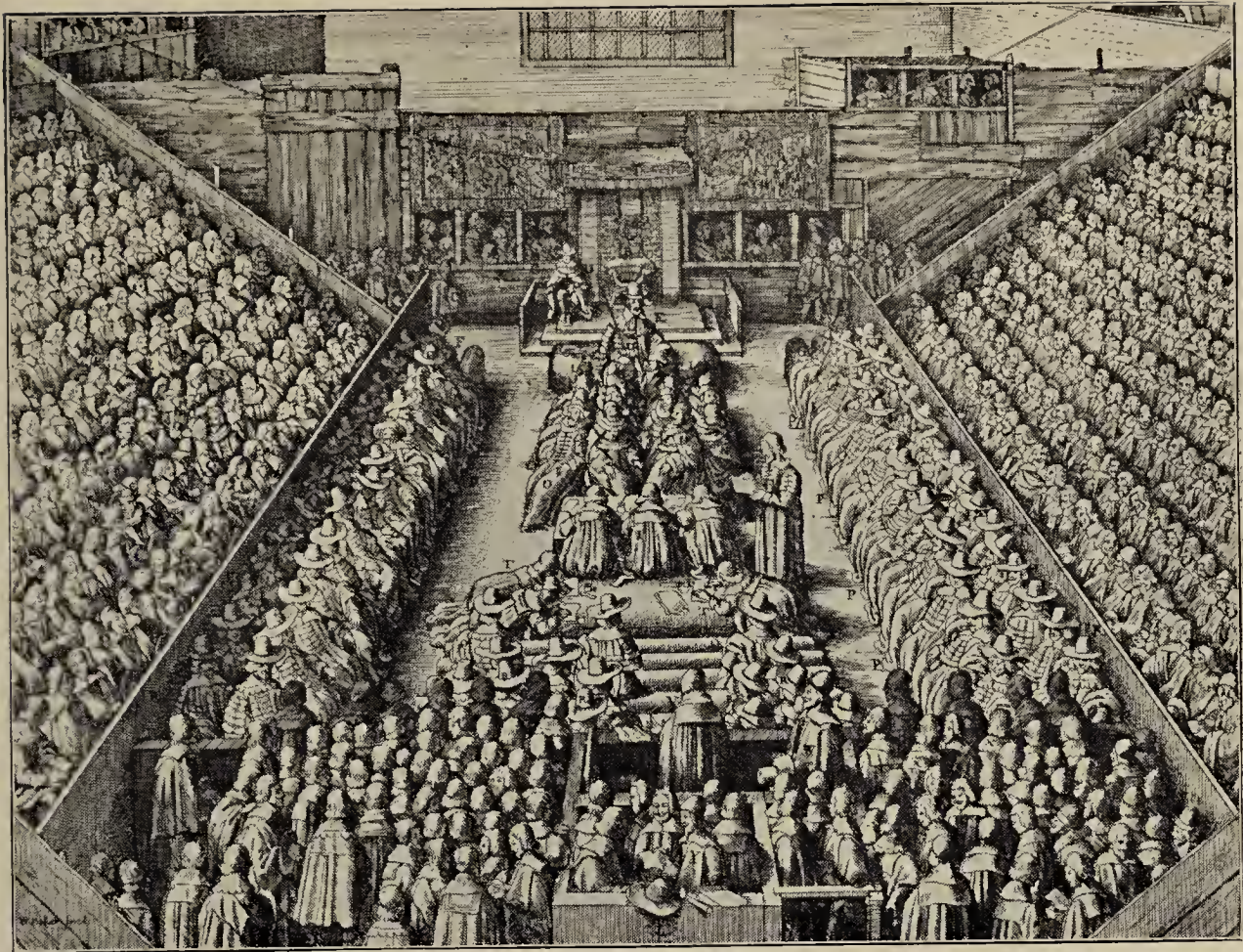
AMONG the supporters of the king there was a single commanding figure which utterly dwarfed all others, one man whom the Commons of England had learnt to regard as their deadly enemy, one man whom they hated because he was the man whom they feared—the apostate Strafford. Laud might be the object of popular detestation but no one was afraid of him, or of the crowd of intriguing courtiers who were much less likely to devise a working scheme of absolutism than to wreck by short-sighted jealousies the daring designs of the one master mind. While Strafford stood by the king, the Commons could devise no stroke without the fear that it might be defeated, and even turned against them, by the keen brain and the indomitable will of the great minister. Before anything else could be accomplished Strafford must go. Among the moderate men there were at least not a few who believed or hoped that if Strafford were removed the king and the nation might be reconciled. Charles, with no Buckingham and no Wentworth to dominate him, might submit to be guided by the moderates, and all would be comparatively well. But while Strafford remained nothing could be done. The Scots were in possession of the north of England, but the parliament and the English nation had nothing to fear from the Scots. The Houses had hardly been assembled when the Commons resolved on the impeachment of Strafford.

The earl, now fully alive to the temper of the people and the parliament, conscious that his enemies would leave no stone unturned in their efforts for his destruction, knew that both his own safety and the safety of the king would best be served, if only the king could be trusted, by his own withdrawal to Ireland; but the king dared not stand alone. Strafford remained to abide the storm. The Commons, led by Pym, impeached him of treason at the Bar of the House of Lords; he was arrested and confined in the Tower. Within six weeks Laud too was arrested on the charge of treason; others of the king's most prominent agents had fled the country in fear of a like fate.

Strafford had been some four months in prison before the preparations for the trial were complete. But when the case for the prosecution was un-

folded, it became more and more evident that the charge of treason must break down in law. Strafford had striven to subvert the constitution, as interpreted by the parliamentary lawyers ; but seeking to make the Crown absolute could by no means be translated into treason in the technical sense. The Lords were sitting as the supreme legal court in the country, and were bound to give judgment according to law. The Commons' managers of the trial saw that they would be defeated. The most effective piece of evidence was contained in papers, in which, referring to the Scots war, Strafford had said : " You have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience, for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out three months." But, however popular feeling might be inflamed by the charge that Strafford had meant to use the army in Ireland to coerce England, it was, in the first place, impossible to prove that England, not Scotland, was the country to be coerced, in which case the English Parliament had nothing to say in the matter ; and, in the second place, it was more than doubtful whether the term treason could be stretched to cover words inciting the king to coerce his subjects.

The Commons then resolved on a step which set the struggle on a new footing. Hitherto they had taken their stand on the law ; at all points they had claimed that they were asserting the legal rights of the House of Commons against prerogatives claimed by the Crown which had no place in the constitution. Now they found that the law was against them ; not merely the law as interpreted by judges whose authority was deprived of weight by their personal dependence on the king, but the law as it must be interpreted by the House of Peers itself. They resolved to drop the impeachment and to proceed by bill of attainder. The argument that the attempted subversion of the constitution was treason against the State, and was therefore treason against the person of the king, would not hold in law ; it followed that there was no law by which treason against the State, as distinct from treason against the king's person, could be punished. Punishment, therefore, could only be inflicted by a process overriding the law, and this could only be effected by a special Act of parliament dealing with the emergency ; not a resolution of one House or of both Houses, but an Act by the king in parliament, the ultimate sovereign authority which alone can override all law. A bill of attainder condemning Strafford to die as a public enemy was introduced and carried in the House of Commons. It was carried in the House of Lords. The king had given Strafford the most solemn pledges that if he remained in England he should be protected by the Crown. Without the king's assent the Act was waste paper. Would the king veto it ? Would he face the storm of popular resentment which was already beginning to clamour against the queen as well as the minister ? Queen and courtiers hated the great man who was no courtier ; they were blind to their own incapacity, to their own need of Strafford. Every influence was brought to bear upon Charles to persuade him to surrender. He yielded, and by the great betrayal sealed his own doom.



“THE TRUE MANNER OF THE SITTING OF THE LORDS AND COMMONS OF PARLIAMENT
UPON THE TRYAL OF THOMAS, EARLE OF STRAFFORD, 1641 ”



“THE TRUE MANNER OF THE EXECUTION OF THOMAS, EARLE OF STRAFFORD,
UPON TOWER HILL, THE 12TH OF MAY, 1641 ”

From etchings by Hollar, 1641.

Strafford's head had hardly fallen when the Commons set about reaping the fruits of their victory. In three months every instrument of absolutism on which the king had sought to rely throughout his reign was abolished. While Strafford was still in the Tower, government without parliament had been abolished by an Act requiring that parliament should assemble at least once in every three years, with or without the royal summons. An Act was now passed which forbade the dissolution of the existing parliament without its own consent. The right to ship-money, tonnage and poundage, and customs duties was formally abrogated. The arbitrary courts of Star Chamber, of High Commission, and of the Council of the North were abolished, so that no offenders could be tried except by the ordinary courts under the ordinary law.

So far Lords and Commons had acted together. Save in the matter of the attainder of Strafford, the whole series of Acts only abolished claims of the Crown which had never been admitted by the Commons, or removed glaring abuses. But now the Commons began to assert powers which they had never pretended to claim before King Charles ascended the throne. They attacked the bishops, in a bill which demanded their removal from the House of Lords and from the Privy Council ; and this brought them into collision with the House of Lords, which rejected the bill. The advanced Puritan party in the Commons responded with a bill aiming not at a compromise but at the abolition of Episcopacy, known as the Root and Branch bill. For the first time the Commons themselves were divided, while the majority in the Lords was in direct opposition to the majority in the Commons.

But the contest was deferred. The Scots army had now been duly paid off, and Charles paid a visit to the Northern kingdom, where Montrose and others had now broken away from the Covenanting chiefs, headed by Argyle, whose domination was hotly resented in many quarters. The king, however, found the party of revolt so weak that he was obliged to place himself in Argyle's hands, and Argyle himself was strengthened by the discovery of a plot against his person, in which both the king and Montrose were implicated, though without justification, by popular rumour. And while the movement of affairs in Scotland was disturbing, events of a still more serious character were taking place in Ireland.

Wentworth had ruled Ireland with a strong hand. Disorder had been crushed and prosperity had begun to make its way. But the order and the prosperity both depended upon the unscrupulous vigour and ability of a fearless Deputy. When Wentworth vanished behind the portals of the Tower, there was no one to take his place in Ireland, and no one to curb the hostilities of the settlers and the native Irish, of Catholics and Protestants, of family rivalries. While Strafford lived, there was always the chance that he would return, and the certainty that if he did it would be in an evil day for any one who had tried to make trouble during his absence. But the restraining hand was gone, and in the autumn there

came a sudden savage outburst of the Irishry against the Englishry. Ghastly tales of brutal barbarity and of blood-thirsty massacres flew over England. The truth was hideous enough, and became fivefold more hideous in the telling. England raged for vengeance, but—where was the avenger? If an army were despatched to Ireland under the king's officers, what would that army do? Suspicions grim and foul were in men's minds. The rising was the work of Jesuits, of Papists; perhaps the king's French wife was at the bottom of it; it was a plot to provide the king with an army for destroying the liberties of England. For such wild suspicions there was no sort of justification; but the plain fact stood out,

that if an army were placed under the king's control the work which the parliament had just accomplished would almost inevitably be undone.

Almost at the moment when the news arrived from Ireland, the parliament which had been adjourned in August reassembled. The only constitutional action possible was to vote supplies for



A newspaper heading of 1641.

an Irish war, the control of which would be in the king's hands; which was precisely the thing which the parliament, or at least the Puritans, dared not do. The alternative was to show cause why the king should not be trusted with a control which was his by constitutional right.

So the Opposition leaders drew up the Grand Remonstrance, a detailed indictment enumerating all the arbitrary proceedings, all the misgovernment, with which the king had been charged. It was a statement of the case for parliament against the Crown. The Grand Remonstrance completed the work of dividing the Commons, which had begun with the Puritan attack on the constitution of the Church. It amounted to a virtual, though not a formal, demand for the abdication of the king's sovereignty. It rallied to the support of the Crown all those who, while they had been ready to insist on limiting the royal prerogative, dreaded the unchecked tyranny of an irresponsible House of Commons more than the tyranny of the king. Hour after hour the stormy debate raged; not till after midnight was the division taken and the Remonstrance carried by eleven votes. Then a motion was brought forward that the Remonstrance itself should

be printed and published; the storm broke out with redoubled fury when the minority proclaimed their intention to protest, a course for which there was no precedent. Swords were drawn; it seemed that blood would be shed on the floor of the House itself, when John Hampden succeeded in procuring the adjournment of the debate.

At the moment, the king was on his way back from Scotland. On his arrival in London he found that there had rallied to his support not only something like half the House of Commons but a great force of popular feeling in the city. The violence of the Opposition had so far overreached itself that a very little tact and skill would have sufficed at this period to turn the scale decisively in favour of the Crown. But the tact and the skill were both wanting. The king adopted a course which stiffened the Opposition and dashed the hopes of his own supporters. Perhaps he thought that the victory was already won; at any rate he proceeded not to conciliate, but to strike. One of the Lords and five of the leaders of the Opposition in the Commons were found to have held communication with the Scots, which was, undoubtedly, in the technical sense, treasonable. Charles laid an impeachment of the Members before the House of Lords, and on the following day came down to the House of Commons in person, attended by a troop of armed men, to arrest them.

News of his coming had already reached the House, and the five members had been sent off by water to the City where it was known that they would be secure. Charles entered, leaving his followers outside the still open doors, and advanced to the Speaker's chair amid cries of "Privilege" from every hand. Announcing that he had come to take the "traitors," he asked Lenthall, the Speaker, if they were present. Lenthall, kneeling, replied that he had neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak save as the House should direct him. Himself scanning the benches, and seeing that, in his own words, "The birds had flown," he withdrew, with a warning that if the House did not send them to him he must take his own course. All that he had gained by the proceedings over the Grand Remonstrance was lost, at least outside the House. London was united in solid support of the outraged Commons, who for safety held their sittings in the City instead of at Westminster. A week later the king left Whitehall, not to enter it again till the country had passed through the storms of civil war.



The Church Militant: a Bishop of 1642.
From a contemporary caricature.]

The next eight months were spent by both sides in preparations for an armed conflict, diversified by negotiations, futile because neither believed in the sincerity of the other. The moderates gradually left London to join the king; among the number were reckoned three-fourths of the House of Lords and about one-third of the House of Commons. The Houses, which continued to sit at Westminster, consisted entirely of the representatives of one side, although they were still technically the National Parliament. But virtually all real chance of peace had been ended when the king attempted to arrest the five members. Both sides were raising troops, appointing officers, and collecting money. The king sent his queen to get financial aid from her brother in France, and from Holland, where the young Stadtholder, William of Orange, had married, a year since, the English Princess Mary. Charles's nephews, Rupert and Maurice, the younger sons of the late Elector Palatine, left what was practically a lost cause abroad to take up the king's cause in England. Hull closed its gates to the king's followers; and the last semblance of peace vanished when the king unfurled his standard at Nottingham in August (1642).

II

THE FIRST STAGE OF THE CIVIL WAR

One immense advantage the parliament possessed; it had the fleet on its side, and held control of almost every port in the country. It controlled also the machinery for taxation, whereas the king was obliged to rely for financial support chiefly on voluntary contributions. The struggle at the outset was an English struggle; Scotland stood aside, and Ireland was too deeply plunged in its own embroilments to take a hand in the conflict on the east of St. George's Channel. In England, roughly speaking, the northern and western counties favoured the royalist cause, the midlands were divided, and the eastern counties from the Humber to the Isle of Wight favoured the parliament, while Devon and Cornwall at first hung in the balance. But the towns tended to favour the parliament, and all over the country Puritan gentry were to be found in the Royalist counties, and Royalist gentry in the Parliamentary counties. Precisely as the Reformation had taken hold readily in the eastern portion of England, while the north and the west clung to their traditional beliefs, Puritanism was accepted in the east, while the Conservatism of the north and west kept them, in the main, on the side of the Church and the Crown. As in the past, so now, London, Kent, and the Eastern Counties, were the districts most zealous in asserting popular rights. And now, as before, the seamen in the ports of the west as well as of the east were on the Puritan and popular side.

Only to a very limited extent was the war one of classes. It was no uprising of an oppressed population against the domination of an aristocracy.

There was, indeed, a preponderance of the aristocracy, of the landed gentry, on one side, and of the burgess element on the other; but on both sides both were represented, and for two years the chief parliamentary commanders were the Earls of Essex and Manchester. The whole of the great English civil war was further characterised by an honourable absence of the ferocity for which the 'Thirty Years' War, still raging on the Continent, was distinguished. Both sides were fighting for principles which it was not inherently impossible to harmonise; on both sides the majority sought only the predominance of its own principles, not the complete destruction of its opponents. And in consequence the havoc wrought and the brutalities committed were extraordinarily small in comparison with those of other wars of equal magnitude. Even the damage wrought in churches and cathedrals by iconoclastic Puritanism was slight in comparison with what had been done under shelter of law, when there was no war at all, in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

The war in its initial stages was a war of military amateurs. There were few living Englishmen in 1642 who had ever seen a pitched battle or witnessed a scientifically conducted campaign under capable commanders. For its rank and file, one side had to rely mainly on city train-bands or on a very raw militia, while the other drew its recruits largely from the establishments of great landowners. The Royalists, or Cavaliers, were very much better furnished with horse, while the strength of the Parliamentarians, or Roundheads, lay in the stubborn valour of their foot-soldiers. The distinguishing feature lay in the great preponderance among the Cavaliers of the class corresponding to the public-school-boys of to-day. "Their troops," said Cromwell, "are gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality, gentlemen that have honour and courage and resolution in them. You must get men of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else you will be beaten still." With all the grit and courage which the Roundhead troops displayed in the first stages of the war, a grit and courage which frequently saved them from disastrous defeat, their training had not given them the audacity which was necessary to the winning of victories. The problem for the Roundhead leaders was to find that inspiration which would make their men fight to win instead of fighting to hold their own.

Hence for the first year of the war the parliamentary troops were habitually on the defensive; and the Royalists were the attacking party. But at the moment when the king's standard was raised at Nottingham, neither party was ready to strike. Essex, the Roundhead General-in-Chief, was collecting his forces at Northampton to block the way of a Royalist march on London. The king shifted to Shrewsbury, a better centre for collecting his main army; Essex moved to Worcester. When the king began his advance, Essex again moved to intercept him, and the armies met at Edgehill. The charge of the Royalist cavalry on the wings swept their opponents off the field, with the Cavalier horse in pursuit. But

the Roundhead foot in the centre held their ground, two regiments of horse which had not been swept away charged upon the Royalist flank, and Rupert reappeared on the field, which he supposed to have been already won, in time only to prevent a rout.

Still, the fruits of victory lay with the Royalists, who were able to continue their march to Oxford and establish headquarters there ; Essex, however, was able to fall back and block the way between Oxford and London. The Royalists, though they carried Brentford, did not venture to attack his position at Turnham Green, and fell back upon Oxford, whence during the spring and summer of 1643 Rupert conducted cavalry raids ; but no action of importance was fought. The parliamentary



Reverse of three-pound piece of Charles I. struck at Oxford, 1643.

cause, however, suffered a serious loss by the death of John Hampden in a skirmish at Chalgrove Field. During these months, the Royalist Association of the Northern Counties, organised by Newcastle, brought the North almost entirely under Royalist control, though the Parliamentarians under the Fairfaxes held possession of Hull. In the south-west, which at the outset hung in the balance, the first successes of the parliamentary general, Waller, were counteracted by those of the Royalist Hopton. In July the defeat of Waller at Roundway Down, and the surrender of Bristol, secured almost

the whole of the West country for the Royalists.

The parliament still sat at Westminster, and the successes of the royal arms almost induced the Houses to accept terms of peace which would have been a virtual surrender. But now there was a check. Rupert would have appeared to have designed a great converging movement upon London, the king advancing with his main army from Oxford, Hopton moving along the south, and Newcastle descending from the North through the Eastern Counties. But Newcastle and Hopton were not prepared respectively to leave Hull and Plymouth on their rear. Charles resolved to secure the West by the capture of Gloucester ; and, by attacking it, drew Essex to advance to its relief. The relieving movement was itself successful. Charles, however, intercepted Essex on his withdrawal at Newbury. A decisive victory might have brought the war to an end at once, but Essex succeeded in cutting his way through, and the opportunity was lost.

Meanwhile Pym, the head of the administration at Westminster, had been at work on the design of drawing the Scots into active alliance with the English Parliament. Religion alone was the ground on which the Scots were prepared to intervene in England, and for them religion meant the establishment of Presbyterianism in the southern country. The parlia-

ment men adhered in general to the common view that uniformity of religion was to be enforced; they were committed to the demand for the abolition of Episcopacy, and Presbyterianism was the apparent alternative. The result of the negotiations was the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant for the common establishment of religion, reformed "according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed churches." The form of the Covenant is attributed to the diplomacy of Sir Harry Vane, who by this means made the pledge sufficiently elastic to admit of the now growing demand for a much wider toleration than was contemplated by either English or Scottish Presbyterianism. The scheme itself was in some sense a development born of an Anglo-Scottish assembly at Westminster, which drew up the famous *Westminster Confession*, a formula for British Puritanism which corresponds to the Lutheran Confession of Augsburg. It must be remarked, however, that the English who were already in arms, and the Scots who were about to take arms, to coerce the Crown, both in the Covenant declared their loyalty to the king's person. The Solemn League and Covenant was the last achievement of John Pym, the greatest of the parliamentary chiefs; he died before the year was out. Early in the new year a joint committee of both kingdoms was formed to control the management of the war.

The man who discovered the inspiration of which the Roundhead armies stood in need was Colonel Oliver Cromwell, who had distinguished himself as a cavalry officer at Edgehill. Since that time he had not been prominent in the field, but had been preparing for great achievement by organising the Eastern Counties in such fashion as to render any Royalist movement there a sheer impossibility. Nominally as the subordinate of the Earl of Manchester, he set himself to the task of raising regiments imbued with a spirit which would make them a match for Rupert's gentlemen, and with a discipline which would give them a decisive superiority. In officers and men the great desiderata, according to the civilians assembled at Westminster, were respectability and orthodoxy. Cromwell wanted men who were full of enthusiasm for the Cause, and ready to submit to the severest discipline. For their orthodoxy he cared not a jot, though he required that they should be men of religion and of moral austerity. Given these conditions, military fitness was the sole quality he required in his subordinate officers. Out of such chosen material he constructed those picked regiments which under his leadership were to become the best troops in Europe. A first taste of their quality was given at Winceby fight, when a Royalist force had passed the Humber and entered



Coin portrait of Charles I. on three-pound piece of 1643.

the Eastern Counties before the end of 1643. That fight enabled him to relieve Hull, the one point in Yorkshire where the Fairfaxes, besieged by Newcastle, were still holding out.

His time had not yet come, but early in the year (1644) the Scots, commanded by old Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, and his distant kinsman, David Leslie, had crossed the Border. With this new enemy, Newcastle was no longer able to maintain his grip on the North. In April he was obliged to throw himself into York, where he was pressed by the Scots and by the Fairfaxes from Hull. In the south the defeat of Hopton at Cheriton removed immediate anxieties, and the army of the Eastern Counties Association under Manchester, with Cromwell as his cavalry chief, prepared to invade the North. Rupert, who had been detached from the king's main army to operate in Lancashire, made a successful dash to the relief of York, and raised the siege ; but when the Roundhead army began to retire, he advanced and offered battle at Marston Moor. The forces on either side were the largest assembled in any engagement in the course of the war ; Manchester's army of twenty-seven thousand men considerably outnumbering the Royalists. In the cavalry engagement on the wings, Cromwell's "Ironsides" routed Rupert's troopers, while Fairfax on the Roundhead right was routed by Goring. In the infantry engagement, the Roundheads on the left and the Royalists in the centre were victorious, so that the Scots on the right of the Roundheads were attacked on one flank by the victorious Royalist foot and on the other by those of the Royalist horse who had not ridden off in pursuit. The stubborn resistance, however, of the Scots, against overwhelming odds, enabled horse and foot from the Roundhead left to come to their rescue and cut the Royalists to pieces.

Marston Moor shattered the Royalist force on the north, and it established Cromwell as the first cavalry leader of the day. He had routed the hitherto irresistible Rupert, and he had shown a quality which Rupert never possessed, that of maintaining a perfect control over his troops in the moment of victory. Rupert, as a rule, swept all before him, but his men were not held in check, and continued a furious pursuit or turned to pillaging. Cromwell's Ironsides drove their opponents in rout, halted, reformed, and were again launched on the flank or rear of the adversary. Long ago the son of King Henry III. had been taught the great principle of cavalry fighting, to his cost, at Lewes, and never repeated the blunder which lost him that battle. Cromwell himself had applied the principle, as Rupert had ignored it, in the first pitched battle in the war at Edgehill ; but Rupert and the gallants of England never learnt the lesson, and the Cavaliers paid the penalty in full measure at Naseby fight, within a year of Marston Moor.

If the Ironsides and the Scots had won the North of England, elsewhere matters were by no means going favourably for the parliament. Hopton's defeat by Waller at Cheriton gave the parliamentary generals an opportunity for taking the offensive against the king, who fell back to Worcester.

But Waller and Essex made the blunder of dividing their forces, the former remaining to deal with Charles, while the latter marched into Devon in hope of recovering the West country. Thus, a few days before Marston Moor, Charles was able to rout Waller at Cropredy Bridge, and marched south-west in pursuit of Essex. At Lostwithiel, in Cornwall, the parliamentary General-in-Chief was surrounded by a superior force, and though he was able to cut his way through with his cavalry, and himself to escape by sea, the bulk of his force was compelled to capitulate. The Royalists were again undisputed masters of the West.

Cropredy Bridge and Lostwithiel together were not an equivalent for Marston Moor. The victorious army of the North was stronger than the victorious army of the South. Nevertheless, it was only under severe pressure that Manchester was induced to leave the Scots behind him, and march south to cut off the return of Charles. Manchester failed in his task, to the bitter indignation of his second in command. He intercepted Charles at Newbury, and ought to have crushed him, but, though victorious in the battle, he allowed the Royalist army to escape past him, and, by refusing to press on its heels, allowed the king to rally his scattered forces. The moment for crushing him was lost.

Meanwhile events took a new turn in Scotland. The party of Argyle was completely predominant in the Lowlands, but the best troops and the best commanders were all engaged in England. Argyle himself, though an astute politician, was no soldier. The Highland clans had hitherto taken little part in the troubles which did not practically concern them, but to many of them the clan Campbell and its chief were extremely obnoxious. Advantage was taken of the state of feeling in the Highlands by Montrose, whose loyalty had been rewarded by a marquisate. Joined by Alastair Macdonald of Islay, at the head of a half-Scottish force from Ireland, he raised the royal standard in the North, and routed the troops of the Scottish Government at Tippermuir, following up his first success by the capture of Aberdeen; which was dealt with in a merciless fashion, strongly contrasted with Montrose's treatment of the same city when he had captured it for the cause of the Covenant five years before.

III

THE NEW MODEL

As the autumn of 1644 was passing into winter the critical moment of the war, though not the critical engagement, was immediately at hand. Although the biggest battle of the war had been fought and won by the Roundheads, with decisive effect so far as the North was concerned, only one fact of importance favourable to the parliament had emerged; they had found a cavalry leader who was more than a match for Rupert and

troopers who were more than a match for Rupert's gentlemen. But the second battle of Newbury had shown that under the existing system there was no prospect that the chiefs of the army would realise that it was their business to strike home and win. Again, Scots and English together had won the victory of Marston Moor, but it had not united them. The honours of the day had been divided between the Scottish pikemen and the Ironsides, and the Scots angrily resented the assumption of all the credit to Cromwell and his troopers. Nor was jealousy alone responsible for the rupture. The Solemn League and Covenant was interpreted by the Scots as a pledge that the English Parliament would establish the Presbyterian system on Scottish lines, to the exclusion of all sectaries, who were to them an abomination. But Cromwell had stepped into the front rank; half his troopers were sectaries, and he himself notoriously cared nothing for Presbyterian orthodoxy. His men might be Anabaptists, Baptists, Independents, anything, provided that the "root of the matter" was in them and they knew how to fight. But the Scottish cause in England was the cause not of parliament but of Presbyterianism; it was on that understanding that the Scots had crossed the Border. If Cromwell and the men of his kind won the victory for parliament, the Presbyterian ideal was not likely to be realised. Thus cordial co-operation between the Scots and Cromwell was not to be looked for. Moreover, as time passed on it began to be doubtful how long the Scots army would be ready to remain in England—whether it would not have to return across the Tweed to deal with Montrose, with whom Argyle was proving himself quite unable to cope.

Cromwell was not the only man who saw that there could be no decisive success without reorganisation; a reorganisation which meant the substitution of a new type for the present army chiefs, and for the present rules of discipline—the Cromwellian type in both cases. As matters stood, the best that the parliament could hope for was to say to the king, "You cannot beat us; let us come to terms"; and under such conditions satisfactory terms were not to be expected. In Cromwell's view, parliament could be and must be placed in a position to dictate terms. Hitherto he had not been prominent as a debater, though the force of the man had made itself felt on the rare occasions when he intervened. But now it was in parliament itself that the immediate battle must be fought; and Cromwell opened the campaign by a direct attack upon Manchester for neglecting his duty as a commander to crush the enemy when in his power. But it was the principle, not the man, which mattered; he had no vindictive feeling towards Manchester, and readily dropped the attack on him when the way was cleared for a more effective procedure.

The parliament itself had degenerated since its first meeting in 1640. Of its abler and nobler members not a few had taken their stand on the king's side. Since the outbreak of the war, the greatest statesman among its members, John Pym, had died, and Hampden, the most honoured and

respected of all, had fallen on Chalgrove Field. Others, like Waller and Cromwell, had been drawn away to active duty, and those who remained lost tone. There were politicians at Westminster, but few men of statesmanship. The politicians, however, were capable of realising that the war was being conducted on wrong principles, that an efficient army under efficient commanders would give it a new aspect. Cromwell, the man of the moment, must have his way for the moment; the turn of the politicians would come afterwards.

The first step, then, was the Self-denying Ordinance, under which every member of parliament in either House resigned his own command. It is usually said that an exception was made in favour of Cromwell; but technically, at least, this is inaccurate. The object of the Ordinance was the removal of incompetent commanders, but it did not preclude the reappointment of any one who was conspicuously fit. Not to have reappointed the one man who was obviously not only fit but necessary would have been an absurdity, although in the circumstances it would no less obviously have been out of the question to place him in chief command. For that office Sir Thomas Fairfax was chosen, a man who enjoyed the confidence of every one with whom he had been associated, welcome not only to Cromwell himself, who had fought beside him at Marston Moor, but on all hands, on account both of his military ability and his personal character. To Cromwell was presently given the post of Lieutenant-General, or second in command, which included the command of the horse. Promotion was in the hands of the General-in-Chief, who could be trusted to bestow it where it was deserved, regardless of other considerations than military ability.

The next step was to construct the New Model Army, a compact group of regiments entirely under the control of the Commander-in-Chief, regularly paid; a standing army, in short, very different from the miscellaneous local levies controlled by miscellaneous local committees, irregularly paid and under no systematic discipline. The pick of the veterans were promptly enrolled in the new regiments, comprising something over twenty thousand men, though the numbers were not made up without compulsory impressment. And the best of these troops, who soon set the tone for their comrades, were Independents or Sectaries of the type whom Cromwell had enlisted and promoted, regardless of Presbyterian orthodoxy.

While Fairfax and Cromwell were organising the New Model, it was becoming increasingly clear that they would not be able to count



A cuirassier, 1645.
[From Skelton's "Armour."]

on sufficient support from the Scots. The Leslie's were much more inclined to think of returning to Scotland than of carrying their operations further south. Montrose in the Highlands flashed—no historian can avoid using the word—from point to point, falling swiftly and suddenly upon the Covenanting troops, harrying Argyle's own territory, and dispersing armies far larger than his own. His victory at Inverlochy, early in the year, almost warranted his promise to the king that before the end of the summer he would have won Scotland, and would be ready to aid Charles

against his rebels in England. Even when Argyle was displaced by more efficient commanders, the swiftness of Montrose's movements enabled him to outmanœuvre them.

But in England the generals of the New Model were determined to strike decisively. They realised that it was their business, not to capture and garrison strong places, but to bring Charles's main army to a decisive engagement and shatter it irrevocably. No one had attempted to shatter it before; Manchester, indeed, had deliberately avoided doing so. In June they started in pursuit, and came up with the Royalist army near Naseby, in Northamptonshire. The New Model did its work. On the Royalist right Rupert's charge swept away Ireton's cavalry. On the Roundhead right Cromwell and his Ironsides swept off the Royalist horse. In the centre, the infantry on both sides fought fiercely, and the fortunes of the day were in doubt until Cromwell crashed back upon the enemy's flank while Rupert's headlong horsemen were still far away. The victory was complete.

The Royalist horse escaped with curiously little injury, and Charles himself was forced to fly; but the Royalist foot were shattered beyond hope of recovery. The whole of the baggage and all the munitions of war fell into the hands of the victors.



The Cavalier as "England's Wolf."

[From a parliamentary broadside of 1646.]

There was still an army in the south-west, under Goring's command, which Fairfax proceeded without delay to shatter at Langport. During the month which passed between these two battles, Montrose in Scotland had again defeated the best of the Covenanting commanders; and about a month after Langport he won at Kilsythe a victory which seemed to have brought Scotland under his hand. David Leslie hurried to Scotland, but before he was across the Border the fleeting character of Montrose's success was manifested. The Highlanders, whose desperate charges routed their foes, understood hand-to-hand fighting but not campaigning. They scattered to their homes when Montrose descended to the Lowlands,

and Leslie with four thousand men caught the great Marquis at Philiphaugh with a very much smaller force counted by hundreds. Of these, some half fought with desperate courage; the rest hardly took part in the engagement. Montrose's men were cut to pieces; some of them were massacred in cold blood; even the women and children belonging to Montrose's Irish troops were slaughtered. Philiphaugh was an ugly revenge for the ugly deeds of which the Irishmen had been guilty. In Scotland as well as in England the last chance of the Royalist cause disappeared.

There were no more pitched battles. Charles had persistently followed the false policy of keeping his followers dispersed in garrisons all over the Royalist districts, instead of concentrating them to strike effective blows. The reduction of these garrisons now became the main business of the Roundhead force. The great manor houses and halls which could bid defiance to the onslaught of casual troops were wholly unfitted to stand siege when siege ordnance was brought up against them. Resistance where resistance is obviously useless, and can mean nothing but a sheer waste of life, is not countenanced by the laws of war. Only here and there, as at Basing Hall, did garrisons maintain a stubborn defiance in the face of palpably inevitable destruction; and except in such cases they were habitually permitted to surrender on honourable terms. The fierce spirit of hatred expressed in Macaulay's rousing ballad of *Naseby* had not yet come into play. The soldiers of the New Model were held under a stern discipline; robbery and outrage were practically unheard of.

But meanwhile the king, if he was unable to strike, was able to watch events. Victory in the field was out of the question, but the growing signs of dissension among his opponents gave him ample hope of victory by diplomacy. Within the year after Naseby, he placed himself in the hands of the Scots Army in England, as the most promising quarter from which to conduct his negotiations.

IV

DOWNFALL

The government of the country was in the hands of the parliament at Westminster; the army was the army of the parliament, and its officers were the parliament's officers. The politicians imagined that their turn had come; but the army was by no means disposed to allow its victory to be thrown away or to be utilised for purposes of which it disapproved. And it was quite certain to disapprove of much which the parliament and the Scots desired. In order to secure victory in the field parliament had suspended its Presbyterian rigour. The ranks of the army were filled with Sectaries; officers and men, including those who were themselves Presby-

terians, had no more mind to surrender liberty of religion at the dictation of Presbyterians than at the dictation of bishops. But they were led by men whom they trusted completely, and neither Fairfax nor Cromwell was willing to resort to force until force was proved to be the only available argument.

At the end of 1645, the year of Naseby, the narrow Presbyterian section in parliament lost something of its predominance. Several seats had become vacant, which were now filled up, and a large proportion of the new members were in sympathy with the broad ideas of toleration. The Presbyterians, however, still held a substantial majority, and some two months after Charles had joined the Scots they formulated their proposals. Parliament was to have complete control of the militia for twenty years, the king was to sign the Covenant, and Presbyterianism was to be established, while the Episcopal system and all kinds of sectaries were to be suppressed. Either the predecessor or the successor of Charles on the throne would have accepted those terms, trusting their own wits so to manipulate parties after the settlement that they should recover their own predominance. But Charles had neither the cunning of his father nor the keen political wit of his son. He had no more respect for the spirit of his pledges than either of them, no compunction whatever about tricking his opponents. But he had a conscience of his own, and the one thing that he would not do was to act against his religious convictions. Therefore he temporised, believing that all he required was to gain time—that the longer a settlement was delayed, the more certain it was that dissensions among the ranks of his opponents would enable him to make his own terms.

In fact, by accepting the terms at the moment he would have united the Scots and the English Presbyterians in his support, but his shifts to procure delay failed in their purpose. The Scots realised that he had no intention of signing the Covenant, the one matter of importance to them. Even at the best they were not too well satisfied with the English Presbyterianism, which rejected the Scottish doctrine of spiritual independence and maintained the subordination of the Church to the State. Having made up their minds that the object they themselves had in view was unattainable, they resolved to withdraw themselves from English affairs altogether. They signified to the English parliament that they held the king as a hostage, but would hand him over to the parliament when the moneys due to them for their expenses in the war were paid up; for it had been agreed as a part of the bargain, when the Scots intervened, that they did so at the charges of their allies. The sums claimed were promptly paid over; the Scots surrendered the king to the parliamentary commissioners and betook themselves across the Border. The king was placed at Holmby House in Northamptonshire.

The departure of the Scots pressed forward the crisis between Parliament and the Army. While the Army remained, it might interfere with the strong hand, if Parliament endeavoured to override its will. There

was no wish on the part of its chiefs to usurp the government, but on the fundamental point of general toleration, Parliament was not to be trusted, and on that point the Army was prepared to insist. Parliament, aware of



■ Roundhead throughout the war. ▨ Became Roundhead after Marston Moor.

The unshaded portions remained Royalist throughout the war.

Royalist and Roundhead in the Civil War.

its danger, began to discuss the disbandment of the Army while it continued to negotiate with the king. In May 1647 Parliament came to terms with the king. Presbyterianism was to be established, though liberty of worship was reserved to Charles; but the agreement was to hold good for three

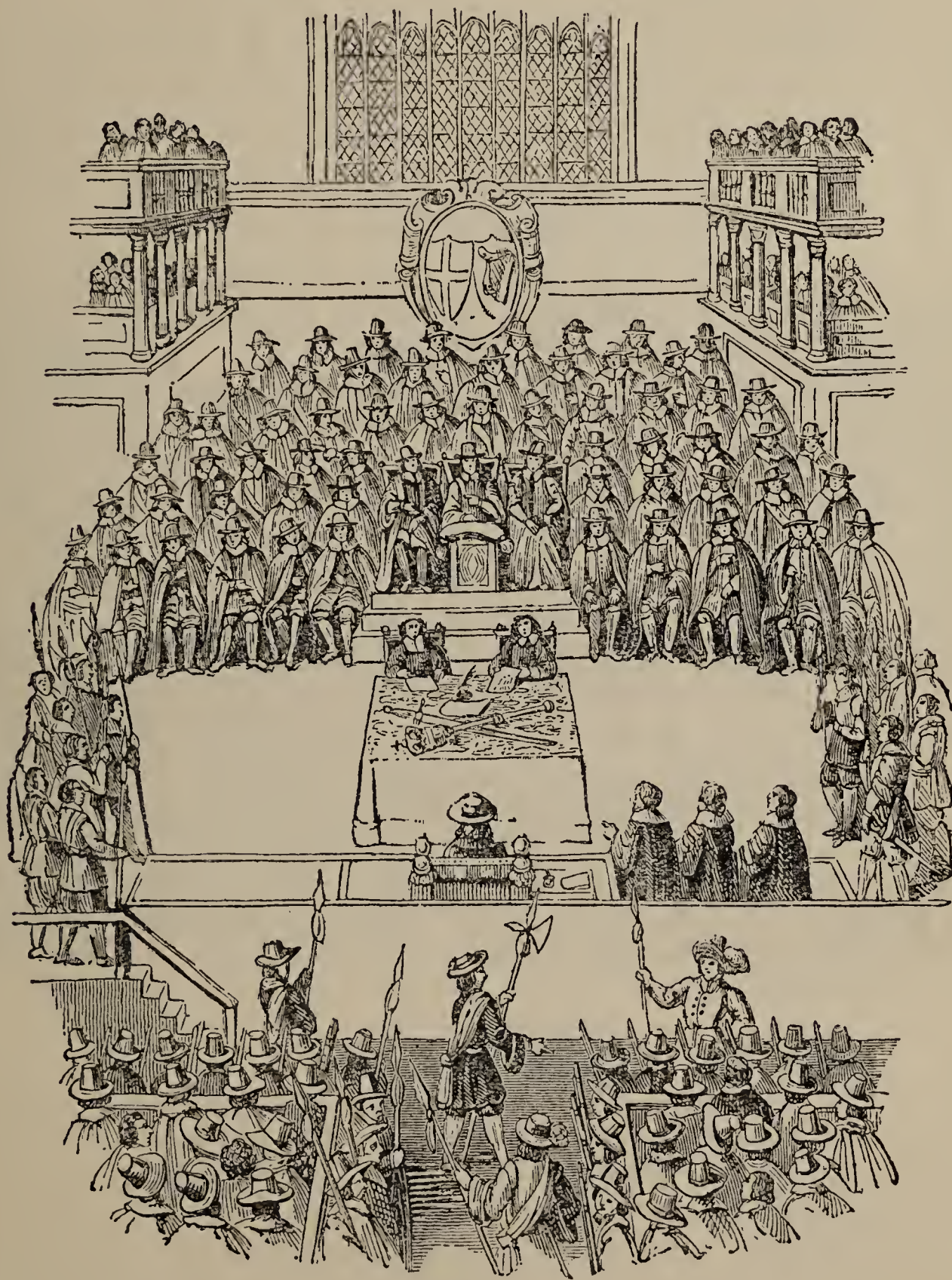
years only. But, meanwhile, it was known that Parliament was negotiating with the Scots for the establishment of Presbyterianism, and that the dominant party were propounding measures for rendering the Army powerless. The bulk of it was to be disbanded, mulcted of most of its arrears of pay. The remainder of it was to be recast under Presbyterian officers, excluding all members of Parliament, Cromwell of course among them. Of this Army a portion was to be despatched to Ireland, while the remainder would be merely an instrument in the hands of the Presbyterian government. The Army demanded guarantees for liberty of conscience and the payment of arrears before it would consent to disbandment. No such guarantees were forthcoming.

The Army chiefs, who had for long had a difficult task in restraining the troops, saw that the time had come for taking the law into their own hands. A troop of horse was despatched under Cornet Joyce to Holmby House, whence the king was conducted to headquarters at Newmarket. Then the troops marched upon London, occupied the city, and demanded the exclusion from parliament of eleven obnoxious members. The Army was master of parliament and of the situation.

But even now the chiefs were bent upon extreme moderation. It was not their business to undertake a constitutional settlement, or to set up a military government; but it was their business to secure the thing on which their hearts were set, liberty of conscience. They drew up certain "heads of proposals" which if they had been accepted would have settled the religious question. The penal laws against Romanists were to remain in force; but with this single exception, to which practically no one but the Romanists was disposed to object, there was to be complete toleration. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Sectaries were to enjoy entire freedom of worship subject to no civil penalties or disabilities.

Neither the king, who was now domiciled at Hampton Court, nor the Presbyterians were ready to adopt the proposals. The chiefs reluctantly withdrew them and contented themselves with endeavours to secure a tolerable compromise. But Charles could not free himself from his conviction that by temporising and intriguing he would still succeed in effecting his own aims. He escaped from Hampton Court, but was stopped in the Isle of Wight and detained in Carisbrooke Castle, whence he continued to carry on open negotiations with Parliament and the Army, and at the same time other secret negotiations which were to prove his ruin. The Army was at odds with the Parliament; it was at odds now even with itself, for there had grown up in it a fiery democratic element, the element which became known as the Levellers. These men were imbued with the republican spirit, a contempt for social rank, hatred for the privileges of birth. They wanted the abolition of all such privileges; the destruction of the Monarchy and the Peerage. Every man, in their eyes, had a right to a voice in the government of the country. Moreover, while they demanded toleration for Sectaries, most of them included Anglicanism

in the general bann which nearly all Protestants extended to Romanists. Many of them were now denouncing Cromwell and Ireton, because those generals had hitherto set their faces against the republican doctrine and persistently advocated the toleration of Episcopacy.



The trial of Charles I.

[From a print in Nalson's report of the trial published in 1684.]

If the Army broke itself up now, the king might come by his own ; if the Royalists rose again they would surely be victorious. So Charles intrigued and plotted, and told the Scots that if they helped him to his throne in England he would establish Presbyterianism and make war upon the Sectaries. Scotland swallowed the bait, though not without opposition

from Argyle, who, despite his faults, was not without some qualities of statesmanship. In the spring of 1648 a Scots army, led by the Duke of Hamilton, crossed the Border, in arms for the King of England. Charles's intrigue bore fruit in a sudden blaze of Cavalier insurrections in Wales, in Cornwall and Devon, and in Kent and the south-east.

But the effect on the Army was not what the king had anticipated. While its chiefs, at the risk of their own popularity and to the danger of their own power, had been straining every nerve to keep the passions of the soldiery in check, striving honestly and openly to arrive at a reasonable compromise which should be tolerable to every one; while they had been abstaining from violence, and had appealed to a show of force only when



The execution of Charles I. in Whitehall, January 30, 1649.

[From a print of the year.]

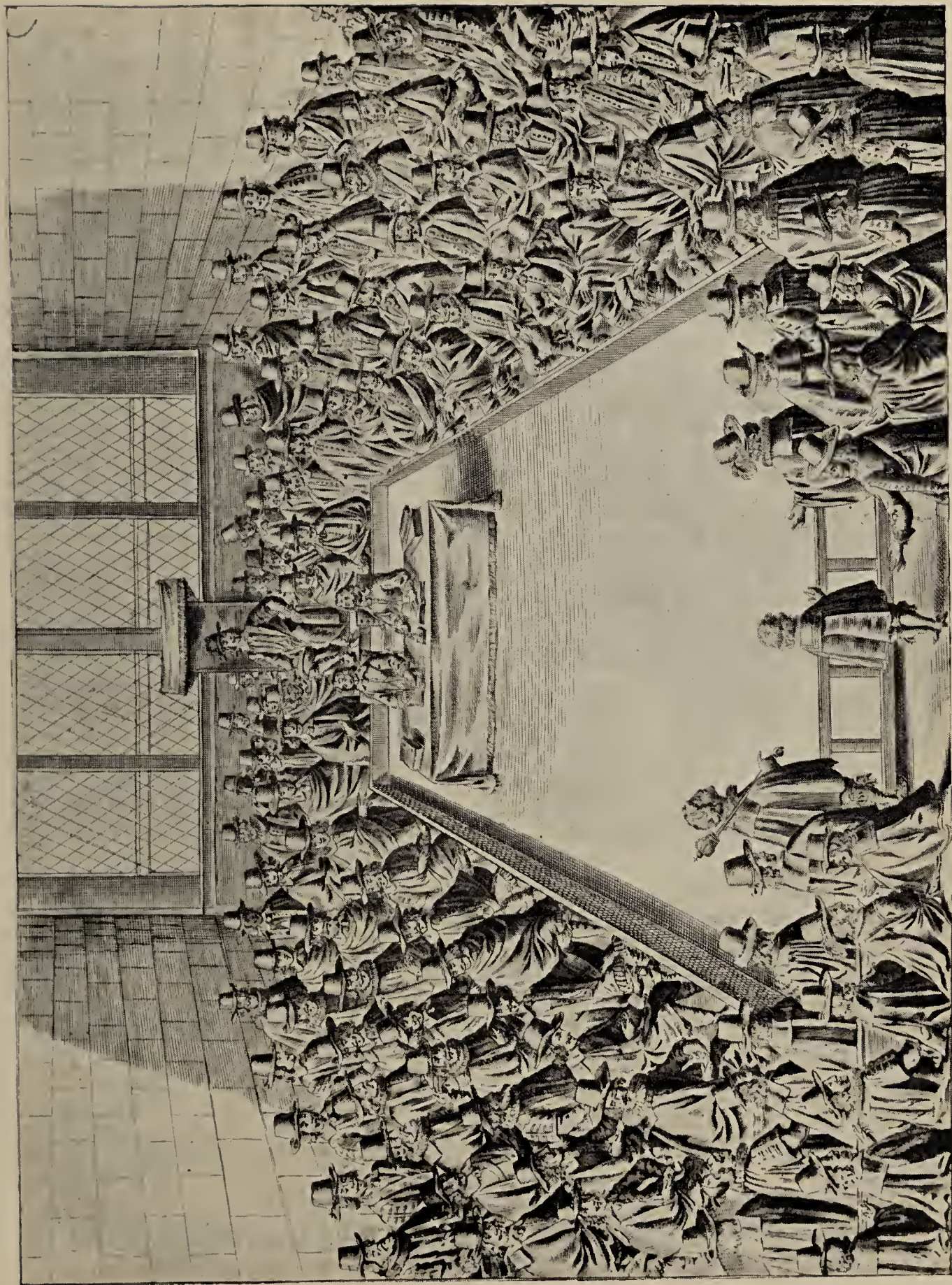
self-defence left them no alternative; the king had been playing with them, plotting for the destruction of the liberties for which they had fought. Compromise, agreements which depended upon good faith, could no longer be considered. There was one thing to be done at once—to stamp out the flame of insurrection. And then the Army and its leaders would be at one.

Fairfax took charge of the insurrection in the south-east, suppressed it in Kent, and held the main body of the insurgents shut up in Colchester. Cromwell flung himself into Wales. By the time that he had crushed resistance there the Scots army, badly led and badly organised, was streaming into Lancashire. Near Preston, Cromwell fell upon the flank of the long advancing column, cut it in two, and destroyed it in a running fight which lasted for three days. Colchester surrendered to Fairfax. The spirit which had led the conquerors in the first civil war to act always with

humanity, and as a rule mercifully and even generously, was killed. This was a war wantonly stirred up, when the sword had already been sheathed and the king who had incited it was pretending to seek reconciliation. The insurgents were treated as rebels, and large numbers of them were shipped off to servitude in the plantations of Barbadoes.

The first step had been taken ; the insurrection had been stamped out. The victorious troops were returning, determined to dictate their own terms, when the news reached them that the king and the Presbyterian majority at Westminster had struck their own bargain. The Army would have no more bargains. On the 6th December Colonel Pride and a body of musketeers took up their stand at the door of the House of Commons, arrested fifty of the members, and excluded a hundred more. The remnant, the Rump, as they were called, then assumed the functions of parliament. On the 4th January they declared themselves the sole sovereign authority in the country, and pronounced that their enactments had the force of law whether the Crown and the Peers assented or no.

But behind this there was a more terrible determination. While the king lived there could be no peace. Charles had wrought treason against the nation ; it was he who had deluged the land in blood, he who had foiled every attempt to establish a basis for a lasting peace. The king must die, not because a republic was better than a monarchy, not because the Crown was in itself an evil, but because Charles, personally, was an impossible king, and while he lived neither a republic nor another king were possible. As for the justification, let the Blood of the Saints testify ! If the king were amenable to no human law, should the servants of the Lord be therefore debarred from acting as the instruments of His vengeance ? So reasoned Cromwell and the Army. Yet all should be done at least with a semblance of law. The Rump, as self-constituted sovereign, appointed a High Court of Justice to try "the man Charles Stuart." The king took his stand on the plain and obvious fact that such a court had no conceivable authority. He refused to plead. No one could even pretend that the authority of the Court rested upon the will of the nation any more than it rested upon law. The nation stood aghast, half paralysed, while Fairfax and many others who had been appointed on the Commission refused to take part in the proceedings. The responsibility lay with those who had the power to enforce their way, and did not fear to do what they had persuaded themselves was their duty. In the eyes of the nation the king had committed no crime ; now he played his part with a sincerity and a dignity which carried the popular sympathy to his side ; and which for all time has clothed the figure of King Charles the Martyr with a halo of reverential pity. But the stern men who had doomed him did not shrink ; for them he was the enemy of God and of the people. The Court pronounced sentence of death, and England saw the head of its king fall under the executioner's axe.



THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

From a Dutch print engraved not later than 1649.

CHAPTER XVII

THE COMMONWEALTH

I

DROGHEDA AND WORCESTER

ENGLISHMEN above all people in the world love adherence to precedent and custom ; but in the government of England, now, precedent and custom were toppled into the abyss. Hitherto, for some four centuries at least, king and parliament had shared authority, though with differences of opinion as to their respective proportions. No one had ever dreamed of such a thing as the arraignment of a king before his own subjects for treason. None except kings had ever challenged the right of free access to parliament by its members, the right of freedom of debate, or the right of free decision. Kings, relying on the support of the will of the nation, had curbed barons ; barons relying on the same support had curbed kings ; kings had ruled autocratically when their policy harmonised with the national feeling expressed in parliaments ; parliaments with the will of the people behind them had refused submission to kings. But the Great Rebellion had reached a climax, when the monarchy was abolished altogether, and the authority of parliament was scattered to the winds because parliament had ceased to represent the national will.

In fact there was no national will, but a mere chaos of conflicting parties ; and out of this chaos had emerged one body strong enough to impose its will upon the rest. No other form of government was possible. That body had made up its mind to have done with the monarchy ; it did not wish to have done with parliament, but there were no visible means of procuring a parliament capable of exercising the functions of government. So it took the parliament that was there, purged it in accordance with its own views, abolished the House of Peers, and endeavoured to treat the Rump in the House of Commons as the Representative Assembly of the nation. Through the Rump it constructed an Executive Council, composed partly of military officers, partly of members of the Rump itself ; and Council and Rump together provided the government of the nation. The one thing vital for the moment was, for that government to establish and maintain its own authority, since reversion to chaos was the sole alternative.

The new government was threatened on every side, from without as well as from within. As a regicide government, every state in Europe

would have rejoiced at its downfall, and not least Holland, whose young Stadtholder, William II., was brother-in-law to the claimant of the English throne. Scotland was righteously indignant ; for the people of England or their rulers had cut off the head of the King of Scotland, to whom the Scots had never ceased to profess loyalty, even when they were in arms against him, or when they handed him over to his English subjects. Moreover, Scotland was entirely hostile to the Sectaries, who had now taken control of affairs, and in particular to the Man who had led the Sectaries to victory. In Ireland, the death of Charles I. united against the regicide government the Cavalier element and the native Irish—to whom any English government was sufficiently detestable, but a rule at once English and Puritan was an abomination. In England itself, Cavalier loyalty and Presbyterian respectability were, according to circumstances, stung to fury or grievously shocked at the usurpation of Sectarians and regicides. Finally, in the victorious party itself, an angry spirit was aroused among many who had looked for liberty at least for themselves, and now saw, occupying the seats of the mighty, men who could not refrain if they would from acting despotically. Even of the fleet, a substantial portion declared at first against the new régime.

The government weathered the storm. A stern and remorseless discipline arrested the mutinous spirit in the army ; in the navy, after the first moment of doubt, it became evident that the great preponderance lay with those who declared for loyalty to the Commonwealth. The last year's campaign had impressed upon Cavaliers and Presbyterians the futility of armed insurrection. Foreign Powers might be hostile, but they had other things to think of than intervention in English affairs. Scotland did not espouse the cause of Charles's son, would not even hasten to set the crown of Scotland itself on his head, until she had made her own terms with him. The pressing danger was in Ireland, where Cavaliers and Catholics together threatened to wipe out their opponents, and to provide a basis whence the combined elements of disaffection might organise an attack on the English Government.

To Ireland, then, Cromwell was despatched in the August after the execution of King Charles ; and he dealt with that country on the general principle that his opponents were rebels ; at any rate that those humane modifications in the commonly recognised laws of war, which had habitually prevailed during the contest in England, were not to be applied in Ireland. Here, at least, he acted on the conviction that by striking ruthlessly at once he would make a prolonged war and prolonged bloodshed impossible. He turned upon Drogheda, stormed it when it refused to surrender, and no quarter was given to those in the town who were in arms. Then he fell upon Wexford, which was treated after the same fashion, though this time the slaughter was carried out by the soldiery without direct orders. The massacres of Drogheda and Wexford served their purpose. When Cromwell had made it clear that resistance in the first place was futile, and in the

second place would be punished without mercy, resistance practically disappeared. Garrison after garrison surrendered after being summoned, and there was little more actual bloodshed. Cromwell was perhaps right in believing that so far as the immediate war was concerned the truest mercy was in mercilessness. Moreover, he suffered from the conviction common to practically all Englishmen, for at least a century past, that the Irish were too barbarous to understand other methods than those of barbarism ; they were savages, controllable only by terrorism. For the rest, again in common with all Englishmen, he believed in the full tale of the atrocities committed in the Irish insurrection of 1641, and imagined that the worst he did fell far short of being a just punishment for the crimes of the past.

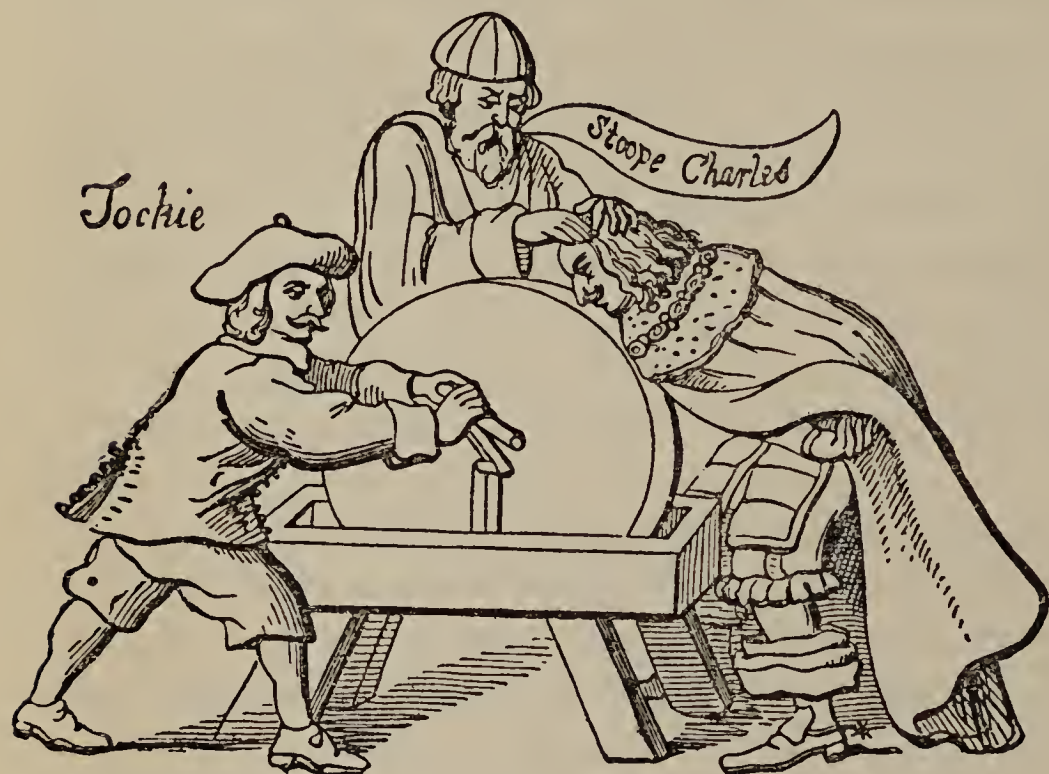
Terror triumphed ; but Cromwell had not exacted the full penalty in the streets of Drogheda and Wexford. Sweeping confiscations of land followed, and numbers of the Puritan troopers were planted on Irish soil, to form an effective garrison for years to come. But if Cromwell's doings tended, as he believed, to save the effusion of blood, they sowed afresh the seeds of racial and religious hate, that monstrous crop which was to be reaped by generations upon generations as yet unborn, the black inheritance of the Curse of Cromwell.

Before Cromwell was ready to leave the completion of his work in Ireland to his lieutenants, the clouds were gathering in the North. Scotland and England were bound together solely by the one link of the crown, and that link England herself had severed when she abolished her own monarchy by cutting off her own king's head and rejecting his successor. Her action was not binding upon Scotland ; was on the contrary entirely repudiated by Scotland ; which, with entire justification, declared it to be a flagrant breach of the terms of the Solemn League and Covenant—a Covenant which pledged both countries to loyalty to the person of the king. But if Scotland chose to acknowledge Charles II., the situation for England would manifestly be dangerous.

Scotland would only acknowledge Charles on condition of his signing the Covenant. That most cynical of princes would, with perfect cheerfulness and entire good-nature, have signed a dozen covenants to gain his own ends, and would have torn them up afterwards as suited his convenience. But devoted loyalty, in the person of Montrose, was eager to set the young king on his throne untrammelled by ignominious promises. Charles always showed a gracious alacrity in encouraging his neighbours to self-sacrifice on his behalf. He temporised with the Scots from his safe quarters in Holland, while he suffered the heroic Montrose to go to his doom. The enterprise was hopeless. Montrose landed in Scotland, not in the regions where the kilted hosts were ready to flock to the standard of the brilliant leader who would launch them against the hated Argyle and the Campbells, but in the far north, where the name of McCallam Mohr roused no passionate hostility. Instead of gathering an increasing host, he soon found himself alone and deserted, was taken prisoner in Ross-shire, handed over to the

Government, and hanged as a traitor, leaving a heroic memory cherished by all lovers of self-sacrificing loyalty and splendid self-devotion.

Since the "Great Marquis" had lost the hazard, Charles, with superb cynicism, accepted the terms offered him by the men who had just slain his most loyal servant as a traitor. He accepted the Covenant and landed in Scotland, where he probably learnt to feel something more akin to repentance than he suffered at any other time of his life. For Charles could endure hardship and privation, but he loathed seriousness, and in Scotland he had to wear the mask of seriousness every day and all day, and a specially lugubrious mask on the Sabbath.



The Scots keep their young king's nose to the grindstone.

[From a broadside of 1651 satirising the acceptance of the Covenant by Charles II.]

In Scotland, then, the nation had accepted a covenanted king, on whose person was focussed all the sentiment of loyalty in England which had been evoked by his father's tragedy. If he claimed the throne of England, there would be on his side not only the Cavaliers, but the whole weight of orthodox Presbyterianism, reinforced by numbers of the moderate men who had been shocked by the high-handed illegality whereby the Commonwealth had been created. And behind Cavaliers and Presbyterians would be the Scots. Yet nothing could be more obvious than the right of the Scots, an independent nation over whom England exercised no jurisdiction whatever, to maintain the monarchy and to acknowledge the king in whose veins ran the blood of the Bruce. Once more the English government had before it the question whether government should be overthrown in the name of the law, or maintained by a palpable breach of law. Once more it resolved that the security of the State is the supreme law—and the security of the State demanded the coercion of Scotland.

An initial difficulty presented itself. Fairfax, the General-in-Chief, now as before refused to act against his conscience. England had no moral right to coerce Scotland. He would not seek to impose his own will upon England, but he would not lead an army into Scotland. He was obdurate to Cromwell's persuasions. It was no ambition of his own which had set him in command of the forces of the Commonwealth. His resignation was the only way out of the difficulty, and was accepted with more reluctance than it was offered. Cromwell became the General-in-Chief of the Commonwealth army.

In July Cromwell was in Scotland, but the government of the Covenant

would not listen to his arguments, and when he advanced upon Edinburgh he found that the skill of David Leslie had posted their troops impreguably. He had no alternative but to fall back upon Dunbar, followed and shepherded by the Scots. Supplies were running low, the Scottish generals were not to be outmanœuvred, and it seemed that Cromwell would be driven to escape as best he could to the ships which were in attendance. He was saved by the unspeakable folly of the enemy. Leslie was overridden by the ignorant fanaticism of the clerical counsellors, who cried out to him to smite the blasphemers and sectaries whom the Lord had delivered into their hands. With amazement and thanksgiving, Cromwell saw the Scots repeating the supreme folly of Flodden and Pinkie-Cleugh, and defiling from the position in which to attack them would have been madness, apparently with the idea of cutting him off from the sea. As he had smitten them at Preston by hurling himself upon the centre of their straggling column, so now he smote them in the rout of Dunbar. He was as sure as the enemy themselves had been that this thing was the Lord's doing.

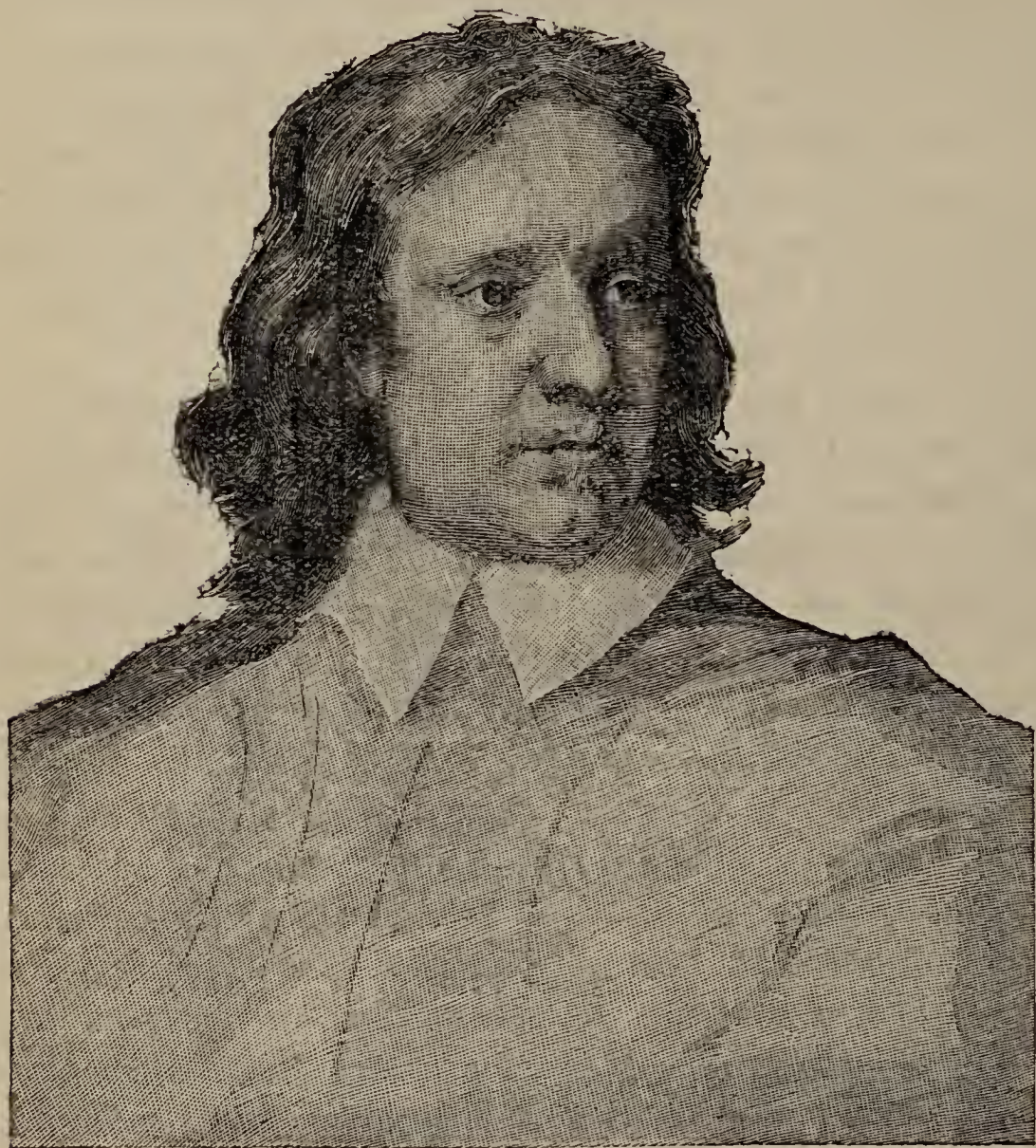
But if it was the Scots whom the Lord had delivered into the hand of the English, and not *vice versa*, Dunbar did not by any means suffice to annihilate the Scottish resistance. Cromwell occupied Edinburgh, but Cavaliers and Covenanters in combination were still able to block his further advance and to reject his negotiations. His own activity was checked by illness, but in the spring he advanced upon Perth, with the effect which he had perhaps anticipated. The way lay open for a Scottish invasion of England; and the Scots, carrying the king with them, seized their opportunity and marched for the Border. They entered England by the same route as before, streaming down through the Western Counties. Cromwell was swift to follow, while another English force, under Lambert, moved towards Worcester to intercept them. But the English Cavaliers and Presbyterians did not venture to rise. Cromwell following hard on the heels of the Scots overtook them at Worcester, and there won the crowning victory. The Scots army was shattered, the young king became a fugitive, and after sundry hair's-breadth escapes succeeded in finding at the village of Brighton a boat which carried him to safety across the Channel. It was never again necessary for Cromwell to take the field.

In fact, the English Cavaliers, after the campaign of 1648, had despaired of further warfare on land and betaken themselves to the sea, where Prince Rupert appeared in a new rôle. He found, however, more than his match in the great admiral of the Commonwealth, Robert Blake; who after the fashion of the times was placed in command of the fleet because he had proved his capacity as a soldier ashore. Blake swept Rupert off the English seas, and driving him into the Mediterranean laid the foundation of that English ascendancy in the great inland sea which played so tremendous a part in her subsequent wars. The victory of Worcester laid Scotland at the mercy of England, and in that country the military control was left in the hands of General Monk.

II

THE RUMP

The personality of Cromwell so completely overshadows that of any other man among his contemporaries, from Marston Moor to the day



Oliver Cromwell.

[From a miniature by Samuel Cooper.]

of his death, that we are somewhat apt to think of him as a military dictator who imposed his arbitrary will upon England throughout that period. That conception, however, is erroneous. Until after the battle of Preston, he did indeed embody in his own person the will of the Army, but neither he nor the Army attempted to seize for themselves the functions of government. They stood only as the champions of liberty of conscience, battling for a settlement which should secure that liberty; and their demands were urged

under the sanction of their ability in the last resort to apply force. But Cromwell was so far from being a dictator that he did not succeed in inducing the actual government to make the settlement which he desired, though he prevented them from making the very different settlement which they desired.

After Preston, the will of the Army, still embodied in Oliver, enforced the construction of a form of government intended to be as constitutional as the circumstances allowed; a government whose first business was to make itself secure, because that seemed the primary condition without which peace could not be re-established. But neither in form nor in fact did Cromwell assume the political direction of that government. From

the death of the king to the battle of Worcester, he was entirely engaged upon military duties, and upon the affairs of Ireland and Scotland, not upon the affairs of England, from which he was, for the most part, absent. Her affairs were in the hands of the Rump and the Council of State. It was not Cromwell who dictated the admirable administrative policy by which Sir Harry Vane on the Council, and Blake on the sea, reorganised the navy, and established England on an equality with Holland, as a Naval Power which had no other rival. It was not Cromwell who guided the financial policy which supplied the heavy demands of the Treasury from the estates of the Cavaliers. It was not Cromwell who refused toleration to Anglicanism and Anglican services, and replaced Anglican incumbents by Presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents. Finally, it was not Cromwell who directed the foreign policy of the government.

Long before Worcester was fought, the fleet had been reorganised by Vane, and the might of the English Navy had been established by Blake. England's one rival upon the seas was Holland, and commercially England was far behind Holland. The great 'Thirty Years' War had come to an end in the last year of King Charles I. The religious question on the Continent had been more or less solved by the virtual partition of Germany into Protestant States in the North and Catholic States in the South; among which Austria retained an immense predominance, while the Imperial Crown was now permanently associated with the House of Hapsburg. But the mutterings of religious strife were not yet over; and English Puritanism was still moved by the dream of a league of Protestantism against a still aggressive Catholicism. No European Power, however, was ready to offer the hand of friendship to the regicide Republic. The death of the Dutch Stadtholder in 1650 established in Holland an unqualified Republic, which was not disturbed by the birth of the posthumous son who grew up to become William III.; and this change in Holland inspired a momentary hope in the English government of a Dutch alliance. But the English overtures were rejected; so that the hostility engendered by commercial rivalry was allowed free play.

England, then, since its proffered friendship was refused, assumed an aggressive attitude. About the time when Cromwell was winning the battle of Worcester, parliament was passing the Navigation Act. The enormous mass of the carrying trade of the world was in the hands of Holland. The Navigation Act renewed the ancient but ill-observed rule that English imports and exports must be carried either in English ships or in ships belonging to the exporting or importing country. The intention now was simply to deprive the Dutch of a large part of their carrying trade, and to transfer it to English bottoms. But further, the English government resolved to reassert its own dignity and authority, and to compel its own recognition, by insistence on the old rule of saluting the English flag in the narrow seas. If war resulted, so much the better. It would certainly be popular with the fleet, and probably with the merchants, because it was

directed to English commercial expansion. That it was not viewed with favour by Cromwell or by the Army, which was desirous of friendship with the Protestant Powers, made it rather the more desirable from the point of view of the parliament men who were jealous of military influence. The Navigation Acts which writers generally conspire to describe as Cromwell's were not attributable to him at all.

The Dutch war, which consequently began early in 1652, was waged with stubborn valour on both sides. So far as the fighting went it could never be claimed that either side showed a decisive superiority. Both sides had one or two admirals of the very highest class, and others who would be included in a large first-class list. Both fleets were full of excellent seamen; and if one or the other got the upper hand for a time, the even balance was soon recovered. The commerce of both, however, suffered seriously, that of Holland disastrously; and the English parliament lost popularity instead of gaining it as they had expected, although a salutary respect for the English Navy was inspired in the continental nations.

Worcester had made the Commonwealth finally secure; the government by the Rump and the Council of State, however well it had done its work, was an emergency government. The Rump saw no reason for changing the existing state of things; they themselves were in control of the State, and formed an oligarchy which treated all appointments as a preserve for their own kinsmen and friends. They, not the Council of State, were actually the supreme authority, the fountainhead of law, the controllers of taxation, to whom the Executive authority of the Council of State was responsible. It was their very natural desire to perpetuate this arrangement. A representative parliament was out of the question. Such a parliament would have in it a large Cavalier element, and government by it would be impossible. Their own idea of the best thing for the country was to avoid the appearance of establishing themselves as a permanent oligarchy by summoning a new parliament; but the sitting members, in their plan, were not to vacate their seats at all, and were to have the power of excluding from the new body such of the members returned as were not to their liking.

This solution was not equally satisfactory to any one else. The Rump had forfeited the confidence both of the Army and of the general public; Cromwell himself was ill pleased at the unfairness with which many Royalists were being treated. Members were more than suspected of bribery and corruption. There was no guarantee that if the oligarchy were perpetuated it would not develop into a self-seeking tyranny as intolerant as that of the Long Parliament before Pride's Purge. On the other hand, no clear plan had been formulated for the constitution of a satisfactory sovereign authority, and at the beginning of 1653 the Rump was pushing its own plan forward.

Cromwell then urged that the scheme should be suspended, and that the first necessity was the formation of a committee of members of parlia-

ment and army officers to discuss the provision of proper securities against an arbitrary tyranny; while the soldiers were demanding an immediate dissolution and the election of a Free Parliament, regardless of the fact that a Free Parliament in the existing circumstances would inevitably degenerate into a chaos of factions. The Rump, on the other hand, saw in its own scheme the only way of averting such a chaos or a military ascendancy. On the day after he had extracted from several of the parliamentary leaders a promise not to proceed immediately with their bill, Cromwell learnt that the House had assembled and was pushing the bill



Cromwell ejecting the Rump, 1653.

[From a contemporary Dutch print.]

through. Once more he found forced upon him the necessity for intervening arbitrarily on his own responsibility. If the parliament was the only body in England which had any semblance of legal authority, it was now using that authority to override every principle for which the Civil War had been fought. Cromwell, with a small band of soldiers behind him, burst into the Chamber, stormed at the members, summoned his followers to "Remove that bauble," the mace, and ejected the Rump.

The Rump was down; but what was to take its place? The General and his council of officers resorted to the desperate expedient of summoning a nominated assembly. The Independent congregations were instructed to send in a list of "fit and godly" persons, from whom Cromwell and the

officers selected one hundred and forty, who constituted the assembly known to history as the Barebones Parliament, so called because one of its members bore the attractive name of Praise-God Barebone. It had no pretence of being a representative assembly; it was not much more than a fortuitous gathering of persons whose morals were unimpeachable and their intentions excellent, while they were wholly devoid of political knowledge and experience. The idea undoubtedly was that the assembly of nominees was to inaugurate the rule of the saints; but the saints, lacking the wisdom of the serpent, were not at all likely to prove as harmless as doves. The more intelligent among them very soon realised the fact for themselves, rose up early one morning, met together, and passed sentence of dissolution on their own body. The experiment had failed ignominiously. Once more it was laid upon Cromwell and the officers of the Army to devise a scheme under which the government of the country could be carried on.

III

THE PROTECTORATE GOVERNMENTS

The deliberations of the officers of the Army issued in the publication of the decree called the Instrument of Government. Until the overthrow of Charles I. the English constitution had been developed by regular growth. There had been no revolutions in the system, however violently dynastic changes had been effected. The Civil War had effected a revolution and necessitated the invention of a constitution which had not grown out of the past, of which the most that could possibly be said would be that a simulacrum or semblance of some features of the past was reproduced in it. The first experiment had produced the Rump, which was a travesty of a parliament, coupled with the Council of the State, which was a quite practical equivalent for the various forms which the Executive Council of the Crown had formerly taken. If the Rump had been a travesty, the Assembly of Nominees was a burlesque. Now in the Instrument of Government the Army officers made their third experiment the rough and ready framework for a constitution which affords an instructive contrast to the mathematical accuracy and the logical perfection of the various impossible constitutions with which France was saddled when she started in the search for an ideal government in 1789.

The government must have a head, and the head of the government must have an Executive Council. Unless the head and his Council had very large powers, any government in the then state of England would be impossible. On the other hand, the people had a right to a voice in affairs of state, and therefore must have a representative assembly. Practical sense

singled out one man as the only possible head, the man whose personality was irresistibly dominant, Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell then was to be Lord Protector, a title revived from times when a minor or an imbecile had occupied the throne and a practically regal authority had to be vested in a subject. The Executive power was vested in the Protector and the Council of State, which was a permanent body with power to fill up its own numbers. But neither Protector nor Council had the power of legislation or taxation, which, by the decree, were appropriated to a representative parliament entirely elective and forming a single Chamber. When the Chamber was not sitting the Executive could issue decrees, but those decrees had effect only until the parliament decided to abrogate or to confirm them. Cavaliers were not eligible to the House. The entire control of the Army lay with the Executive. The parliament was to meet not less than once in three years, and was in no case to be dissolved until it had been sitting for five months.

The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell began in December 1653. Its sanction was nothing but the will of the Army and the sulky acquiescence of a nation which had no alternative. For something less than five years Cromwell's will was supreme. He had been primarily a champion of

the liberties of parliament; after the defeat of Charles I. he had been urgent in his endeavours to restrain the rising spirit of antagonism to the Crown as such, earnest in his pursuit of a compromise. Now the champion of liberty could find no way of ruling in England except by despotically imposing his own will on her. He did not want to dispense with parliaments; throughout his rule he summoned them according to law; but when they met, parliament and Protector habitually found themselves arriving at a deadlock, from which the only escape, just as in the case of parliament and Charles I., lay in the decisive assertion of the supremacy of one or the other. But, unlike Charles, Cromwell never had any difficulty in proving the decisiveness of his own supremacy. He had what Charles had not—the obvious superiority in physical force. There was no gainsaying the fact, and no failure in the Army's loyalty to its chief, whose ideals it shared.

The nine months which passed between the establishment of the Protectorate and the convening of the first parliament gave opportunity for

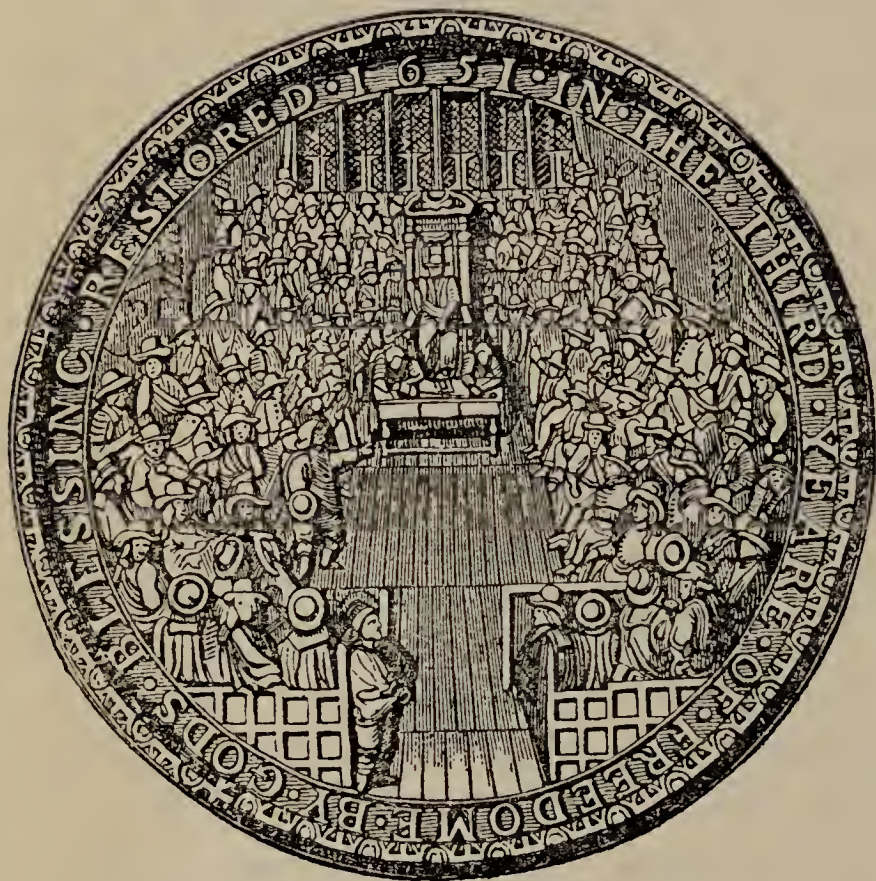


The Great Seal of the Commonwealth, 1651.

Cromwell to show what kind of ideals were working in his heart and brain. Cromwell, more effectively than any of his predecessors, grasped at the idea of the union of England, Scotland, and Ireland, a union which should not destroy national differentiation. Scotland and Ireland were to have their share of representation at Westminster as members of the Commonwealth. The Executive Government of Scotland remained in the hands of a Scottish Council, though the Englishmen upon it were for the present the controlling force, and the troops under arms were Commonwealth troops. The treatment of Ireland was vitiated by the principle which virtually recognised only the Puritan settlers as free citizens. Freedom of

trade within the Commonwealth was an invaluable boon to the two poorer communities; whatever benefits England derived from the Navigation Act they shared, as also did the colonies.

In England itself the religious question was still the one of primary importance, and toleration was Cromwell's ruling principle, accompanied by the doctrine that religion should be maintained out of public funds. The exclusion of Anglicanism from the churches Cromwell admitted as a political necessity; but the tithes and endowments were neither abolished nor secularised, but were applied to what was virtually



The Great Seal of the Commonwealth, 1651.

the concurrent endowments of the three principal religious bodies outside the Anglicans and Roman Catholics—the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents. Anglicanism was repressed, because the assembling of Anglican congregations would have provided the nucleus for Cavalier disaffection. But besides the bodies among whom churches and parsonages and their endowments were distributed, the sects were free to form and maintain congregations of their own. That liberty was extended even to the Quakers, whose peculiarities rendered them obnoxious to every other religious denomination for varying reasons. It was Cromwell's government which at last after three centuries and a half readmitted the Jews to England.

Once more, it was Cromwell who at last initiated for England an active foreign policy rooted in Protestantism. The obstinate struggle with the Dutch was brought to an end, and already in 1654 Cromwell was contemplating the use of the mighty fleet which the Commonwealth had created, for battle not with the Protestant Dutch but with the Spanish

power, which still to him, as to the Elizabethans, seemed the champion of aggressive Papistry.

The idea that the Instrument of Government could be used as a step towards the real revival of a Free Parliament was soon dispelled. The country had learnt to hate the Rump, but it had not learnt to love a military domination. The representatives who came up to Westminster in September 1654 were not at all satisfied with the Instrument of Government. Cromwell gave them to understand that they had been assembled to attend to business, not to reconstruct the constitution; but constitution making is an amusement from which popular assemblies in revolutionary times are seldom capable of abstaining. In spite of the exclusion of a hundred members, who declined to accept the Instrument, the remainder still persisted in proposing changes. Among other things they suggested that, in place of maintaining toleration on its present lines, there should be a definition of heresy, followed by the suppression of heretics. Of course, at bottom, the question at stake was whether the real government of the country should be vested in parliament or in the Protector. From the point of view of the Army the Protector's powers were necessary to the preservation of the State. Backed by the sentiment of the Army, Cromwell seized the earliest possible moment to dissolve the obstinate parliament, even straining the letter of the law by interpreting the five months' minimum as meaning lunar months, not calendar months.

The constitution propounded under the Instrument of Government did not require the summoning of another parliament until after a considerable interval. During that interval the fact of the Military Dictatorship became more palpable than ever. A perfectly futile Cavalier rising at Salisbury, dignified by the name of Penruddock's Rebellion, was the occasion of the demonstration. The government was not endangered by this foolish and abortive performance, but it was significant of the prevailing unrest, of the undercurrent of feeling that a government so unpopular must be easily destroyed. The government was unpopular, not so much because the things it did were wrong as because the authority by which they were done was a usurped authority, a military authority, a thing hitherto unheard of in England. Englishmen had a lively sense in themselves that they would rather be ill-governed by their own representatives than enjoy any amount of benefits thrust upon them by a power whose sanction was the sword. Toleration was good in itself, but the number of people in the country who wanted toleration except for their own private "doxy" was small. They did not want toleration for Quakers, whom they did not understand in the least. They did not want toleration for the Fifth-Monarchy men, who imagined that the world had been ruled successively by four great empires in the past—the Assyrian, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman—and that now the "fifth empire" had begun, the rule of the Saints whose monarch was Christ. And they did not want to have toleration for any one forced upon them by gentlemen with a Bible in one hand and a sword

in the other, and texts out of the Old Testament and the Apocalypse in their mouths.

Penruddock's Rebellion was the symptom of this unrest, and the only answer to it was the uncompromising assertion of the authority of the government. All semblance of popular liberty disappeared when Cromwell mapped out the country into eleven military districts, and set over each district a major-general, who was the supreme administrative authority. Like Strafford himself, the major-generals ruled without fear or favour, dealing out justice with an even hand. But if Strafford's rule, resting on the authority of the king, was intolerable, the rule of major-generals, whose authority rested on the Army, was still more so. Moreover, the exigencies of the case compelled Cromwell to adopt expedients which he had quite rightly condemned when the Rump had employed them. Money was needed, and the extra money was extracted from the estates of one class of the community, the Cavaliers; and under these conditions the oppression of the Cavaliers excited a new popular sympathy. And to all these causes of discontent must be added the austerity of a Puritanism which sternly repressed an unseemly indulgence in the carnal pleasures of the ungodly; including most innocent forms of amusement.

Cromwell's second parliament met two years after the first. It is noteworthy that it embodied popular resentment not against Cromwell personally but against the Army. It recognised in Cromwell himself the indispensable man. Like its predecessor, this parliament too was "purged" by the exclusion of about a hundred members. The successes attending the Protector's foreign policy, to which we shall presently revert, increased his personal prestige. The discovery of a plot against his life awakened a vivid consciousness that Oliver himself was the keystone of the arch, the structure of the Commonwealth, which would collapse in ruin if he were removed. It seemed necessary at least that the Commonwealth constitution should be modified in two directions. The office of the Protector must be so modified that its functions could be efficiently discharged without danger to the State when Oliver himself should be no longer Protector; and the power of the Army itself must be reduced, even if in the process the personal authority of the Protector himself were increased.

A new constitution, then, was promulgated by the parliament, under the name of the Humble Petition and Advice, after the major-generals had been withdrawn and a bill sanctioning the taxation of Cavalier estates had been thrown out. It must be remembered that Cromwell's arbitrary powers were suspended whilst parliament was in session. The Petition went so far as to make the office of Protector permanent, to empower Cromwell to nominate his own successor, and actually to offer him the title of king. The Rump had been intolerable because there had been no check on the arbitrary exercise of authority by a single Chamber. The Petition sought to prevent the resuscitation of this danger by reconstituting a second Chamber, a new House of Lords nominated by Cromwell but subject to the approval of the

House of Commons. On the other hand, the Protector was to surrender the right which he possessed under the Instrument of Government of arbitrarily excluding members from the Commons. The principle was at the same time formally laid down that all forms of Christian religion were to be tolerated except the Romanist and the Episcopalian. Socinianism, which rejects the Divinity of Christ, was outside the pale.

The Humble Petition and Advice was accepted and became law, with the exception of one point. Oliver declined the title of king, not, it would appear, without reluctance. But a sufficient reason for the refusal must be found in the strong antagonism of the Army to the proposal. Oliver could not afford to make the army hostile. Policy, too, demanded the refusal for other reasons, since in Englishmen's minds at least the idea of kingship was hedged about with the traditions of long centuries, traditions belonging to the office, not the individual, and wholly incompatible with the elevation to that office of a man with whom they could by no possibility be associated. In a minor degree the prestige even of the new House of Lords was similarly threatened; it was remote from the associations which gave dignity at least to the old House of Peers.

Nine months had elapsed between the first meeting of the new parliament and the installation of the Protector under the new constitution. Parliament was not dissolved but prorogued, and met again in the following January, 1658. But a change was at once apparent. The pick of Oliver's supporters had been transferred to the Upper Chamber, and the hundred elected members of the Lower House whom he had excluded were necessarily admitted under the new constitution. Thus, there was really a new House of Commons, which at once proceeded to attack the constitution which a parliament nominally the same had only just set up. Almost its first movement was to attack the new House of Lords in the endeavour to re-create that despotism of the House of Commons, the curbing of which was the precise object with which the Second Chamber had been constituted. Once more the attempt to invent a working constitution had failed. Once more Oliver had no alternative but to assert his own supremacy. He dissolved his second parliament. Alone upon his own shoulders he bore the burden of the State during the few months of life which remained to him.



A dinner-party under the Protectorate.

[From the English edition of the *Janua Linguarum* of Comenius.]

IV

FOREIGN POLICY

A system of government which depends for its effectiveness upon one man of exceptional capacity and unique moral force cannot be permanent. It was created in England under the Commonwealth because the man was there; the old system had broken down, and for the time being there was no practical possibility either of reconstructing it or of setting up any other in its place. The period of the Commonwealth presents a breach in the continuity of constitutional development which was resumed with the Restoration. For the first and the only time in English history England had attempted to break with tradition, and the experiment collapsed with the disappearance of the great figure in whom it had centred. But it is remarkable that in the course of the experiment England won for herself such prestige as she had before known only in the latter years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, in Henry V.'s day of triumph, and during a part of the reign of Edward III.

After the storm of the great Civil War, England, instead of being exhausted, organised the most powerful navy afloat and could put in the field troops superior to any in Europe. She could interfere with effect on the Continent, and made her alliance desired by States which at first refused even to recognise the regicide Commonwealth. The fighting strength of the Puritan soldiery and mariners lay in the combination of complete discipline with religious enthusiasm, superimposed upon the normal qualities of Englishmen. Officered by men selected on account of their proved capacity, while the services were moulded by organisers of the highest class, English fleets and English troops could go anywhere and do anything if they felt themselves to be fighting for The Cause. Even with baser and more material incentives they played their part manfully, as in the Dutch War, a war in which the religious motive had no place.

Cromwell, then, had the instrument to his hand for carrying out an aggressive Protestant policy; and to guide him in such a policy he had the Elizabethan tradition, the tradition not of Elizabeth herself but of the Elizabethan seamen. That tradition fixed upon Spain as the enemy of Protestantism and the legitimate prey of Protestant sailormen. Cromwell had hardly made his peace with the Dutch, very advantageously for England, when he turned his eyes upon Spain as the fitting object of attack by English ships. But for once he blundered into under-rating the efficiency of the enemy and the quality of the force required to attack him within his own seas. Although there was no war between England and Spain, a fleet was despatched across the Atlantic at the end of 1654, under the Admirals Penn and Venables, which found itself under orders for the Spanish Main. But the fleet had been fitted out hastily and carelessly. It failed completely

before Cartagena ; but, while retreating, it seized upon the then very slightly inhabited island of Jamaica, which was thenceforward retained as an English colony. The result was a declaration of open war between Spain and England.

The challenge to Spain was thrown down quite in the Elizabethan spirit, and precisely on the old excuses, that Spain treated the wealth of South America as a private preserve, and that English sailors in Spanish ports were refused the free practice of their religion. When the two countries were at open war again the blunder of the first expedition was not repeated. The work to be done was placed in the competent hands of Blake, who had just been congenially occupied in smiting the swarms of Arab and Berber pirates who infested the African shores of the Mediterranean. Blake blockaded the Spanish coasts, and one of the incidents especially favourable to Cromwell at the moment when his second parliament was called in 1556 was the arrival in England of a Spanish prize laden with vast wealth. The most striking of all Blake's victories was that achieved in the following year, when he drove the Spanish fleet to take shelter under the guns of Teneriffe, silenced the land-batteries with his own guns, sailed in, and sank the Spanish fleet without losing a ship of his own.

Before opening his attack on Spain there was perhaps some uncertainty in Cromwell's mind as to the correctness of that policy. Puritanism hesitated to decide whether France or Spain was the real foe of Protestantism. France and Spain were anyhow at enmity with each other, their quarrel having been left undecided when the Thirty Years' War was brought to a close by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Richelieu, and after Richelieu Mazarin, in France, aimed at the policy of toleration within the country, the policy of the Henry IV. tradition, the policy of national consolidation. Political factions, however, had associated themselves with the religious parties for their own ends, and Spain, in order to foster disintegration in France, was giving support to the Huguenots. But when Cromwell made overtures to Spain, he immediately found that she was as bigoted as ever in her Romanism. Hence he attacked her without waiting for a French alliance. Indeed, he was quite ready to fight France as well as Spain in the cause of Protestantism ; and, even while his fleets were pursuing their first unsuccessful career in the West Indies, he was threatening France with armed intervention on behalf of the Vaudois, the Protestant mountaineers who were suffering from the persecution of the Duke of Savoy. The persecution was stopped, and the French government welcomed an English alliance, to be directed against Spain.

The sham religious basis of the civil troubles in France itself broke down, and the armies of the state were captained by the Huguenot Turenne. In 1657 the Anglo-French alliance was completed. In 1658, the last year of Cromwell's life, English Puritan troops were fighting under Turenne in the Spanish Netherlands, winning in June the battle of the Dunes, which gave Dunkirk to England as her share in the spoils of the alliance. A hundred

years after the loss of Calais England once more had a foothold on the Continent.

Ostensibly the continuity of Cromwell's foreign policy was preserved by Charles II. at the Restoration—ostensibly, because the French alliance remained in force. But the whole meaning of the policy was changed. Cromwell united England with a Power which appeared likely to recognise the principle of toleration more thoroughly than any other, and which had every political inducement to stand in antagonism to the Hapsburg leaders of aggressive Romanism. England and Holland together could sweep the seas. England, Holland, and France together could dictate at least toleration to the Catholic States. If France played her allies false, England, with her new Calais and with Holland behind her, could be dangerous on land, and her fleets would be able to command the Mediterranean as well as the Channel and the French Atlantic ports.

Cromwell's scheme was perhaps fundamentally erroneous, because the time was past for the opposition between Catholic and Protestant to be made the basis of a national policy. Also it was no doubt a fundamentally false position for England to seek deliberately to involve herself in the affairs of the Continent. She would not have been able to bear the strain of posing as a Power of the first magnitude both on sea and on land. It was an error also to seek war rather than to seek peace. But it was for none of these reasons that Cromwell's policy actually failed after Cromwell was dead. It failed because Charles II. deliberately played into the hands of France and helped the aggrandisement of France, precisely when, if Cromwell had been alive, she would have found herself under the necessity of adapting her policy to that of the Protector or else of facing the immediate and vigorous hostility of the Puritan fleets and armies. In fact Cromwell's foreign policy, like his government in England, was powerful and effective so long as Cromwell himself was at the head of affairs. It would have failed even with a second-rate Cromwell. But with Charles, who skilfully preserved its outward semblance while entirely transforming its spirit and intention, it was more than a failure ; it was converted into an instrument for the aggrandisement of Louis XIV. Yet for England one feature of the Commonwealth foreign policy survived, the feature which made the preservation of naval supremacy supreme over all other considerations.

The battle of the Dunes was the last triumph of the Puritan arms. Cromwell was not yet sixty years old, but his mortal frame was worn out by the tremendous labours and responsibilities which had fallen to his lot for the last fifteen years. Two of his great victories, those of Dunbar and Worcester, had been won on the 3rd of September. On the 3rd of September his great lonely soul passed away. Three days before a terrific storm had burst over England ; "the devil," the Cavaliers said, "had come to claim his own." But Cromwell went before another Judgment Seat than that of the Cavaliers.

V

THE END OF THE COMMONWEALTH

Oliver had refused the crown, nevertheless it appeared that he had some thought at least of creating a dynasty; for on his deathbed he named as his successor his son Richard. For that choice there can be no other explanation. Cromwell cannot have imagined that Richard could take his own place as the Atlas bearing the Commonwealth upon his shoulders. The younger son Henry was a man of capacity, who may have been ruled out because of his fiery temper. But Richard was wholly incapable of serving as anything more than figurehead, nor had any man come to the front who was in the least fitted to maintain an autocratic rule. The Commonwealth required a ruler, who, whether he was in form an autocrat or not, should be one in actual fact.

In January a new parliament was assembled. No one challenged the nominal position of the Protector; no one recognised his authority as a reality. The immediate question was merely whether the parliament or the officers of the Army were to be the supreme authority. The officers had fixed upon Fleetwood, a capable soldier and Cromwell's own son-in-law, for the vacant post of General-in-Chief. Had Fairfax been an ambitious man, he might have formed a party of his own in spite of his abstention from public life for the last eight years; but he chose to remain in retirement. Parliament, intent on asserting its own authority, proposed that Richard Cromwell should be made General-in-Chief. Richard, as the head of an army, would have been absurd, but the calculation was that the army would obey its chief, and its chief would obey parliament. The officers had no intention of submitting to such an arrangement. There was among them no personality of commanding force, but the most active of their leaders was Lambert. The Protector, incapable of taking a line of his own, submitted to the pressure of Lambert and the officers, dissolved parliament in May, and finished the farce of his Protectorship by resigning. Once more the country was without any government which could pretend to a legal title.

Still the Army did not wish to assume official responsibility for the government of the State. Lambert devised the plan of resuscitating the Rump which Oliver had turned out of doors. Here was at least a sort of parliament, whose members had been elected, which, by the Statute of 1641, could never be dissolved except by its own consent. In fact it never had been legally dissolved; it had only been illegally suppressed by an arbitrary authority. In short, the members of the Long Parliament could clearly



Richard Cromwell.

[From a miniature by Samuel Cooper, 1664.]

claim as a matter of mere law that they were to this day the legal House of Commons; though it would not be so easy to prove that the Commons by themselves legally constituted a parliament, or that the Rump by itself could claim to be the legal House of Commons so long as those other members were shut out who had been excluded by Pride's Purge.

The Rump, however, had no qualms. From December 1640 down to Cromwell's *coup d'état* it had acted as the sovereign body of the realm, and had all but succeeded in establishing itself permanently. It was still persuaded that it was the legitimate sovereign, and it acted upon that doctrine. It at once assumed the tone of high authority over the soldiers who had re-instated it, threatened to declare all the proceedings of the Protectorate

invalid, and showed every sign of intending to revive all the old pretensions which had made its ejection by Cromwell temporarily popular. The Cavaliers imagined that they had found their opportunity in the dissensions at headquarters; but if the Army was politically at sea, it understood at least its own business of fighting. The insurrection



Unite, or sovereign, of the Commonwealth, 1660.

[The only English coins with legends in English.]

was crushed at Winnington Bridge, and Lambert returned from this campaign resolved on another *coup d'état*. The Rump found itself shut out from the Chamber. But Lambert was no Cromwell; departmental management was going to pieces, and the soldiery discovered that their pay was not forthcoming. Before New Year's Day the Rump was back again. But on New Year's Day, General Monk crossed the Scottish Border into England to take control of affairs on his own responsibility.

For eight years past Monk had been practically the ruler of Scotland. For the greater part of the time he had held supreme command of the Commonwealth Army of ten thousand men in that country. The administration had been in the hands of a small Council containing a majority of Englishmen, and in that Council Monk himself was the controlling force. Strong, clear-headed, and imperturbable, he was moved by no extravagant dreams of personal ambition. He was perfectly loyal to Oliver, as he would have been perfectly loyal to any established government, simply because it was the government. As Cromwell's lieutenant he ruled with a firm hand in the realm of which he was in charge; he would have continued to do so as Richard Cromwell's lieutenant if Richard had not chosen first to prove himself impossible, and then to abdicate. But when "Tumbledown Dick," as the great Protector's son was popularly called, vacated his office, and Lambert would neither grasp the reins himself nor set anybody else in the

saddle, Monk began to think it was time for some one to take a hand and deal with the state of the nation in a business-like fashion. Monk had been attending strictly to his own business in Scotland, and when he crossed the Border at the head of his troops he had not made up his mind to anything more definite than the attempt to set up a stable government in which, when it should be set up, he himself had no intention of playing the part of Cromwell. It was not till he was in England, and felt himself in touch with public sentiment, that he arrived at the definite conclusion that England must have either a Cromwell or a Stuart Restoration.

Fairfax issued from his retirement to join Monk at York, and his doing so was at once accepted by public opinion as a guarantee that Monk was himself to be trusted. For Monk was a dark horse, but no one had a doubt of Fairfax's single-minded integrity and public spirit.

Five weeks after crossing the Border, Monk was in London. He had arrived without any intention of effecting a revolution; with the object of maintaining Oliver's principles, which were incompatible with the ascendancy of either Cavaliers or Presbyterians. But the fact immediately presented itself that neither the Rump nor the Army officers represented public opinion or the principles of Cromwell. He had hardly arrived when the city of London announced its refusal to pay taxes at the bidding of a so-called parliament in which it was unrepresented. There and then, with the approval of his own officers, he sent to the Rump a demand that writs should be issued forthwith for filling the vacant seats—there were hardly over forty members sitting—and that arrangements should be made for a dissolution and a free parliament within three months. The Rump ignored the demand, whereupon Monk summoned the rest of the surviving members of the Long Parliament, who still had precisely the same title as the Rump to take their seats. The Rump was swamped by a majority which forthwith voted for a dissolution and the summoning of a new parliament.

Neither Monk nor the nation had taken long to recognise that the time for experiments was past. A Military Dictatorship had been tolerable only because the Dictator was Oliver Cromwell. The sole possible form of settled government was a Stuart restoration under guarantees for the liberties of parliament. Monk immediately entered on negotiations with Charles in Holland, with the result that the Declaration of Breda was issued. Charles proclaimed his readiness to grant a free pardon to every one not specially excepted by parliament. There should be no disturbance of the conditions of landownership established during the interregnum. There should be no penalties for religious opinions unless they were subversive of public order. Immediately after the publication of the Declaration the new parliament met. The disabilities imposed on the Cavaliers under the Commonwealth were ignored, and there were present a substantial Cavalier element and a still more substantial Presbyterian element, now readily converted to a royalism which seemed to have promised toleration, and at least guaranteed deliverance from the rule of sectaries and men of the sword. The soldiery might have

defied them if there had been any chief to whom they could rally as they had rallied in the past to Cromwell; but they were as sheep having no shepherd. A great reactionary wave of royalism swept over the country, and parliament and people with a strange enthusiasm summoned the unknown king from over the water to come and enjoy his own again. On May 25 applauding crowds hailed Charles on his landing at Dover, and four days later he made his entry into London.

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